“A Most Enjoyable Evening”:
Music in Early Prescott and Flagstaff, Arizona Territory, ca. 1865-ca. 1890

by

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ABSTRACT

Although one finds much scholarship on nineteenth-century music in America, one finds relatively little about music in the post-Civil-War frontier west. Generalities concerning small frontier towns of regional importance remain to be discovered. This paper aims to contribute to scholarship by chronicling musical life in the early years of two such towns in northern Arizona territory: Prescott and Flagstaff. Prescott, adjacent to Fort Whipple, was founded in 1864 to serve as capital of the new territory. Primarily home to soldiers and miners, the town was subject to many challenges of frontier life. Flagstaff, ninety miles to the north-northwest, was founded about two decades later in 1883 during the building of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad, which connected the town to Albuquerque, New Mexico in the east and southern California in the west.

Although the particular resources of each town provided many different musical opportunities, extant newspaper articles from Prescott's *Arizona Miner* and Flagstaff's *Arizona Champion* describe communities in which musical concerts, dances and theatrical performances provided entertainment and socializing for its citizens. Furthermore, music was an important part of developing institutions such as the church, schools, and fraternal lodges, and the newspapers of both towns advertised musical instruments and sheet music. Both towns were home to amateur musicians, and both offered the occasional opportunity to learn to dance or play an instrument. Although territorial Arizona
was sometimes harsh and resources were limited, music was valued in these communities and was a consistent presence in frontier life.
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Introduction

In a typical textbook or anthology surveying the history of American music, most of the chapters describe musical events and developments on the Eastern Seaboard.\(^1\) As the early nineteenth century unfolds, the anthologies and texts move West with the frontier, to New Orleans and Chicago. However, after their discussion of music during the Civil War, the anthologies no longer follow the frontier and rarely mention music anywhere between Chicago and San Francisco. Outside of the anthologies, one finds much scholarship on late nineteenth-century music in the big cities of the day, such as San Francisco, or towns where music was later important, such as Los Angeles, and even in the exceptional towns known for their music, such as Leadville, Colorado, where the Tabor Opera House enjoyed some celebrity.

But what of musical activity in small towns, in places where no preeminent performers or famous composers resided? These anthologies are

notably silent on music in the Western frontier in the nineteenth century.\(^2\) What musical activity took place in early mining camps and saloon towns, where Indians, fires, and the elements created harsh conditions? Between attempts to make a living and attempts to keep oneself safe, was there any time to enjoy any music? What music did pioneers bring with them to the frontier and what value, if any, did that music hold in the lives of settlers?

Small towns in northern Arizona provide an opportunity to examine music and its function in the frontier West. Both because the settling of northern Arizona took place much later in the nineteenth century and because the settlers in Prescott and Flagstaff purposefully strove to record their history, either through historical societies or through universities, northern Arizona is an excellent place for exploring early communities. In searching through the records of the last third of the nineteenth century, one finds a picture of life not always embattled, but optimistic, of lively towns and townsfolk, where musical events brought a community together for socializing and celebration.\(^3\)

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Music activity in nascent towns in northern Arizona territory was surprisingly vibrant. Settlers enjoyed listening to brass bands, attending theatrical performances, dancing at both private and public parties, singing in schools and churches, and reading musical news and gossip in the newspaper. Musical activity joined together new communities and helped to establish culture and civilization on the frontier. Moreover, music was an important component to the social gatherings, which attracted and retained settlers. The goal of the present study is to chronicle musical life in Prescott during the 1860s and Flagstaff during the 1880s, to demonstrate how the two towns' differing circumstances shaped the musical culture, and to examine how music contributed to life in territorial Arizona.

A Note on Primary Sources

Although supplemented by memoirs, letters, and surviving records, most of the primary materials used in this study come from the newspapers of the time, specifically from Prescott's *Arizona Miner* and Flagstaff's *Arizona Champion*. Newspapers were the lifeblood of a small frontier town. Newspapers dispensed news and gossip, entertained with jokes and anecdotes from around the country, informed citizens with facts and essays and, through newspaper advertisements, connected merchants to neighboring states and territories, even as far as the East Coast. While asking for more sympathetic readers, the Prescott newspaper wrote about itself:

Newspapers, by enhancing the value of property in their neighborhood, and giving the locality in which they are published a reputation abroad, benefit all, particularly if they are merchants or real estate owners, thrice the amount yearly of the sum they pay for their support. Besides, every spirited citizen has laudable pride in having a paper of which he is not ashamed, even though he should pick it up in New York or Washington. A good-looking, thriving, live newspaper helps to sell property, gives character to the locality, and in all respects is a desirable public convenience... If you want a good, readable sheet, it must be supported. The local press is the “power that moves the people.”

Prescott had one newspaper, the *Arizona Miner*, during the 1860s. The paper was first printed on March 9, 1864, at nearby Fort Whipple, on a printing press that Richard C. McCormick, the Secretary of the Territory, brought with him.

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*Arizona Miner*, November 18, 1868.
from New York. In early June, the newspaper offices moved to the new town of Prescott, and the first Prescott issue was printed June 22, 1864. The *Miner* began as a bi-monthly publication, then became a monthly beginning in November of 1864, and was finally printed as a weekly newspaper starting on August 10, 1867. The *Arizona Miner* also published a daily version of the paper during the Third and Fourth Legislative Sessions that were held in Prescott in late September to early November in 1866 and 1867. The newspaper, first owned by Mr. McCormick, was sold in early September 1867, to John Huguenot Marion. The first issue edited by Marion was printed on September 21, 1867. Marion proved to be a very outspoken editor, often voicing his strong opinions on Prescott's development.

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5 *Arizona Miner*, December 24, 1870. The Fort Whipple issues of the newspaper are not extant.

6 One issue of the daily newspaper included the note: “To subscribers—In future, during the session of the Legislature, and the issuance of our Daily, subscribers must call at this office for their papers, for we have found it impossible to employ a competent boy to carry them around” (*Daily Arizona Miner*, October 24, 1866).

7 Joseph Miller, *The Arizona Story* (New York: Hastings House, 1952), xiv-xv. Two editors, Thomas A. Hand and E. A. Bentley, assisted McCormick, but Bentley was shot and killed by Apaches sometime in the second year of the paper's publication.

8 *Arizona Miner*, December 24, 1870. When Marion purchased the paper, circulation was less than seventy-five. By the end of 1870, the paper's circulation was 672.

Flagstaff in the 1880s had a number of newspapers, of which the *Arizona Champion* was most prominent. The first newspaper in Flagstaff was *The Flag*, founded by Harry C. Reed and managed by Charles W. Rainhard, and first printed on October 15, 1883.\(^\text{10}\) Meanwhile, another newspaper editor, Artemus Fay, founded the *Arizona Champion* in Peach Springs, another new town along the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad line.\(^\text{11}\) The first issue of the *Arizona Champion* was printed September 1, 1883.\(^\text{12}\) After it became clear to Fay that Flagstaff, and not Peach Springs, was becoming the larger, more prominent and vibrant town, Artemis Fay moved the *Champion* to Flagstaff, where he printed Flagstaff’s first issue on February 2, 1884. For three months Flagstaff had two newspapers. In May, Harry Reed sold his subscription list to Artemus Fay and moved to Holbrook, 100 miles east along the railroad, where he began another newspaper for that town. The *Arizona Champion* had a number of owners and managers in the 1880s, including Fay, W. E. Lockwood, J. W. Spafford, H. G. Temple, and


\(^{11}\) The A. & P. Railroad had encouraged Fay to found his newspaper at Peach Springs. While the *Champion* was printed in Peach Springs, Fay included news from Flagstaff in his paper; see Platt Cline, *Mountain Town: Flagstaff’s First Century* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing, 1994), 12.

George and John Tinker. In the late 1880s, a third newspaper began publication in Flagstaff. The political newspaper, *Flagstaff Democrat*, was founded in July 1888 by attorney E. S. Clark.

Newspapers are the richest source of information on musical activity in early Prescott and Flagstaff, but the information they reveal has some disadvantages. One difficulty is that newspaper issues can be lost. Though both the *Miner* and the *Champion* are mostly extant, the *Miner* is missing nearly all twelve issues from 1865. Missing issues from the *Arizona Miner* include five from 1883, nine from 1884, and ten from 1889.

The title of the present study is taken from an article in the November 27, 1886, issue of the *Arizona Champion* that describes an impromptu social dancing party. The phrase, “a most enjoyable evening,” and its variants were commonly used to describe dances, balls, and other social events in both Flagstaff and

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13 Cline, *They Came*, 272-282. None of these editors were as opinionated or had as distinct a voice as John Marion in Prescott.


15 There are pages extant from three issues in 1865: February 15, October 4, and November 22.

16 *Arizona Champion*, November 27, 1886.
Prescott. The phrase demonstrates another aspect of frontier newspaper articles, namely that the publishers strove to promote their communities and towns. As the Arizona Champion stated, “... Newspapers do the most effective missionary work for a new country...” Although newspapers were not always sympathetic to their towns, particularly John Marion’s Arizona Miner, articles did tend toward consistently positive reviews and assessments.

Finally, the content of the newspaper was dependent on the physical limitations of the page and the editors’ decision of what was most important to include in each issue, which in turn was dependent on both his preferences and the interests of the readers. The Arizona Miner and the Arizona Champion were very different papers. Prescott’s Miner mainly served the soldiers, miners, and politicians of the capital, while Flagstaff’s Champion represented a growing community of businessmen and families. It is difficult to establish what was not covered in the newspaper, though the private social parties in Flagstaff can offer

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17 For an example from the Miner, the first-year anniversary of the Prescott Sunday School was described as “a pleasant affair” (Arizona Miner, June 29, 1867).

18 Arizona Champion, January 29, 1887. This statement was made in protest to the immense funds used by the Office of Commissioner of Immigration.

19 See, for example, the discussion of the lack of churches in Prescott and the unfavorable reviews of some of the theatrical performances in Prescott, both below.

20 This is especially apparent in the reviews of the private social parties. See below.
an insight into this.21 The Champion often included a sentence that simply stated that a dance had taken place. For example, the paper noted in October 1885, “There was a very pleasant dance given at Middleton's Hall on Thursday evening.”22 In January 1887, “A very pleasant dance was given at Hawks' Hall last evening.”23 In March 1888, the paper simply stated, “A number of private dances have enlivened social circles during the past week.”24 Some social events that were reviewed in the newspaper received truncated attention. For example, the paper reviewed a masquerade ball held for one of the leading Flagstaff citizens, D. M. Riordan.25 Although the article included the names of those present and in costume, the paper noted, “Quite a number of people were present unmasked of whom lack of space forbids us to make mention.” Conversely, John Marion used his newspaper to try to reorganize the Prescott Brass Band in the summer of 1869, giving news about the brass band additional space in his newspaper.26

21 It seems that, due to a larger population and more sociable citizens, the Flagstaff newspaper had less space for social parties than Prescott's paper.

22 Arizona Champion, October 17, 1885.

23 Arizona Champion, January 15, 1887.


25 Arizona Champion, April 14, 1888. See below for further discussion of this masquerade ball.

26 While John Marion cared for band music, he did not care for dancing. A review of a Thanksgiving ball in 1868 included the following, written in the editorial we:

. . . We then entered the ball room and took a seat close to a nice young lady
Other primary sources consulted include memoirs of early settlers, diaries and memoirs of wives of army personnel, and documents from the Sharlot Hall Archives (Prescott, Arizona) and the Colorado Plateau Archives (Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona). Here, then, are the stories of the musicians, participants, and audiences who enjoyed the music of early Prescott and Flagstaff.

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with auburn locks. Nice young lady asked us if we wished to dance. We said, no, mum. Young lady told us we should dance. We muttered something about awkwardness, and told her that to please her we would do anything else but dance—a ya, we blurted out, most lovely queen of spades—hearts, we mean, we would even marry you sooner than dance with you or for you. At this her visual organs flashed fire, she opened her [word obscured] trap, told us to get, and you bet we did” (*Arizona Miner*, November 28, 1868).
Prescott, the capital of territorial Arizona, and adjacent Fort Whipple were surrounded by mountains, mining camps, and Indians. Founded in 1864, the town was relatively isolated and in near-constant threat from the Indians, who fought throughout the 1860s decade. However, despite the perils of living on the frontier, Prescott slowly grew into a settlement with the civilizing institutions that marked an established town: schools, churches, fraternal lodges, and a newspaper.
Furthermore, the town participated in the same late nineteenth-century musical activity popular throughout the rest of the country: brass bands, a dancing club, and theatrical events. Even though living conditions were difficult, music was a part of everyday life in Prescott, adding entertainment, socialization, and enjoyment to the community.

The first white settlers in the Prescott area were miners. In the spring of 1863, an expedition of thirty men, under the direction of Captain Joseph Reddeford Walker, found gold in the mountains five miles south of the future town. Soon after, gold was found in the surrounding areas, including Antelope Peak, thirty-five miles to the southwest, and as far away as the Vulture Mine, sixty miles to the south. The mining fields quickly filled with prospectors, and within a couple of months, several hundred miners filled Chino Valley and the banks of the Agua Fria River.

Arizona Territory and Fort Whipple were both established in response to the gold rush. Fort Whipple was established on paper by an order from the military in Santa Fe, New Mexico, on October 23, 1863, to protect the mining interests and “preserve order and give security to life and property.”

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physical fort was established on December 23rd in Chino Valley. The fort was named after General Amiel W. Whipple, who had explored the area in the 1850s. Concurrently, the newly appointed Governor Goodwin arrived at Chino Valley to set up a territorial government. Arizona Territory was officially established with ceremony and proclamation on December 29, 1863. Goodwin declared the capital of the new territory to be “at or near” Fort Whipple, away from the Confederate and Mexican influences in the southern part of the territory. When, in the next year, Goodwin selected the present location of Prescott for the capital, Fort Whipple was moved, on May 18, to a location about a mile northeast of the new town. Arizona’s territorial capital was organized quickly. The first public meeting was held on May 30, 1864, at which the new town received its name. The first auction for town lots was June 4, and within a month, 232 lots had been sold.

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30 Two baile players from New Mexico traveled along with the territorial party, one a violinist and one a guitarist; see Robert C. Stevens, *Echoes of the Past: Tales of Old Yavapai*, Volume Two (Prescott, AZ: The Yavapai Cowbelles Incorporated, 1964), 56.


However, the town was isolated. In 1864, the northern half of the territory had very few traveling routes, and only one stagecoach traveled to and from Prescott.\textsuperscript{34} In addition to passengers, the stagecoach also transported gold shipments from mines around Prescott, and the stage was frequently robbed.\textsuperscript{35} For a number of years, the only reliable mail service was semi-monthly military mail.\textsuperscript{36} During the winter of 1864, it took four months for supplies to arrive in Prescott by pack-mule from San Bernardino.\textsuperscript{37}

Both soldiers and settlers fought with the Apache Indians, and from 1863 through 1864 there were skirmishes nearly every week, many of which were begun by the settlers.\textsuperscript{38} The spring and summer of 1867 were particularly difficult times for Indian trouble. In March 1867, the newspaper wrote, “The red devils, commonly called Indians, have rendered life so insecure that it has been unsafe to work or prospect, except in large parties. Even at the present time it is unsafe for a small number of men to travel any distance.”\textsuperscript{39} Partly as a result of fluctuating Indian troubles and partly due to incorrect reports sent from the frontier to the

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\textsuperscript{34} Arizona Miner, March 23, 1864; Savage, 28; Stevens, 121. \\
\textsuperscript{35} Pat Savage, One Last Frontier: A Story of Indians, Early Settlers, and Old Ranchers of Northern Arizona (New York: Exposition Press, 1964), 97. \\
\textsuperscript{36} Arizona Miner, June 20, 1864; October 5, 1864; Wagoner, Arizona Territory, 49. \\
\textsuperscript{37} Savage, 45-46. \\
\textsuperscript{38} Wagoner, Arizona Territory, 21; Stevens, 131. \\
\textsuperscript{39} Arizona Miner, March 9, 1867. \\
\end{flushright}
military leaders in Washington, the number of soldiers at the Fort varied widely through the decade. In April of 1864, 124 soldiers were stationed at Fort Whipple. By October, however, only one company remained, Company “F” of the 5th U. S. Infantry, under Captain Allen L. Anderson.\footnote{Yoder, 45. The number of men in each company varied. For example, Fort El Dorado, in the northwestern corner of the territory, housed two companies of Infantry. Company D, 9th Infantry included 108 men, and Company K, 14th Infantry had only 28 men; see Dennis G. Casebier, \textit{Camp El Dorado, Arizona Territory: Soldiers, Steamboats, and Miners on the Upper Colorado River} (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970), 75-79.} Through the decade, Fort Whipple was usually home to only one or two companies.\footnote{Brandes, 75-79. The fort was abandoned in 1892 (Wagoner, \textit{Early Arizona}, 154).}

In spite of the Indian threat and the frontier hardships, Prescott grew and prospered. By February 1867, one citizen estimated the combined population of Prescott and Fort Whipple to be, at any time, between 500 and 1,000 people, with over twenty families.\footnote{Arizona Miner, February 23, 1867. It is very likely that the citizen exaggerated and that the population was much closer to 500.} That spring, the town included one brick building, which housed the office of the \textit{Arizona Miner} newspaper, some eight or nine stores, two traders, “three or four” saloons, a hotel, and one restaurant. A log building served as both Legislative Hall and Court House.\footnote{Arizona Miner, March 9, 1867.} Meanwhile, settlers established fraternal lodges, listened to the brass band, celebrated holidays and store openings, began schools, and danced at their neighbors’ homes.
Brass Bands, Music, and Theater at Fort Whipple

The social and musical activity present at a Western fort—whether individual musicians, bands, or social dances—varied by location.\textsuperscript{44} Since Fort Whipple was adjacent to the territorial capital, many of the military social events, such as dances, took place in Prescott. Likewise, although the Fort was not home to a brass band until 1869, Prescott had a brass band for much of the decade. Music at the fort was typically limited to the bugle calls and drum beats that were a part of military drills.\textsuperscript{45} Though no specific record remains of the military music during drills at the fort during the 1860s, the newspaper did record the names of two military drummers from the 14th Company G Regulars, Daniel Taylor and Mr. Ross, who played in the town’s Fourth of July celebration in 1866, as discussed below.\textsuperscript{46}

Although the fort did not have a brass band, L. B. Jewell organized a Prescott town band in early 1865.\textsuperscript{47} Town bands were common in territorial

\textsuperscript{44} See, for example, Alice Blackwood Baldwin’s experience living at different forts across the West. Robert C. Carriker and Eleanor R. Carriker, eds., \textit{An Army Wife on the Frontier: The Memoirs of Alice Blackwood Baldwin, 1867-1877} (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, 1975).

\textsuperscript{45} There is evidence of drills at the Fort; see, for example, \textit{Arizona Miner}, July 6, 1864. However, there is no specific evidence as to which instruments supplied music for those drills.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Arizona Miner}, July 11, 1866. This same issue of the \textit{Miner} also mentioned Taylor’s ability as a minstrel show performer; see below, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Arizona Miner}, February 15, 1865.
Arizona, as in the rest of the country. The experiences of the bands in both Prescott and Flagstaff, as discussed below, have some similarities. First, a band required a leader who could organize and instruct members in playing. Second, a band required performance opportunities and primarily served to entertain the community. As we will see, the establishment of a town band did not ensure permanency, and although appreciation for a band tended to remain, circumstances affected the survival and success of early frontier bands.

The band leader Lucien Bonaparte Jewell was born in New York in 1833. Jewell moved west, first to Colorado and then to New Mexico. In Albuquerque in 1861, he enlisted in the army and was immediately promoted to Band Master of the Regiment in the 1st New Mexico Cavalry. He served one year in the army and was honorably discharged in 1862. By early 1864, he was living at Fort Whipple, where he worked as a watchmaker and jeweler and was involved in mining. He quickly became a musical leader in the new town and organized the music for the inaugural Fourth of July ceremonies in 1864.

By the next year, Jewell’s brass band was organized and performing. Initially, the band included six members from both the town and the Fort: Jewell

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48 Jewell Family Collection, Sharlot Hall archives, Prescott, AZ.

49 For example, L. B. Jewell located a lode in the Walker Mining District in January 1865. Jewell Family Collection, Sharlot Hall archives.

50 Arizona Miner, July 6, 1864.
on cornet, F. G. Christie on flute, and Messrs. Elliot, Barr, Brichta, and Shanks.\textsuperscript{51}

Like Jewell, Follett Gray Christie was born in New York. Christie came to the
Prescott area early in 1863 with the Walker Party. Originally interested in mining,
he served as court clerk and the first county recorder for the town in the early
1860s.\textsuperscript{52}

Over the next couple of years, Prescott’s brass band performed concerts,
hosted balls, and appeared at town events. In February of 1865, the small brass
band received its first mention in the \textit{Miner}, after serenading the departing
Colonel Anderson.\textsuperscript{53} A year later, the band included eight members: Jewell and
Christie, who remained from the year before, joined by Messrs. Dunn, Corlies on
cornet, Mahon, Ellis on flute, Cook, and Bowers.\textsuperscript{54} The band ordered new
instruments, paid for by a benefit concert given in January 1866. Later that spring,
Messrs. Jewell, Christie, Bowers, and Corlies hosted a ball at Mr. Wethermier’s
new building.\textsuperscript{55} The band also played for Prescott’s Fourth of July celebration,
both for the morning festivities and for the ball that night, which was hosted by

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Arizona Miner}, February 15, 1865; \textit{Arizona Miner}, January 24, 1866. Barr
was a Lieutenant (\textit{Arizona Miner}, October 5, 1864). The Elliot here may or may
not be the same Richard Elliot, the singer, see pages 90-91.

\textsuperscript{52} Christie papers, Sharlot Hall archives.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Arizona Miner}, February 15, 1865.

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Arizona Miner}, January 24, 1866.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Arizona Miner}, March 28, 1866.
the Arizona Pioneer Society, of which Christie was one of the committee members. The newspaper reported: “The Prescott Brass Band did well on the 4th by playing at day-break, at the oration, and in the evening was much liked by the people. Some members of the band being absent, their places were filled by Dan. Taylor and [Mr.] Ross, of the 14th Co. G regulars, with their drums.”

By the next year, however, the band had dissipated. L. B. Jewell moved to Los Angeles, where he soon joined and then instructed a brass band. Meanwhile, Christie in 1868 also moved away from Prescott. He worked as the Chief Clerk in the quartermaster’s department at Fort Union in New Mexico.

Members of the Prescott band stayed in touch. In April 1869, Mr. Bowers, who had remained in Prescott, received a letter from Jewell stating that he was planning to move back to Prescott from San Bernardino, California. The letter included news that Jewell was bringing with him his new wife, tools for making jewelry, and a full set of instruments. Bowers showed the letter to the Miner editor John Marion. Obviously excited at the prospect of Jewell's return, John

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56 *Arizona Miner*, July 11, 1866. See the section on the Fourth of July for more details.

57 *Arizona Miner*, June 13 and June 27, 1866.

58 *Arizona Miner*, July 11, 1866.

59 *Arizona Miner*, August 17, 1867.

60 *Arizona Miner*, October 2, 1869; Jewell Family Collection, Sharlot Hall archives.

61 *Arizona Miner*, April 10, 1869.
Marion announced the news in the *Miner*: “The chances are, that ere long Prescott will have a No. 1 brass band.”

Even before Jewell's return to Arizona, John Marion began to organize the town for Jewell's return and the imminent reorganization of Prescott’s brass band. In June, he wrote:

L. B. Jewell, the leader and father of the old Prescott brass band, is expected here soon from California, and, as soon as he arrives, another band will be organized; therefore, it becomes necessary to collect the old instruments, and we have been requested to ask the person in whose possession the “valve trombone,” formerly played by D. Ellis, is to leave it at the MINER office, or at the Adobe store.  

A month later, when Jewell arrived in town, Marion wrote:

Now that our star musician, L. B. Jewell, has returned to this, his old home, we judge from indications, that not many weeks will elapse before a brass band will be organized and “in full blast.” Indeed, we are informed that a full set of instruments will arrive here in a few days unless the Apaches should take it into their heads to “delay them on the road.” We also learn that the sum of $225 has been subscribed by the citizens of Prescott, to pay for said instruments, and, should it be found necessary, double that amount can be raised. There are, among our citizens, many gentlemen, who, with very little practice and some instruction, will, in a short time, be able to produce harmonious sounds. . . .

Around the same time that Jewell arrived back in Prescott, the military company currently at Fort Whipple decided to organize their own brass band. Marion wrote in the *Miner*, “Not to be behind the times and the town, men of Company L. Eighth Cavalry, of Fort Whipple, have organized a band of nine,

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62 *Arizona Miner*, June 12, 1869.

63 *Arizona Miner*, July 24, 1869.
raised sufficient funds to purchase instruments and delegated Mr. Jewell to send on and procure them.”

However quickly the Fort Whipple brass band came together, the organization of the Prescott town band took much longer than “not many weeks.” By November 1869, sixteen men had joined the band—including F. G. Christie, who had moved back to Prescott from New Mexico that July—and the band was practicing. However, in March 1870, the brass band was not yet proficient enough to perform publicly. Marion optimistically wrote in the paper: “The Prescott Brass Band is an institution that will soon be able to discourse the sweetness of music. We have frequently, of late, heard their tooting at long range and have thought it delicious.” The next month, the town band finally gave their debut in a joint concert with the military brass band. The April concert, directed by Jewell, was also a farewell concert for the Fort Whipple band, which was soon to relocate to New Mexico with the cavalry. Along with the two bands, musicians from the town also participated: Messrs. Elliott and Shanks, who both had played in the initial town band of 1865, along with Messrs. Pace, Otto,

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64 *Arizona Miner*, July 24, 1869.

65 *Arizona Miner*, November 20, 1869. Jewell was obviously one of the sixteen, and it is safe to assume that the sixteen also included Christie and Bowers.

66 *Arizona Miner*, March 19, 1870.
Richmond, Lindsey, and Lahey. The *Arizona Miner* reviewed the concert, writing that it was “an entire success, musically and financially.”\(^67\)

The town band, though slow to reorganize, once again became a staple for Prescott entertainment, performing throughout the year for the Fourth of July celebrations, lectures, balls, and political gatherings.\(^68\) Jewell worked in Prescott as a watchman and jeweler and served as the first Mayor in 1873 before he returned to California in 1876.\(^69\) Christie remained in Prescott and continued to serve as a clerk and recorder for the county.\(^70\)

Cotillion Parties at the Fort

Dances were an important part of social life in western forts. In a typical Western fort, social dances were a cherished opportunity to forget the dangers and hardships of military life.\(^71\) Since Fort Whipple was so close to the town of Prescott, dances at the fort also served as social engagements for the town, and while soldiers attended dances in the town, the townspeople attended dances at

\(^67\) *Arizona Miner*, April 9, 1870. As we will see, Jewell, Christie, Pace, and Shanks all frequently provided music for dances and parties in the 1860s.

\(^68\) *Arizona Miner*, July 9, 1870; November 5, 1870; December 10, 1870.

\(^69\) *Arizona Miner*, July 31, 1869; June 30, 1876; May 25, 1877; Sharlot Hall archives, Jewell family folder.

\(^70\) Sharlot Hall archives, Christie family folder.

\(^71\) For more on the importance of dances in frontier military posts, see Oliver Knight, *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 132-133.
the Fort.\textsuperscript{72} One of the largest dances at Fort Whipple was a cotillion party held January 20, 1869.\textsuperscript{73} John Marion was invited to the dance. As a representative of the newspaper, he printed an enthusiastic review in the following issue of the \textit{Miner}:

\begin{quote}
. . . [T]he happiness felt by us on that occasion was but as a pain, pang in comparison to that which filled our soul Wednesday evening last, at Fort Whipple, while watching lovely women and brave men moving gracefully in the stately quadrille, or whirling dexterously in the ‘giddy mazes’ of Mazourkes, Schottisches, Waltzes, Polkas, etc., in a hall carpeted with the whitest of canvas, brilliantly illuminated, and superbly decorated with evergreens, flags, clusters of sabres and bayonets, stacks of bright shining muskets and pictures of great warriors. It was hard to decide which was the most beautiful—the dresses of the ladies, or the decorations on the walls of the hall. Both were dazzingly beautiful. The gentlemen, too, appeared to great advantage in their fashionable, 19\textsuperscript{th} century costumes, and smiled sweetly on the ladies. The music was delicious, and the supper, that necessary adjunct to all parties, was really excellent. In fact, everything connected with the ball was gay, sumptuous, and creditable to those who gave it, and we hope to see many more such pleasant military and civil re-unions. . . .\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

The popular dances in Prescott, the quadrille, mazurka, schottische, waltz, and polka, were all popular elsewhere in the country. The waltz was the oldest of the four to be danced in America, reaching the height of popularity earlier in the first half of the century.\textsuperscript{75} The waltz was gradually being replaced by the polka, a

\textsuperscript{72} See, for example, \textit{Arizona Miner}, February 15, 1865.

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Arizona Miner}, January 16, 1869. At this time, “cotillion party” was synonymous with “grand ball”; see \textit{Arizona Miner}, March 23, 1867.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Arizona Miner}, January 23, 1869.

\textsuperscript{75} Nicholls, 144-145.
lively two-step dance that had arrived in the States in the 1840s. The schottische
was similar to the polka, also in two-step, but slower. The quadrille, or the
country waltz, was the most popular of the dances in Prescott. It differed from
the earlier waltz in that couples interacted with one another in sets of four, six, or
eight couples. The quadrille consisted of five sections usually in 2/4 meter.
Similar to the later square dance, the quadrille included dance calls. One settler,
Bert Lee, later recalled one of the calls:

Honors on the right and honors on the left,
Swing your partner and promenade the set.
First couple out to the couple on the right,
And right and left through and circle four,
One time around.
Right and left through and on to the next. (repeat)

Bert Lee’s favorite quadrille tunes included “Hasten to the Wedding,” “Hell on the
Wabash,” and “Maids of Monterey.” Waltzes included “Evalina,” “When the
Leaves Begin to Fall,” and “Shamus O’Brien.” If one adds “Home, Sweet Home”
to the list of songs enjoyed in territorial Arizona (see page 44 and appendix A for
a copy of the score), one can conclude that all of these tunes must have been
simple diatonic melodies, easily playable on organ, fiddle, banjo, or any other
available instrument.

76 The quadrille was mentioned in both the newspaper and in later recollections
far more than any other type of dance. Additionally, buildings were sometimes
described by how many sets of quadrille dancers the space could accommodate.
See, for example, the discussion on the Elysians’ new building, below.

77 Savage, 126.
Theater Companies

Amateur theater companies also provided musical entertainment at Fort Whipple. Various troupes organized themselves and performed there, in the town of Prescott, and at Camp Lincoln, an outpost of Fort Whipple on the Rio Verde, northeast of Prescott. Each of the many theatrical companies would perform for a month or so both at the Fort and in the town, beginning in 1867 and continuing through the decade.

The theatrical performances, more than anything else, helped fill the time at the forts, providing both enterprise and entertainment. During the times that there were no Indian skirmishes, fort life was dull. One army wife wrote anonymously to the Army and Navy Register:

The monotony of the Army on the frontier, both for officers and men, is its crying evil. . . . The same monotonous drill, the same routine, without even a change of diet. With nothing to look forward to but the (doubtful) pleasure of the target season and a possible practice march, and for dissipation and excitement an occasional drunk, what wonder that young men grow restless and desert?  

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78 Theater was present throughout the nineteenth century as the frontier pushed forward. For an overview, see Mary C. Henderson's subsection, “Frontier Theatres and Stagecraft,” in Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby, eds., The Cambridge History of American Theatre: Volume One: Beginnings to 1870 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 399-413.

79 Lori A. Cox-Paul, A Frontier Army Christmas (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1996), 1. Since it was anonymous, it is impossible to know about which Fort she is specifically writing.
Many of the soldiers at Fort Whipple were originally from the East, where they had attended and, for some, participated in minstrel and theatrical performances.

*Arizona Miner* editor, John Marion, wrote of their enterprise in the paper:

> The soldiers at Camp Lincoln, Rio Verde, are engaged in building a theatre. The boys are nearly all Yorkers, and are heavy on the “boards.” They are bound to have some amusements to while away the tedious hours of the long winter nights, and we think they show good taste in their selection. It is much better than the sort of amusement indulged in by a great many of the Fort Whipple boys, by getting drunk, shooting one another, and making night hideous with their savage yells.  

A typical theatrical performance consisted of a melodrama, in either two or three acts, and a one-act farce. Songs or other single performances usually served as an intermission between the two plays. The theatrical works were popular plays from the time, usually originating in Ireland or England. Only a handful of plays were performed a number of times, and most new theatrical companies performed newly-rehearsed plays for their audiences.

Very similar to the brass bands, the successful organization of the various theatrical troupes and associations were dependent on a number of variables. A theater group needed participants, both actors and a leader to organize the soldiers. It also was necessary to receive the approval of a commanding officer and the free time for rehearsals and performances. Free time was most notably dependent on a

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80 *Arizona Miner*, November 23, 1867.

minimal threat of Indian attacks. If these variables were not in place or if the actors tired of rehearsal and performance, the dramatic organizations fell apart.

The first mention of theatrical companies occurs in a favorable review of the Prescott Brass Band on the Fourth of July, 1866, which introduced Dan Taylor of Company G, a military drummer who had previously been a minstrel performer elsewhere.82 “Dan is heavy in the bones and comic songs, and we hope he may during the session of our next Legislature organize a minstrel company.”83 Although he did, indeed, organize theatrical performances in the next year, his theater group was not the first to perform in Prescott.

McGinley's Minstrel Troupe

The first theatrical event in Prescott was a minstrel show organized by J. McGinley, billed as “McGinley's Concert, and Dramatic Troupe.” The troupe consisted of McGinley and his children, including his two daughters, Miss McGinley and Alice, and his son, Bobby.84 He had recently arrived in Prescott and had begun to build a new “Theatre Musical Hall” for the town. McGinley hoped to open the new theater with a ball on Washington's Birthday, February 23, 1867.

82 Arizona Daily Miner, October 18, 1866.

83 Arizona Miner, July 11, 1866.

84 Arizona Miner, January 26, 1867; February 23, 1867.
The troupe's first performance was a benefit for McGinley, given January 28, 1867, with the assistance of a handful of townsfolk, including Judge Berry, Josiah Smith, F. G. Christie, and “musicians.” Admission was $1.50 in currency.\(^{85}\)

The performance featured two works: *Handy Andy* and the pantomime *Rival Lover*.\(^{86}\) Between these two works, Miss McGinley danced a hornpipe, Bobby performed a clog dance, and both Josiah Smith and McGinley sang a comic song. About two weeks later, on February 9, the troupe began performing a second show, with a new program.

Initially, the minstrel troupe was less than successful. The newspaper waited a month to write a review, “out of consideration for their arriving in Prescott as they did, from a long and tedious journey,” to give the troupe time to improve through performance. The review praised McGinley's troupe for their enthusiasm and attempt:

> On Saturday evening last the performance was all that could be expected, considering the limited strength of the company. . . . The music was above mediocrity, and when the audience called for that poplar [sic] air, the “Arkansas Traveler,” the request was gracefully acceded to, and the musicians received a tribute of applause justly due to their skill. Master Bobby danced well and gracefully, and will in time, if he perseveres, rival

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\(^{85}\) Money at this time was in either gold or greenbacks, with greenbacks worth about half the price of gold; see Savage, 44-45.

\(^{86}\) The advertisement lists neither the author nor a cast of characters for these two works. While it is impossible to fully verify that it is the same, there was a very popular *Handy Andy* written by Samuel Lover. *Handy Andy* was Lover’s most popular work and featured the blundering fool Andy; see Bayle Bernard, *The Life of Samuel Lover* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1874), 206-207. See Appendix B for a copy of the program, as advertised in the newspaper.
some of the celebrities in the fantastic toe business. The young ladies of
the troupe deserve, if our space would admit, a more than ordinary
notice. . . . To sum up, the entire company manifest such an intense desire
to please that it places them above all criticism. We advise one and all to
visit them. The dancing and music, together with the broad jokes of the
discolored gentlemen, will serve to while an hour away. . . .

After performing in Prescott, the troupe began a short tour of Arizona, to
Wickenburg and La Paz, and to California. The troupe had planned to return to
Prescott with new theater members and to open the new theater house, already
delayed from its initial opening date on Washington’s birthday. However, it
seems that they did not return to Prescott.88

The theater hall, now under the planning direction of Mr. Littig, was
finally able to open with a cotillion party on April 4.89 The theater hall became
known as Montezuma Hall and was a popular location for town dances.

O’Neill Dramatic Association

Dan Taylor, meanwhile, had transferred with Company G, 14th Infantry to
join Company C at Camp Lincoln, an outpost camp of Fort Whipple.90 Both

87 Arizona Miner, February 23, 1867. The “discolored gentlemen” may have
been actors in blackface.

88 There was no announcement of their return, nor any mention of them in later
theatrical and minstrel performances.

89 Arizona Miner, March 23, 1867. Mr. Littig was also a member of the
Elysian dance club; see below.

90 Arizona Miner, November 9, 1867; December 21, 1867. Camp Lincoln later
became Fort Verde; see Brandes, 72.
Company G and Company C included soldiers originally from New York, and soon Dan Taylor helped to organize a Thespian Club at Camp Lincoln. The Club premiered November 4, 1867, with the drama *The Butcher of Ghent; or, the Vision of the Heath* and the farce *High Life Below Stairs*, with songs and dances performed between.  

The Thespian Club soon began building a theater hall at Camp Lincoln. By the next month, the Club, now about twenty-five members, was renamed the O’Neill Dramatic Association, and the soldiers were soon officially introduced in the *Miner* as “old New York actors.” J. B. O’Neill was the stage manager, and George Lorimer led the orchestra.

The Dramatic Association first performed in their new theater on Christmas night, 1867. The evening included a performance of the melodrama *Rory O'More; or, Ireland in ’98*, the one-act farce *The Happy Man*, and other singing and dancing entertainment. Marion included a review of the performance in the newspaper, though he had not attended:

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91 *Arizona Miner*, November 9, 1867. Again, neither author nor cast of characters was listed. There was a two-act farce written by David Garrick and attributed to the Reverend James Townley entitled *High Life Below Stairs*, which premiered in London in 1759. The farce featured servants who adapted the mannerisms and airs of their masters and mistresses. The full text is available online at [http://www.archive.org/details/highlifebelowsta00towniala](http://www.archive.org/details/highlifebelowsta00towniala).

92 *Arizona Miner*, November 23, 1867.

93 *Arizona Miner*, December 21, 1867; January 4, 1868.

94 *Arizona Miner*, January 4, 1868; January 11, 1868. Samuel Lover wrote a drama entitled *The Happy Man*, but this work is not the same as the farce in this
... From what we learn in regard to the entertainment, the actors performed their parts well, and, for the limited Camp Lincoln, we are informed that the scenery looked well and was quite appropriate. We hope the officers, if consistent with the rules of the service, will allow the company to visit Prescott and enliven the place with their interesting and amusing performances. We understand that Col. E. D. Baker, the fun-loving Chief Quartermaster of the District, will furnish the necessary transportation from the Verde.95

The O'Neill Dramatic Association did not appear in Prescott, however, but remained at Camp Lincoln. The Arizona Miner printed the program on January 11, 1868, advertising the performance a week later on the 18th.96 In addition to Rory O'More and The Happy Man, entertainments included a humorous lecture on Women's Rights and a banjo solo, both performed by Vance, and a second farce, Bombastes Furioso.97 Bombastes Furioso was a burlesque tragic opera in one act by William Barnes Rhodes, satirizing tragic Italian opera, complete with multiple songs per scene.98 There was no admission price listed in the advertisement, and there was no review.

95 Arizona Miner, January 4, 1867. We will meet the “fun-loving” Colonel Baker again, as they hosted a dance at their home in July 1868.

96 See Appendix B for a copy of the program, as advertised in the newspaper.

97 Arizona Miner, January 11, 1867.

98 A full text is available at http://www.archive.org/details/bombastesfurioso00rhod.
Camp Whipple Dramatic Association

Two months later, members of Company 1, 8th Cavalry at Fort Whipple began to organize their own dramatic troupe. The troupe was to be called the Devin Variety Troupe, in honor of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas C. Devin.\(^99\) There is no record of either practice or performance for this group. However, J. B. O’Neill and Charles Lamonte moved from Camp Lincoln to Fort Whipple, and in the summer of 1868, Fort Whipple became home to the Camp Whipple Dramatic Association. The Camp Whipple Dramatic Association included a scenic artist and sixteen actors, with both J. B. O’Neill and Charles Lamonte as stage managers.\(^100\) Lieutenants R. S. Oliver and A. B. Curtess provided musical entertainment as honorary members of the organization.\(^101\) The newspaper praised Oliver and Curtess, writing that the two “dispensed sweeter strains than were ever before heard in Prescott.”\(^102\)

\(^{99}\) *Arizona Miner*, March 4, 1868.

\(^{100}\) *Arizona Miner*, July 11, 1868; July 18, 1868. The other actors were G. G. Wortman, Thomas P. Higgins, Rudolph Holde, John H. Kansteiner, Charles Lamonte, A. N. Haight, John Billings, G. W. Miller, Daniel McKenley, Frank Shaw, Francis Mahl, Thomas King, George Shermann, John Hodnett, and Robert [obscured].

\(^{101}\) Lieutenant Oliver likely played the organ, since he also played that instrument for the 1868 Fourth of July ceremony. See below.

\(^{102}\) *Arizona Miner*, July 18, 1868.
The association premiered July 13, 1868, at the “Prescott Theatre,” the Elysian Hall that had been renamed for the event. The event was advertised in the *Miner* with both an article and a printed playbill. The article included the time and place of the premiere, but also noted that women and children would be welcome and comfortable at the theater:

. . . [T]he character of the company for ability is first rate, and we bespeak a good turn out for them. Messrs. O'Neill and Wortman, leading members of the company, wish us to state that no immoral or indecent word or act will be allowed on the boards of their theatre. Turn out everybody, and give them a hearty reception.

The premiere, on Monday night, July 13, 1868, included *The Lottery Ticket*, or *The Lawyer's Clerk*, the burlesque *Magic Table*, and the farce *Lend Me Five Shillings*. Admission was one dollar in currency. The printed program included the note that *The Lottery Ticket* and *Lend Me Five Shillings* were both “now being performed with great success in the principal theaters of the United States.” *The Lottery Ticket*, or *The Lawyer's Clerk* was a one-act farce by J. B. Buckstone about two young lovers who happily plan to wed in spite of a lost

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103 *Arizona Miner*, July 11, 1868. The Prescott Theatre at Elysian Hall was not the same as the Montezuma Hall. This hall was just recently built for the Elysian Dance Club. See below for more information on the Elysians. The “Camp” versus “Fort” distinction is curious. There is one secondary source that states that Whipple did not officially receive the title “Fort” until 1870; see Frazier, *Forts of the West*, 14-15. However, the Governor's proclamation of 1863 referred to Whipple as a “Fort”; see Wagoner, *Early Arizona*, 478.

104 *Arizona Miner*, July 11, 1868.

105 *Arizona Miner*, July 11, 1868. See Appendix B for a copy of the program, as advertised in the newspaper.
lottery ticket. *Lend Me Five Shillings*, a one-act farce by John Maddison Morton, depicted a Mr. Golightly who requests to borrow money from other attendees at a dance so that he can then lend the money to a woman with whom he is infatuated.  

The Monday night program was a great success and was repeated the next night. According to the review, the night was so successful that the company revived *Bombastes Furioso* from the Camp Lincoln performances, a piece not originally on the program. The paper wrote:

It is not often that the people of a frontier settlement are presented with such an opportunity of enjoying themselves as were the people of Prescott and vicinity on Monday and Tuesday nights last, when this dramatic company appeared in the Prescott Theatre, and treated our citizens to a mélange of very good acting, singing and dancing. Considering the means, material and appliances at the disposal of the managers, we must say that things were fixed up better than was to have been expected. The building was too small to accommodate all who presented themselves for admission, and nearly 100 people had to be turned away from the doors of the Theatre. The performance Monday night consisted of “The Lottery Ticket, or The Lawyer's Clerk,” Ethiopian Burlesque, dancing, singing, and the laughable after-piece, “Bombastes Furioso.” Mr. Lamonte's “Capens,” was capital; J. B. O'Neill's “Wormwood,” to borrow the language of an eminent concentrator, “covered all the ground.” Mr. Wortman, as Charles; Mr. McKenley, as Mrs. Corsett; Mr. Hodnett, as Susan, performed their parts well. Billings, as a singist, is without an equal in these parts, and Shaw is heavy on the dance. Hodnett's acting pleased our citizens very much. Of course O'Neill and Lamonte, who played the leading characters were looked upon as bright particular stars,

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106 The text of *Lend Me Five Shillings* is available at [http://www.archive.org/details/lendmefiveshilli00mortiala](http://www.archive.org/details/lendmefiveshilli00mortiala).

107 *Arizona Miner*, July 18, 1868. Pertaining to the estimation of nearly 100 attendees, the population of Prescott in February 1868, five months previous, was estimated to be between 500 and 1,000 persons (*Arizona Miner*, February 23, 1867). See footnote 42.
as they deserve to be. The performance was repeated Tuesday evening, to a full house. An entire change of programme is announced for next Monday night, with new scenery, etc., and a good time may be looked for.

Indeed, a week after the first performance, the Dramatic Association presented a new program on Monday night, July 20, at the cost of one dollar for admission. This performance included *Robert Macaire; or The Two Murderers*. *Robert Macaire* was a two-act drama, originally a French work, by Charles Selby, which starred a thief who reunited with his wife and son following Macaire’s murder of a kind gentleman. The theater bill also featured the burlesque *Black Statue; or, Clubs are Trumps*, and the “side-splitting” burlesque *Masquerade Ball*.

The performance was successful and ran for two nights, and again the *Miner* printed a review in the following issue. However, newspaper editor John Marion had only attended the closing scenes of *Robert Macaire*, and Marion wrote:

> As we did not stay long enough to see the performance through, we have taken pains to enquire of persons of taste in such matters who “set her through,” what they thought of it, and they have all expressed themselves well pleased with the performance on both nights, indeed we are told that several of our bucolic maids and matrons were affected to tears at the death scene in Robert Macaire, and, of course, that is glory enough for the parties of the first part.

The Camp Whipple Dramatic Association performed one more program, this time only for one night, August 1, 1868. This final performance was a benefit for Charles Lamonte, who had just completed his term of service in the army.

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108 *Arizona Miner*, July 18, 1868. See Appendix B for a copy of the program, as advertised in the newspaper.

109 *Arizona Miner*, July 25, 1868.
Marion encouraged attendance: “Mr. LaMonte is a gentleman and actor every way worthy of a rousing benefit. . . .” This performance included the two-act drama *Wreck Ashore; or the Pirate's Doom;* and the one-act farce *A Kiss in the Dark,* both by J. B. Buckstone. *Wreck Ashore* was a tale of pirates, vengeance, and tragic deaths, while in *A Kiss in the Dark,* Mrs. Pettibone and her husband’s friend teach Mr. Pettibone to lessen his jealousy with a trick using a suddenly darkened lamp and an alleged kiss marked by ink. This August 1st performance, however, was not a great success, and the review was mixed:

The performance at the place of amusement, Saturday evening last, was not so good as on previous occasions, owing to the fact that some of the old members of the company were not on hand to play their parts, and their places had to be filled with new hands at the bellows, who did not understand blowing said bellows. Nevertheless, we have seen a great deal worse performances in our day. . . . The house was not crowded. . . The company will not perform again until they can give better satisfaction to the public, which they expect to be able to do in about a month.

Indeed, in the next issue of the paper, August 15, it was noted that a new theatrical company was being formed at Fort Whipple, with many of the same members of the Camp Whipple Dramatic Association, including O'Neill and Lamonte.

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110 *Arizona Miner,* August 1, 1868. Here, and going forward, Lamonte's name is sometimes spelled “LaMonte.” I have retained the original spelling, except when quoting from the newspaper.

111 Full text of *A Kiss in the Dark* is available at [http://www.archive.org/details/kissindarkfarcei00buckuoft](http://www.archive.org/details/kissindarkfarcei00buckuoft). See Appendix B for a copy of the program.

112 *Arizona Miner,* August 8, 1868.
However, whether because of Indian trouble, lack of organization, or another issue, there was no further mention of this new company.¹¹³

Dan Roth’s Minstrel Performance

Later in 1868, Dan Roth organized a minstrel performance to be given at Elysian Hall on December 30, placing an advertisement, though no program, in the paper to announce the event.¹¹⁴ A couple of weeks later, under the name “Roth Troupe,” Dan Roth advertised a second performance to take place January 9, 1869, for his benefit, and featuring Robert Emmet and a one-act farce by John M. Morton entitled Slasher and Crasher.¹¹⁵ Morton’s play starred two young men, Mr. Slasher and Mr. Crasher, who, wishing to marry Rosa and Dinah, attempt to earn the approval of their intendeds’ guardian. Roth’s second performance seems to have been a quick addition, with little rehearsal time. The paper included this review a week after the performance:¹¹⁶

Saturday night last, we dropped by Elysian Hall and found it filled with people who appeared well pleased with the acting. As it was Dan Roth’s benefit night, we were glad to see so many people present. The actors were composed almost entirely of soldiers from Fort Whipple and, for the chance they had to post themselves in their parts, did very well. The piece played was Robert Emmet, and of course it was not to be presumed that full justice could be done such a weighty drama by men who had not

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¹¹³ *Arizona Miner*, August 8, 1868. The same issue records that Lieutenant Oliver left for California.

¹¹⁴ *Arizona Miner*, December 26, 1868.

¹¹⁵ *Arizona Miner*, January 9, 1869.

¹¹⁶ *Arizona Miner*, January 16, 1869.
sufficient time for rehearsal. The evening entertainment wound up with the side-splitting farce, *Slasher and Crasher*.

The review ended with an announcement of a new company, which was being organized by Mr. J. Billings. The new company included men from Company G Infantry and planned to utilize old scenery from the O’Neill Dramatic Association that had performed at Camp Lincoln.

Fort Whipple Dramatic Association

The new company organized by J. Billings was called the Fort Whipple Dramatic Association. In addition to Billings as stage manager, the company included J. Brennan, F. W. Bryant, J. Elton, J. LeRoy, E. Dooley, T. Hailey, J. Fish, and T. Fry. Their first performance was February 3, 1869, at the Prescott Theatre with one-dollar admission. The night featured a revival of *Robert Macaire*, and a double Irish Jig preformed by Brenann and Elton, followed by the one-act farce *The Double-Bedded Room* by John M. Morton. In *The Double-Bedded Room*, which the newspaper described as “rich, rare and spicy,” two hotel guests, a man and a widow, individually refuse to pay for an unnecessary second bed, and thus decide to share a room for the night. The paper advertised the upcoming performance:

> Those of our citizens who have a spare dollar, cannot spend it in a more satisfactory manner than by investing it in a theatre ticket for next performance, which we are assured, will be a good one. The company is

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[117] *Arizona Miner*, January 30, 1869. See Appendix B for a copy of the program, as advertised in the newspaper.
made up of the best actors belonging to the garrison, and are determined to do their utmost to please and entertain the ladies and gentlemen of Prescott by acting well their parts, preserving good order and eschewing vulgarity.

Newspaper editor John Marion wrote in the *Miner* that the show had a “respectable audience.” He added, “…at the request of several gentlemen of this place, the company propose[s] to give a star performance to consist of farces, burlesques, etc.”

The promised entertainment took place a week later, on February 10, again at the Prescott Theatre with an admission price of one dollar. The night was titled “Grand Burlesque Performance” and included the one-act farce *The Stage Struck Yankee*, a number of songs and dances, and the burlesque *The Black Brigade; or, Lago's Revenge*. In *The Stage Struck Yankee*, written in 1840 by Oliver Everett Durivage, Zachariah becomes enamored with the theater and decides to abandon his fiance and join a traveling theatrical troupe.

The *Arizona Miner* wrote:

The performance at the Prescott Theatre, Wednesday evening last, was better than its predecessors, and we congratulate the company upon the fact that they are improving. Mr. Billings, as “the Stage Struck Yankee,” struck the audience in a funny place, and tickled them mightily, Messrs. Bryant, Brennan and Fry were tolerably well up in their parts and played

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118 *Arizona Miner*, February 6, 1869.

119 See Appendix B for a copy of the program.


121 *Arizona Miner*, February 20, 1869.
them well. The house was pretty well filled with good paying subscribers; indeed, we believe we were the only ‘dead-head' in the audience.

Another performance by the Dramatic Association took place on February 27, during which, according to the Miner’s review, the audience was “kept in continual roar of laughter by the company.”\footnote{Arizona Miner, March 6, 1869.} The next week, on March 6, the company performed \textit{Robert Emmet, Stage Struck Yankee}, and a new work, the one-act farce \textit{Limerick Boy; or, Paddy’s Mischief}, by James Pilgrim, starring a mischievous laborer who routinely changes his name to acquire work.\footnote{Arizona Miner, March 6, 1869. See Appendix B for a copy of the program.} In the play, Paddy sings some of his lines, as well as a couple of songs in the style of an Irish air. Again, John Marion of the \textit{Miner} did not attend the performance, and the review that was printed in the following issue was very short: “A crowded house greeted the Fort Whipple boys last Saturday night. We learn that the audience were well pleased with the evening's entertainment.”\footnote{Arizona Miner, March 13, 1869.}

Camp Whipple Comique Variety Troupe

This company formed late in the summer of 1869. The Camp Whipple Comique Variety Troupe, managed under Harry DeWitt, was quite successful and performed for a relatively long “season.” This company included almost all new actors from Company F, 12th Infantry, including W. Snyder, T. Baffle, Tom
Lynch, Vandewater and J. Brennan, from the previous company.\textsuperscript{125} That winter, Marion praised the actors for their conduct:

> The members of this troupe deserve considerable praise for their acting and conduct. The troupe has made considerable money, every dollar of which has been expended for wardrobe, stage effects, and other necessary things. The manager, Corporal Harry DeWitt informs us that the members are all sober, intelligent soldiers, who take delight in acting well their parts and ministering to the enjoyment of soldiers and citizens. Not a dollar has been spent for whisky, and to this fact, we think, may be attributed the past success of the troupe and the fair prospect it has for continuing to achieve success and “sticking together.”\textsuperscript{126}

The company’s first performance was an evening of entertainments in August 1869.\textsuperscript{127} Members of the company serenaded Marion in return for free publicity for their next performance, to be held on September 2nd.\textsuperscript{128} The evening began with a variety of short sketches and concluded with a performance of \textit{The Masquerade Ball}.\textsuperscript{129} There was an orchestra for the evening, very likely incorporating members of the recently organized Fort Whipple brass band. The evening cost 50 cents for general admission and one dollar for reserved seats. The Troupe also performed on September 17th and on October 2nd.\textsuperscript{130} Marion reviewed both performances, writing of the latter:

\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 28, 1869; August 28, 1869.
\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Arizona Miner}, November 6, 1869.
\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 14, 1869.
\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 28, 1869.
\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 2, 1869.
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Arizona Miner}, September 25, 1869. See Appendix B for the October 2
Were it not for the fun and amusement served up hot to the people of Prescott and Fort Whipple by this, the best troupe of performers that has ever exhibited here, Time's flight would, we are certain, appear slow to many of them. Last week, upon learning that a performance would be given on the evening of the 2d instant, we made up our mind to go and see it, but, as luck would have it, we failed to come to time, did not go, and missed seeing what we have been informed was a first-rate “lay out” of enjoyment. Some 300 persons were present, many of whom were ladies, who, we are told, enjoyed the chaste fun. Good singing, dancing and music dispensed on the occasion.\footnote{Arizona Miner, October 9, 1869. There had been another, very short and nondescript, review in the Miner in the September 25, 1869 issue.}

The Troupe’s performance on October 28th was well-attended.\footnote{Arizona Miner, October 30, 1869.} The season ended with a series of benefits: one for Harry DeWitt and Miss Claire,\footnote{Arizona Miner, November 6, 1869.} one for J. Brennan and Tim Lynch, and a final benefit for the acrobat, Tom Hall, “the Boneless man.”\footnote{Arizona Miner, November 27, 1869.}

In the decade of the 1870s, theater continued at Fort Whipple. In January 1870, Mr. DeWitt organized another successful theatrical troupe, the Academy of Fun.\footnote{Arizona Miner, January 29, 1870; February 19, 1870.} Theater continued to thrive in Prescott and as well as at Fort Whipple, especially after the arrival of General August Kautz and his wife Fannie in program.
One army wife, Ellen McGowan Biddle, wrote of life at Fort Whipple in the 1870s:

It was a very gay post, with an entertainment of some kind almost every day and evening. . . . When the officers had their turn to remain in the garrison it was pretty lively with dinners, dances, and the rehearsals of plays, for we had a most excellent Dramatic Society, and presented some very good plays every winter.  

Music was important to Fort life not only for military drills, entertainment, and socializing, but was also a repose from a military life filled with loneliness and death. In her memoir, army wife Alice Baldwin expressed the sadness and isolation she felt while living at Fort Harker in Kansas, the same that must have stolen over the wives at Fort Whipple as well:

Twilight had come [to Fort Harker, Kansas] and the hour of “Retreat,” and never will I forget the scene, with the four musicians with fife and drum, or the effect that the strains of “Fra Diavolo,” played by Bruno, the fifer, had upon me, as its melancholy sweetness floated out, dying away over the dreary, snow-covered Plains.

It is small wonder that the ladies of Fort Whipple looked forward to the shows, dances, and plays put on at the fort and in the neighboring town.

The Arizona Miner printed a poem in each issue. The June 6, 1868, issue included “Music in Camp,” by the poet John R. Thompson. The poem tells the

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138 Carriker, 34.
story of a Civil War battlefield. A federal band began playing, drawing both blue and grey soldiers to opposite sides of a creek. The band played “Dixie,” followed by “Yankee Doodle,” to the men in blue and the men in grey cheered and danced in turn. Then the band played “Home, Sweet Home:”

   No unresponsive soul had heard/ That plaintive note's appealing,/
   So deeply “Home, Sweet Home,” had stirred/ The bidden founts of feeling. 
   Or blue or gray, the soldiers see,/ As by the wand of fairy,/ The cottage 'neath the live oak trees,/ The cabin by the prairie. 
   Or cold or warm,/his native skies/Bend in their beauty over him;/Seen through the tear mist in his eyes/His loved ones stand before him/
   As fades the iris after rain/In April's tearful weather,/The vision vanished as the strain/And daylight died together. 
   But memory, waked by music's art,/ Expressed in simplest numbers,/ Subdued the sterner Yankee heart,/ Made light the Rebel's slumbers. 
   And fair the form of music shines,/ That Bright celestial creature,/ Who still 'mid war's embattled lines/ Gave this one touch of Nature.139

The poem references the ubiquitous popularity and emotional power of the song “Home, Sweet Home.” This song was one of the most frequently encountered popular songs of the nineteenth century. It was written by Henry Bishop and originally published in a book of Sicilian Airs in 1832; lyrics written by John Howard Payne were later set to the melody.140 “Home, Sweet Home” even was sung in concerts by Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti.141 The song was also

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139 Arizona Miner, June 6, 1868.


played in Flagstaff, to mark the end of a ball, when all guests were to leave the host and hostess’ home and return to their own. It is interesting to note the contrast between the depiction in Prescott’s newspaper of the emotive power of home as a reprieve from military life and Flagstaff’s use of the song to mark the end of a night of dancing.
Military and Political Social Life

Prescott’s most important role in the early 1860s was as capital of the Arizona Territory. As part of that role, the town hosted musical and social events during Legislative Sessions. Additionally, political leaders and military officers from Fort Whipple hosted social events throughout the year.

Legislative Balls

Legislative sessions, held once a year for about a month, gave Prescott a chance to entertain leaders of the Territory, and when the capital moved to Tucson, Prescott lost a measure of culture. As Marion wrote in the *Miner*, “It is not often, in this comparatively unsettled Territory, that so many prominent distinguished and enlightened citizens from all sections of Arizona meet together…”¹⁴² The highlights of legislative entertainment were the grand balls, which typically opened and closed the sessions. Reflective of the earliest years in Prescott, the greatest challenge to each ball, and potentially its greatest success, was the number of women present. Although, as we will see, women were present in Prescott, the majority were prostitutes, banned from respectable social gatherings. The few number of women present at these balls is reflective of the few socially respectable women in town.¹⁴³

¹⁴² *Arizona Miner*, September 21, 1867.

¹⁴³ In contrast, twenty years later, in Flagstaff, the early balls and dances were attended by many women. See, for example, pages 100-101.
The First Legislative Session was celebrated with a closing soirée hosted by the members of the legislature on November 8, 1864, at Hardy's new store and billiards room. The *Arizona Miner* commented that, “Considering the scarcity of the fair sex in Prescott, the affair was quite a success. Nearly a dozen ladies were in attendance and the dancing was kept up until after midnight when there was an excellent supper at Mr. Osborne’s.”

By the Third Legislative Session, Prescott's population, especially that of its women, had grown and entertainments had developed into grand balls. The session was opened with a ball hosted by Justice Blair at his new building. The *Miner* noted, “A general invitation is extended to the public—the ladies especially.” The session closed with a dinner and ball held on October 26th. Dinner cost two dollars and was provided by Alexander’s restaurant. The large ball that followed took place at Montezuma Hall and was managed by J. W. Knott, William J. Osborne, and J. P. Hargrave. The *Miner* did its best to advertise the

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144 *Arizona Miner*, November 23, 1864.

145 The paper does not specify that William Osborne provided the supper, but he often helped to organize balls. For example, he was one of the managers of the ball at Montezuma Hall that celebrated the close of the Third Legislative Session, as mentioned below (*Arizona Miner*, October 23, 1866).

146 The daily newspaper printed during this session is another indication of the growth of Prescott and the development of the territory.

147 *Arizona Miner*, October 12, 1866.

148 *Arizona Miner*, October 23, 1866; *Daily Arizona Miner*, October 24, 25, and 26, 1866.
event, printing articles in advance, three days in a row, and noting: “The ball on Friday evening, at the Montezuma Saloon, is intended as a compliment to the members of the Legislature, and it is hoped that all our people, especially the ladies, will do their utmost to make it a complete success.” \(^{149}\) Since the Montezuma Hall was crowded, the ball was considered a success. \(^{150}\)

The Fourth Legislative Session in 1867 was the last held in Prescott before Tucson became the new Territorial Capital and, fittingly enough, the last session included the most social activities. The Fourth Session opened with a cotillion party hosted by Mr. Cooler at the Montezuma Hall on September 10. \(^{151}\) Tickets cost three dollars. However, the paper wrote: “The Cotillion party was a nice affair, although the turn out of our ladies was not as large as we expected.” \(^{152}\) Mr. Cooler decided to try again a week later, with a larger advertisement in the newspaper:

Mr. Geo. Cooler informs us that he will, on next Tuesday evening, give a cotillion party at Montezuma Hall. The best musical talent in the Territory will be on hand, and the proprietor will do all in his power to make the affair as pleasant as possible.... The price of admission, for a good man and lady, is only five dollars, legal tenders. \(^{153}\)

\(^{149}\) *Daily Arizona Miner*, October 27, 1866. Here, the hall is referred to as a saloon. In other articles, it is referred to as a hall.

\(^{150}\) *Arizona Miner*, October 27, 1866.

\(^{151}\) *Daily Arizona Miner*, September 7 and 10, 1867.

\(^{152}\) *Daily Arizona Miner*, September 11, 1867.

\(^{153}\) *Daily Arizona Miner*, September 14, 1867.
There was a reminder note for the party on September 17th, the day of the event. The event was not reviewed in the newspaper. Considering the admission price of five dollars, almost twice as much as Cooler’s ball the week before, it is possible few tickets were sold and the cotillion party did not take place.

As before, the Fourth Legislative Session of 1867 closed with a large, formal ball. This time, however, women were invited by private invitation. The event was announced in the paper by both an advertisement and an article:

> We call the attention of our citizens to the announcement, in another column, of a grand ball and supper which will be given in honor of the gentlemen of the Fourth Legislature, on Wednesday evening next, and hope our citizens will bestir themselves in the matter and endeavor to make the affair an event in the history of Prescott, pleasing alike to residents and strangers…. The managers request us to state that all ladies who are expected to attend will receive invitations. 

On the day of the event, a reminder was printed. Marion wrote:

> . . . [I]t will eclipse any thing of the kind ever before given in the capital. The ladies, we understand, are taking great interest in having the affair prove a success, and, of course, when they undertake to accomplish an object, they are pretty certain to do it…. The best musical talent in the country will be on hand and the strictest order and decorum will be maintained.

The event was very successful. A review was printed in the paper, but the number of women in attendance seemed to overshadow any other news of the event:

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154 Arizona Miner, September 21, 1867. This is a larger excerpt of the quote that began this section, above.

155 Daily Arizona Miner, September 25, 1867.
The ball, which took place last Wednesday evening, went off with great 
*eclat*, and far eclipsed anything of the kind ever before attempted in 
Prescott, and we believe, in the Territory. There were some thirty-four 
ladies in attendance, and upwards of a hundred gentlemen. Both ladies 
and gentlemen were dressed in neat and tasty attire. All seemed to enjoy 
themselves. The music was excellent, the dancing passable, and, we are 
told, the supper *bully*. Not being a third-rate Jenkins, we will simply state 
that all the ladies looked good enough to eat, and we imagine, from the 
manner in which some of the love-stricken he-cannibals gazed upon their 
dulciness, that some of the fair sex would be devoured by the 
aforementioned basilisks. But we were mistaken; it was only the 
promptings of Señor Cupid that caused them to look so savagely 
enamored. The party broke up about one o'clock at night, pleased with 
themselves, the occasion, and the members of the Fourth Legislature, for 
whom the ball was gotten up. We noticed the absence of several ladies, 
some of whom, we are informed, were unwell.\(^\text{156}\)

The next year, in 1868, the Territorial Capital moved to Tucson, and Tucson 
welcomed its opportunity to host leaders of the Arizona Territory.

Political and Military Social Parties

Prescott was home to two governors before the Territorial Capital moved 
to Tucson. While neither John Goodwin (1864 and 1865), nor Richard 
McCormick (1866 through 1868), hosted social events in Prescott, Richard 
McCormick's wife, Margaret Hunt, was remembered for her social graces.\(^\text{157}\) She 
died in Arizona while giving birth in 1867, during the time her husband served in 
office. The *Miner* printed a lengthy obituary praising her education,

\(^\text{156}\) *Daily Arizona Miner*, September 27, 1867.

\(^\text{157}\) Wagoner, *Arizona Territory*, 495-6. John Goodwin, from Maine, was in the 
territory for less than a year and a half. By March 1865, he was a delegate in 
Washington, D.C.; see Wagoner, *Arizona Territory*, 32, 61. I can find no evidence 
that Goodwin brought a wife with him to Arizona.
accomplishments, and hospitality at the dinners she hosted during the previous
Legislative Session.\textsuperscript{158}

Social events were hosted by other leaders of Prescott and by officers from
Fort Whipple. For example, Colonel E. D. Baker and his wife hosted a social
party in July 1868, at which Messrs. Shanks and Kurz provided the music.\textsuperscript{159}
Colonel Baker also entertained his guests by playing his melodeon.\textsuperscript{160} The
newspaper reported on the affair:

Mrs. Bowers and Mrs. Mehuen warbled like black birds, and after them, 
Col. Baker led off in a miscellaneous song, in which nearly everybody
present joined. . . . The \textit{finale} of the affair consisted of a quadrille dance by
eight ladies and eight gentlemen, but three or four of whom had ever before
attempted to trip to toe fantastic. Their graceful (?) movements were
applauded with laughter by the company, and when the novitiates ceased
making giddy evolution, some of them, no doubt, were satisfied that there
were several things they could do better than dance. The party broke up
about two o'clock. . . . \textsuperscript{161}

The couple hosted another dance a year later, in honor of their fourth wedding
anniversary, at which individuals from both the town and the Fort attended.\textsuperscript{162}
Another officer at Fort Whipple, General Osborn, also hosted a dance in nearby

\textsuperscript{158} \textit{Arizona Miner}, May 4, 1867; Wagoner, \textit{Arizona Territory}, 64.

\textsuperscript{159} Mr. Shanks, who had played in the initial brass band, provided music for a
number of dances and parties in Prescott in the 1860s. This is the only mention of
Mr. Kurz.

\textsuperscript{160} The Colonel lent out his melodeon for a church service in September, 1867.
See page 64.

\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 1, 1868.

\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Arizona Miner}, March 20, 1869.
Willow Valley on February 5, 1869. The *Miner* wrote about the event, “The house was crowded with people from all the settlements; the music was good; the supper was excellent, and judging from the manner in which some of our Prescott gents explored the country around Granite mountain and Thumb Butte, to find home, the whisky must have been plenty and strong.”

The leading social circle of Prescott was its political men and their wives. Like Margaret Hunt, individuals such as Secretary Carter's wife and Judge Brooks were praised in the newspaper for their social graces, generosity, and excellence. The political couple most involved in Prescott society was the Turners. Originally from Iowa, William F. Turner was the first Chief Justice of the territory, a position he held through 1868. As discussed below, Mrs. Turner helped to establish Mrs. Stephens' school, and the couple began a Sunday school for the town. The couple also hosted numerous dinners and dances. *Miner* editor John Marion wrote about one of their events, “Mr. and Mrs. Turner vied with each other in trying to please and make happy the goodly number of friends assembled under their hospitable roof. Wit flowed freely, and conviviality

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163 *Arizona Miner*, February 13, 1869.

164 *Arizona Miner*, November 10, 1866; February 29, 1868.

165 Wagoner, *Arizona Territory*, 31, 495-496. William Turner and his wife will be mentioned again, both in discussions of the Sunday school and holiday activities.

166 *Arizona Miner*, January 25, 1868; October 16, 1869.
reigned supreme. . . .”\textsuperscript{167} The couple left Prescott in the winter of 1870. The loss was felt by the town, as evidenced by Marion's article in the newspaper that asked, “Are We to Have a Christmas Tree? Now that Mrs. Turner has left Prescott, it is feared that no lady or ladies will take the trouble to get up a Christmas tree. . . .”\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{167} \textit{Arizona Miner}, January 25, 1868.

\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Arizona Miner}, December 3, 1870.
Social Clubs and Institutions in Prescott

As Prescott grew, so did the number of its social institutions. By 1868, the paper was able to boast:

Societies in Prescott—A lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, numbering about sixty members, is among the oldest institutions in Prescott, and we are pleased to know that the lodge is in a flourishing condition. Recently, an Odd Fellow lodge was instituted here, and our citizens are joining themselves to the order as fast as the old members can initiate them. We have, also, a Sunday school, taught by Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Bashford and several others, and we venture to assert that a more intelligent, mannerly, studious lot of children than the scholars who attend this school, can nowhere be found. Our citizens attend church every Sunday, and although not puritanical, live according to the precepts of the Bible, and mind their own business. In addition to these institutions we have a dancing society, known as the Elysian Club, a theatrical society, several debating societies, and various other institutions. Pretty good for a “played out mining town” in the mountains.\textsuperscript{169}

Music was the backbone of social life in the town. The fraternal lodges hosted balls, and music was sung at the schools and churches. Though kept decorously out of the paper, saloons and prostitution houses were also filled with music and dancing. As the town established itself and grew, some institutions, such as the lodges, flourished quickly, while others, such as the church and school, struggled to begin.

\textsuperscript{169} Arizona Miner, September 5, 1868. In addition to this list, 1860s Prescott also had a Historical Society and a short-lived Oriental Order of Humility. Prescott also enjoyed various lecture series. However, none of these organizations included musical activity.
The Lodges

One of the earliest social organizations in Prescott was the Mason’s Aztlan Lodge. In late September 1864, a funeral was held for one Mason, a miner who had died of typhoid fever. Numerous Masons attended the funeral, including many leaders of both the territory and the Prescott community. Among them were Governor Goodwin, Captain Anderson, Lieutenant Barr (previously mentioned as a member of the brass band) and Lieutenant Curtis, who was Prescott’s leading lawyer, and two judges. The newspaper commented, “We were surprised to see so many Masons in this new country.” After discovery of the number of Masons in Prescott, a lodge was organized soon after the funeral. The Odd Fellow Lodge was founded a number of years later, in July 1868.

Since no record remains of lodge meetings and activities, what music may have taken place has been forgotten. However, both Prescott lodges hosted holiday balls later in the decade, including a St. John’s Day Ball on December 27, 1869, at which Messrs. Jewell, Christie, Pace, and Shanks provided the music.

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170 Arizona Miner, October 5, 1864.

171 Arizona Miner, July 18, 1869. Mr. E. Darling, of the Elysian dancing club, was one of the initial officers.

172 This circumstance is not surprising, considering the lodges were secret.

173 Arizona Miner, January 1, 1870. Compare the few balls hosted by the Masons in Prescott to the numerous balls hosted by the lodges of Flagstaff twenty years later. See below, page 128.
L. B. Jewell, Pace, Shanks, and Hutchinson also played for the Odd Fellows’ ball on April 26, 1870, in celebration of the national anniversary of the Lodge.\textsuperscript{174}

Churches and Schools

The majority of the first settlers in Prescott were soldiers and miners, and as reflected by the small number of women present at Legislative balls, women and children were scarce. Partly as a result of this disproportion between men and families, the bars flourished, and the Masons organized quickly. However, schools and churches, organizations predominantly of interest to women and families, suffered from a lack of funds and struggled to thrive. At the close of the 1860s, Marion chastised the citizens of Prescott, writing, “Whatever some may think, or say, to the contrary, it is nevertheless true that the standard of civilization, and intelligence, of a community may be measured by their schools, churches, etc.”\textsuperscript{175} When school was offered, singing was typically part of the curriculum. Likewise, singing was present at the Sunday school meetings and, when it occurred, singing would have also been a part of a church service.\textsuperscript{176}

\textsuperscript{174} Arizona Miner, April 30, 1870.

\textsuperscript{175} Arizona Miner, August 20, 1870.

\textsuperscript{176} For a general discussion of singing in earlier nineteenth-century churches, see Tawa, 219-230. Tawa’s book discusses the question whether singing should be included in a church service. Singing was welcome in the churches of both Prescott and Flagstaff.
Between Prescott's founding and the establishment of a public school committee in early 1869, there were no less than five attempts at organizing a school in Prescott.\textsuperscript{177} At the same time, the number of students interested in school remained the same; when reported, the number of students in each school was between twenty and twenty-five.\textsuperscript{178} The first short-lived school, taught by Mr. R. F. Platt, commenced toward the end of 1864.\textsuperscript{179} That same winter, Mrs. Fanny Cave Stephens began a school, with the help of Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Leib.\textsuperscript{180} A year and a half later, Mr. Edwin Darling from the California Volunteers, whom John Marion praised as an “accomplished teacher,” began a new school in July 1866.\textsuperscript{181} In February 1867, a new school was organized by Miss Blake and was scheduled to open on the 15th of the month, at a tuition cost of two dollars per student per month.\textsuperscript{182} In July 1867, Mr. James E. McCaffery began a school,\textsuperscript{183}

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\textsuperscript{177} For more on the development of schools in Arizona Territory, see Wagoner, \textit{Arizona Territory}, 50-51.

\textsuperscript{178} \textit{Arizona Miner}, December 14, 1864; July 11, 1866; February 9, 1867.

\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Arizona Miner}, December 14, 1864.


\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Arizona Miner}, July 11, 1866; Ruffner, 6, 8. Mr. Darling was also a member of the Elysian Dance Club, below.

\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Arizona Miner}, February 9, 1867.

\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Arizona Miner}, November 9, 1867; Ruffner, 8.
which closed in April 1868. In August 1868, the paper announced that Mr. William Osborne was about to start a new school. By the close of 1868, Prescott, yet again, had no school.

Of these many schools, at least one included musical activity. Mrs. Stephens, the daughter of an Oxford professor, came to Prescott in the spring of 1864. She was one of the earliest musicians in the town, being a proficient singer and organist. She brought her organ with her to the frontier. Her organ was the first in Prescott, and she played it for the first wedding in Prescott. The wedding took place November 17, 1864, in the Governor’s mansion, where John Dixon married Mary Ehle. In her school, Mrs. Stephens taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing.

Through the fall and winter of 1868, Marion wrote in the newspaper on the need for a permanent public school and schoolhouse. In early January 1869,

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184 *Arizona Miner*, June 28, 1868.

185 *Arizona Miner*, August 22, 1868. The same Mr. Osborne who organized numerous balls. See footnote 145.

186 *Arizona Miner*, December 12, 1868.

187 Many settlers in territorial Arizona fondly remembered music and singing lessons in school; see, for example, Apache County Centennial Committee, *Lest Ye Forget* (Eager, AZ?: Apache County Centennial Committee, 1980), 52, 58.

188 Ruffner, 6, 8.

189 Ibid., 6; Savage, 43. John had been part of the Walker Party, and Mary had arrived in Prescott and met him only six weeks prior to the wedding.

190 *Arizona Miner*, October 17, 1868.
a public school committee was appointed “to elect Trustees, to receive subscriptions, collect and disburse moneys and otherwise control and superintend a school now about to be organized.” Judge Berry served as Chairman.

With the benefit of public funds, a new school was quickly organized. Later that same month, in January 1869, Mrs. Ruble opened the new public school. By the middle of the month, the paper announced, “Mrs. Ruble's school is now under full headway. Upwards of twenty scholars are in attendance. Parents and children are, so far as we can learn, well pleased with Mrs. R., as a teacher.” But by April, the school was closed for lack of funds. Marion entreated the town:

We earnestly entreat our citizens, especially those who have children, for whose rearing and education they are responsible, to set to work, and keep at work until sufficient means are raised to run a school for three months, six months, or a year. It is a disgrace to the town that a school is not kept up for at least six months of the year; and, in our opinion, parents cannot commit a greater crime than to raise up children in ignorance. There is scarcely a man in the community,—miner, farmer, merchant, laborer, or tradesman—who would not donate a small sum monthly or quarterly, to sustain so worthy an institution as a school. Go to work, parents, and our word for it, the task of raising funds to pay a teacher will be an easy one.

191 Arizona Miner, January 9, 1869.
192 Arizona Miner, January 9, 1869.
193 Arizona Miner, January 16, 1869.
194 Arizona Miner, April 10, 1869.
195 Arizona Miner, July 10, 1869.
That fall, two new schools opened,\textsuperscript{196} one taught by Mr. Criss and one by Mr. Samuel C. Rogers, nicknamed “Charming Dale” by his students.\textsuperscript{197} While Mr. Criss taught the basic subjects such as reading and arithmetic to his twenty-two students, \textsuperscript{198} Mr. Rogers distinguished himself by adding poetry, literature, and a general appreciation for “the beauty of the universe” to his curriculum.\textsuperscript{199} Mr. Rogers also helped erect a schoolhouse for his students. Singing was taught in both schools and was included in their term-end exhibitions. After attending the exhibition by the students of Mr. Criss’ school, John Marion wrote in the \textit{Miner}, “The exercises consisted of declaiming, reading essays, and singing, and was performed in a manner most complimentary to the school. In the evening the school were [sic] treated to a party given them by their teacher . . . ”\textsuperscript{200} Singing was also featured at the term-end exhibition for Mr. Rogers’ “Prescott Normal School.” Mr. Rogers wrote the review for the paper, himself:

\begin{quote}
The exhibition was given to a respectable audience in the evening, at the Court House. All the declamations spoken, and the tunes sung by the
\end{quote}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{196} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 7, 1869. Marion wrote in the paper, “This town, in which there has not been a school for several months past, is now threatened with two. Well, the more the merrier, although, in our humble opinion, one would be quite sufficient.”
\bibitem{197} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 21, 1869; October 30, 1869; Yesteryears, 8.
\bibitem{198} \textit{Arizona Miner}, December 4, 1869. The newspaper printed the class report card. The twenty-two students were from about a dozen families, including the Alexander, Banghart, Ehle, and Osborn children.
\bibitem{199} Ruffner, 8.
\bibitem{200} \textit{Arizona Miner}, November 13, 1869.
\end{thebibliography}

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pupils were introduced to them but a few weeks before the close of the term, their time having been devoted almost exclusively to the rudiments and first principles of a thorough education. The lasting gratitude of a teacher is hereby extended to them for the manner in which they acquitted themselves.\textsuperscript{201}

Both schools remained in Prescott in the next year, and that summer, the Prescott brass band played for the exhibition of Mr. Rogers’ school.\textsuperscript{202}

In contrast to both the private and public schools and the churches, there was a thriving Sabbath school in town. It was established in June 1866 by Judge Turner and Mrs. Turner and met Sunday afternoons at the courtroom through to the end of the decade.\textsuperscript{203} Judge and Mrs. Turner, along with three others, taught the school with sixteen copies of the American Sunday School Union’s \textit{Children’s World} and other supplements.\textsuperscript{204} In contrast with the schools, seventy-one children attended the Sabbath school within the first three years, averaging seventeen in attendance during the third year.\textsuperscript{205} The Sunday school included

\textsuperscript{201} \textit{Arizona Miner}, December 18, 1869.

\textsuperscript{202} \textit{Arizona Miner}, July 2, 1870.

\textsuperscript{203} This was not the first Sabbath school. The Rev. H. W. Reed announced the beginning of a Sabbath school in the paper on August 24, 1864. However, there was no further mention of the school.

\textsuperscript{204} \textit{Arizona Miner}, July 30, 1870; June 19, 1869. Though the Sunday School was advertised in the newspaper to “all persons, both citizens and soldiers,” children were the only attendees of the school to be mentioned in the newspaper (\textit{Arizona Miner}, June 13, 1866).

\textsuperscript{205} \textit{Arizona Miner}, June 19, 1869.
singing, which was featured in the anniversary events reviewed in the newspaper. At the first-anniversary event, the paper remarked, “The children recited piece and sang in a credible manner.” During the second-anniversary event, the children sang the popular Sunday school melody, “Will You Meet Us.” The fourth-anniversary event ended with the singing of the Doxology. The newspaper described how the audience rose to their feet and “joined in with their most harmonious strains.” Judge Turner left Arizona Territory in 1870 and with the couple's departure, the Turners' Sunday School was closed after a farewell party at the Turners’ home.

In contrast to the Turners' Sabbath school, church services occurred sporadically through the 1860s. This seems indicative of the type of culture which flourished in early Prescott. Although the music performed by the brass bands and played at social parties flourished, the music of worship and other family settings was limited. Church singing, especially, was rare, and many of these early sporadic services seem to only include a sermon, with no singing. The first preacher in the area was the Reverend H. W. Reed, who preached from his home each Sunday in the fall of 1864. Reed also served as Prescott’s first

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206 *Arizona Miner*, June 29, 1867.

207 *Arizona Miner*, June 20, 1868.

208 *Arizona Miner*, June 18, 1870.

209 *Arizona Miner*, November 12, 1870.
He was a devout Methodist, but not an ordained minister. However, he left Prescott because of scandalous behavior, after the town came to realize, as Marion wrote in the newspaper, that “his daily walk and conversation were such as to do injury rather than honor to his sacred profession.” In August of 1864, the Reverend Mr. Kermott was appointed as missionary to Arizona, but remained in New Mexico, with no explanation given. By May 1866, there were no church services in Prescott. The Arizona Miner wrote:

We doubt if there is in the whole land a place of equal size and prominence with Prescott, and settled by Americans, so utterly destitute of religious privileges. The Sabbath brings no invitation to public worship; the sound of the church bell is not heard, and the Sabbath school, the nursery of the church, is unknown, albeit children are numerous. . . . We recently read with pleasure that the Episcopal Convention in session in Philadelphia, had assigned a bishop to Arizona. We hope it may be true, although we have no predilection for the Episcopal faith over that of any evangelical denomination. We think, however, that it is simply disgraceful to the times in which we live that so large a community as we have in Prescott and vicinity, should be wholly without a church organization or a religious teacher.

However, no Episcopal bishop arrived.

That same year, however, the Reverend Charles M. Blake arrived with his wife at Fort Whipple in October. For a year, until October of 1867, he served

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210 Arizona Miner, August 24, 1864; Ruffner, 18.

211 Arizona Miner, May 9, 1866.

212 Arizona Miner, August 24, 1864.

213 Arizona Miner, May 9, 1866.

214 Arizona Daily Miner, October 30, 1866.
as Chaplain for the Fort and the Reverend for the town. Sunday services were held in Prescott first at the Court House and then at the building of Blaire and Elliott. The Miner wrote about one of Blake’s services, at which there was “sacred music on a melodeon, owned and played upon by Colonel Baker, Quartermaster at Fort Whipple. The Holy Sacrament was administered to four persons.”\(^{215}\) In June 1867, Marion wrote: “Mr. Blake has proved a faithful and confident clergyman, and the community owe to aim heartily to support his efforts to sustain public worship and observance of the Sabbath.”\(^{216}\) That October, however, he was sent from Fort Whipple to Camp McDowell.\(^{217}\)

Prescott was again without a reverend, and the next church service occurred over a year later when Judge Berry agreed to deliver a Sunday message at the Court House in early November 1868.\(^{218}\) It seems Judge Berry volunteered only once, because later that month, the Reverend T. H. Head came to Prescott and began to preach a Sunday message.\(^{219}\)

\(^{215}\) *Arizona Daily Miner*, September 16, 1867.

\(^{216}\) *Arizona Miner*, June 13, 1867.

\(^{217}\) *Arizona Miner*, September 14, 1867; October 5, 1867.

\(^{218}\) *Arizona Miner*, November 7, 1868.

\(^{219}\) *Arizona Miner*, November 21, 1868. It seems that there was only a message, no music.
Finally, in May 1869, the Board of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church sent a permanent missionary to Prescott, the Reverend Mr. Skinner. 220 Sunday services were held in the Court House and, typically, a prayer meeting Tuesday morning and a lecture on Thursday night. 221 However, Mr. Skinner left Prescott sometime in the summer of 1870, and once again, Prescott had no church services. Marion wrote in the paper:

A church—Pagan, Heathen, or Christian—we have not. Drinking saloons abound, brothels flourish; gambling establishments thrive and grow. There is a reason—it may be extinguished. Indifference is the main one, I think, but it is a criminal neglect, and should no longer be allowed to retain its hold in the minds of the liberal public-spirited citizens of Prescott. That it may be no longer be argued truthfully against us “that we do not care enough for the maintenance of the gospel in our midst, to build even a modest house, for the worship of God,” I venture to appoint a meeting next Sabbath. . . . 222

Fortunately for Marion, Prescott was not long without a church. In December 1870, six years after the town was founded, the Reverend Alexander Gilmore arrived as the Methodist Chaplain at Fort Whipple. 223 After the arrival of the Reverend Gilmore, the Methodist Church remained a constant presence in Prescott.

220 Arizona Miner, May 8, 1869.
221 Arizona Miner, May 29, 1869; June 5, 1869.
222 Arizona Miner, August 20, 1870.
223 Ruffner, 18.
Musical Items in the *Arizona Miner*

An important social institution was the town newspaper, the *Arizona Miner*. Like the school and church, the *Miner* developed along with the growing town. In the early issues, the paper printed articles focused on political, military, and mining matters. With the growth of the town and the increase of families, the paper incrementally included articles on town events and product advertisements for women and their families, as well as topics of interest copied from other newspapers. These snippets of gossip and news, chosen either because of interest to the editor or of potential interest to the town, included musical gossip from across the country. One can imagine that the *Miner* hoped that other newspaper, in turn, would reprint musical news from Prescott.

Since its beginning, the *Miner* printed jokes on its back page. By the end of the 1860s, several musical jokes had been printed. The November 2, 1867, issue asked, “When does a family sup on music? When it has a piano forte.” A year later, the paper joked: “A musical dog in New Albany, Indiana, which plays on a piano and howls: so does a young lady residing next door.” Additionally, “Musical people sometimes resemble sailors, they get embargoed on low flats, and wrecked on the high C's.” In a similar manner, the *Miner* reprinted the story of a singing mouse, taken from the Dayton Ledger in Ohio:

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224 *Arizona Miner*, March 18, 1868.

On several occasions Mr. [Bornstein] had heard something singing and whistling about his store. . . . A few days ago he discovered the object of his curiosity. It was a common sized gray mouse, and having duly set his trap, caught the little animal. He now has it caged and on exhibition, and hundreds are flocking to see the little singist and hear its “sweet musical notes.” This afternoon the little creature became tired and refused to sing, when Mr. Bornstein's brother commenced playing on a violin, and the mouse at once fell in and did the best it knew how to fill its part of the programme.  

The Miner also printed other musical items of note, including occasional announcements for musical events back East. For example, at the Banjo Competition held in Pittsburgh in the summer of 1867, Dick [Mc---], of Pittsburgh, won first place and four hundred dollars. The paper also announced plans for a musical festival to be held in Boston in June 1869 at their new Coliseum. The announcement explained, “There will be 1,000 instrumental performers and a chorus of 10,000 voices. It is said that the building will, when completed, hold 50,000 people. This event was Patrick S. Gilmore’s Peace Jubilee held June 15 through 17, 1869. One item in a December 1869 issue of the paper announced that 10,000 people had attended a recent masquerade ball in

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226 Arizona Miner, March 25, 1868.

227 Arizona Miner, August 24, 1867. Unfortunately, his last name is obscure.

228 Arizona Miner, June 5, 1869.

229 Nicholls, 233. Patrick S. Gilmore (1820-1892) was the leading bandmaster of the nineteenth century. Later, Gilmore toured the country. He gave a concert in New Mexico in 1869 that was mentioned in the Flagstaff newspaper. See footnote 377.
Unlike Gilmore’s “monster concert,” this claim was unsubstantiated.

Most of the musical items in the paper, however, pertained to theatrical matters and the news of actors and theater productions from across the country. The earliest of these was the reprint of an announcement from the San Francisco Dramatic Chronicle. The San Francisco actor and manager Charles Wheatleigh had lately returned to California after a two-year absence. He was accompanied by both his wife and “a mysterious lady, young and beautiful, whom no one knows, but who, it is probable, will go upon the stage as 'leading lady' in support of the eminent actor.” Other theatrical actors mentioned in the newspaper were the “irrepressible” Miss Anna Dickenson, who was soon to make her debut on stage in Newark; Barney Williams and his wife, who we are told had made $760,000 performing; and actor James Stark, who was taken ill in Gold Hill, Nevada. The newspaper also printed articles about recent theatrical performances. In July 1868, the Arizona Miner reprinted the story of a marred production of “Humpty Dumpty” at the Olympic, in Cincinnati, where a substitute mule kicked down everything on stage before a rope was thrown around his neck.

\[230\] Arizona Miner, December 4, 1869.

\[231\] Arizona Miner, November 23, 1867.

\[232\] Arizona Miner, January 25, 1868.

\[233\] Arizona Miner, February 27, 1869.

\[234\] Arizona Miner, May 29, 1869.
and the company had to drag the mule off-stage. The article continued, “The audience, many of whom supposed the obstreperous mule a part of the performance, were delighted at his energy, and demanded, with deafening plaudits, a repetition of the scene.” The scene was not repeated, and the mule “was mysteriously knocked in the head the same night of his highly successful debut.”

A year later, at a Wisconsin theater, the drop-curtain unexpectedly rose during a performance and “disclosed the leading actor changing his shirt.”

The paper also included reports of new plays in New York. One letter from New York, reprinted in a February 1868 issue, included a review of the recent adaptation of Henry Ward Beecher's novel, *Norwood*, to the stage. The writer did not care for the novel or play and wrote, “Few persons ever succeeded in getting beyond the first chapter; consequently, curiosity led crowds to see it on the stage.” Concerning the set-pieces, the writer said, “Fort Sumter is a marvelous, small, wooden affair, with a flagstaff upon which bombshells fall, but amiably refuse to explode. The play, however stupid as it is, will be successful, for there is a good deal of swearing in it, and to see Plymouth Church in the New York Theatre is, of itself, a sensation.”

235 *Arizona Miner*, July 18, 1868.

236 *Arizona Miner*, September 12, 1869.

237 *Arizona Miner*, February 1, 1868. The review does not include the title of the work, only “Mr. Beechers’ novel,” but the set pieces match *Norwood*, by Henry Ward Beecher, which premiered in 1867. The work was unsuccessful and *Norwood* remained his only novel. See http://www.oldandsold.com/articles22/authors-digest-16.shtml (accessed February 69
Elysian Dancing Club

Prescott's most lively musical club was the Elysian Dancing Club, which was founded in 1867 and thrived until the end of the decade. The club retained the imagery of its initial name, the “Birds of Paradise,” and members attended monthly dances dressed up with feathers. The newspaper editor, John Marion, also enjoyed writing puns on the feathery imagery. For example, in a review of the New Year’s Eve dance, he described a typical meeting of the club and wrote:

The “Birds” had a charming time of it on the night of December 31st, New Year's Eve. They were perched together in the cock-loft of the Prescott Hotel, decked in their gayest plumage and the manner in which they chirped, skipped, hopped, jumped, and went through “quaint mazes” on the white pine floor, while dancing mazourkas, schottisches, [word obscured], etc., would astound a narrow-minded, straight-laced Baptist. Chickens and hens, roosters and gobblers, enjoyed themselves exceedingly well, and nothing occurred to mar the pleasures of the evening. The flock partook of an excellent supper, wiped their bills, indulged in some more light, fantastic toe exercises, after which they flew home to their cosy habitations, to sleep and dream of mazourkas, music, and all that sort of thing. Not being present, we fear we have not done the Birds full justice, and probably some of them may imagine we treat of their affairs in too great a spirit of levity, but we assure all such that we look upon the society as filling a vacuum that has existed in our town too long. In fact, if it continues to be conducted in the moral manner in which it has heretofore been conducted, it will be highly beneficial in eradicating the boorish bashfulness of most young people and a great many old ones.

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238 Arizona Miner, July 27, 1867.

239 Arizona Miner, September 28, 1867. The monthly dance was cancelled only a few times, including, for example, during the Legislative session in September 1867.

240 Arizona Miner, January 4, 1868.
The club’s first dance was held on July 26, 1867. It was popular enough that, early in 1868, the Club decided to build a larger hall for themselves on Montezuma Street. The Elysians suspended dances in the spring, until the hall was finished in May. The newspaper printed a description of the new hall:

The dancing hall of the Elysian Club is completed. It is a neat frame building, 24 by 44, and contains, besides the dancing hall, two dressing rooms—one for the ladies, the other for the gentlemen. The hall, we are told, is capable of affording room for six sets—24 couples. It was built by Messrs. Blair & Elliott.

Unfortunately, the simple hall later proved to be too drafty for the Prescott winter, and at least one ball, for Washington's Birthday in February 1869, was cut short due to the cold.

A new hall was not the only evidence of the club's popularity. That February, while the Elysians were building their new hall, a new dancing club was also being formed, officially named the Prescott Dancing Club but unofficially known as “the Goslings.” Organized in February 1868, with fourteen charter members, including eight officers, the Prescott Dancing Club was for those who

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241 Arizona Miner, July 27, 1867.

242 The old hall could accommodate three sets at a time (Arizona Miner, July 11, 1866). This new hall, as stated below, could accommodate six sets (Arizona Miner, May 16, 1868).

243 Arizona Miner, February 29, 1868. Between October and the opening of the new hall, the club actually met semi-monthly, in October, December, and February. When the new hall opened, the club resumed monthly dances.

244 Arizona Miner, May 16, 1868.

245 Arizona Miner, February 27, 1869.
were interested in joining the Elysians, but who did not yet know how to dance.  

Membership was limited to twenty members. The initiation fee was ten dollars, and monthly fees were two dollars. Practices were held twice a week, on Monday and Thursday nights at the Prescott Hotel, with G. W. Barnard as dance instructor. 

The paper noted:

Having received a polite invitation from them some time since to call around to their nest, and gaze upon their sylph-like forms while flitting like shadows, through the “giddy mazes of the dance,” we did so, and found them waddling through waltzes, etc., under the direction of their placid instructor, G. W. Barnard. They have made considerable progress in the exquisite art of hopping and skipping, and should they keep the practice up until their feathers grow, which will be in the spring, we think they will be able to beat the “Birds.”

Barnard proved to be an excellent instructor, and the “Goslings” were incorporated into the “Birds” that spring. In 1869, the Elysian Club remained popular enough that a local store owner, D. Henderson, stocked his store with feathers for the group and advertised, “Fine Feathers make Fine Birds. Elysians, make a note of it.”

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246 Arizona Miner, February 8, 1868.

247 Mr. Bernard became the town postmaster later that year (Arizona Miner, December 12, 1868).

248 Arizona Miner, February 22, 1868.

249 Not only is there no more mention of Gosling practices, but there is no more information on the Prescott Dancing Club itself. The officers in the club were elected for a six-month period, as were the Elysians. However, while the Elysian elections were announced in the paper, there was no mention of a new election of Gosling officers that summer.

250 Arizona Miner, January 9, 1869.
The Club was open to everyone but was most popular with the younger members of the Prescott community. The announcements in the *Miner* of new club officers, elected every three-to-six months, records some of the men who participated in the club. The list includes the one-time school teacher Edwin Darling, the singing instructor R. E. Elliot, J. P. Hargrave, John Littig, A. L. Moeller, George D. Osborn, and C. T. Rogers. The band members L. B. Jewell and F. G. Christie played for at least one of the monthly dances, during Christmas of 1869.

Some citizens of Prescott, however, had “puritanical” objections to the club. One wonders, with the few number of respectable women in town, whether some women from the dance halls did not also participate in the club. Marion included numerous defenses of the club in the newspaper announcements and

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251 *Arizona Miner*, September 12, 1869.


253 *Arizona Miner*, December 25, 1869. One President, E. Darling, received a farewell party. The paper reported:

Thursday evening last, a goodly number of the ladies and gentlemen of Prescott, assembled in the Hall of the Elysian Club, and had a right good time of it. The object of their assembling was to do honor to an old and popular citizen, Mr. E. Darling, of the Pioneer Drug Store, who is on the eve of departure to his native State, Massachusetts, to see the ‘old folks at home.’ Sickness prevented us from attending the party. We wish our friend Darling a safe and pleasant voyage, and a speedy return to Prescott in company with a better half.
reviews. In 1869, objections grew stronger and the dance that was to be held in June was cancelled. Marion defended the Club in the *Miner*:

> The members of the Elysian Club were to have had a dance on last Thursday night, and would have had one had not some dyspeptic individual or individuals prevented the ladies who have heretofore graced the hall with their presence, from attending. Now, dancing, when properly conducted, as we believe it has been by the Club, is an innocent, healthy, amusing pastime, and we hope people who like to indulge in it will do so, regardless of the wishes of straight-laced Puritans. “On with the dance,” Elysians.  

The next month, the dance did occur, but not without controversy. Marion wrote in the paper:

> …the Elysian Club, of Prescott, will live and dance as long as its members are able to procure boots. The Club has put its foot down, and, it will stay down until the evening of the fifth, when it will be raised in honor of the Fourth of July. Sail in, Elysians, kick up your heels like young mules, and be as happy as you please—“Youth hath its time/Merry hearts will merrily charm.”

In his review of the Fourth of July dance, Marion wrote; “We understand the affair passed off pleasantly, there being but few outsiders to amar the happiness of the Elysians.”

However, the Club began to decline in 1870. The review of the March 1870 dance stated:

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254 *Arizona Miner*, June 19, 1869.

255 *Arizona Miner*, July 3, 1869.

256 *Arizona Miner*, July 10, 1869.
The ball given by the Elysian club, on the evening of the 17th last, was a pleasant affair, and, strange to say, there were a greater number of ladies than gentleman in attendance. The supper, which was furnished by John Littig, was very good. The fact that the ladies outnumbered the gents at this ball, looks as if the “Elysians” were going back on the Institution. But, we hope not. These social institutions have proved beneficial to many ladies and gentlemen, and we hope to see them continue.257

That was the last review of a dance, and there was no more mention of the Elysians in the newspaper.

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257 Arizona Miner, March 27, 1870.
Social Life in Prescott

Institutions and clubs were not the only opportunities for socializing in Prescott. Townspeople gathered together at bars and at each other's homes to sing, dance, and together enjoy music. Socializing was especially eventful during the holidays, when the whole town came together to celebrate.

The Saloons: Whiskey Row and Gurley Street

Not all the social activities in Prescott were as civilizing and edifying as the above institutions; some social activities represented the frontier town as it was, rather than as it hoped to become. Prescott had a thriving street of saloons, later nicknamed Whiskey Row, along Montezuma Street. Saloons and gambling houses stayed open all day and night during the early 1860s, and women were welcome in the saloons. In his memoirs, Thomas Sanders recalls:

Money was no object. The gambling tables were all piled high with silver, paper and gold coin as stakes and more often in nuggets and gold dust. Faro, poker, roulette and numerous games were in operation. . . . Those who would go broke at the games would either go back into the hills and dig out another stake or work for the good wages prevailing those days and come back and try it all over again.\(^{258}\)

By the turn of the century, the saloons on Whiskey Row employed piano players and female saloon singers, who were the only women allowed in the bars.\(^{259}\)


\(^{259}\) Nelson, 27, 30.
the 1860s, however, the saloons did not have pianos, so the music heard by the
townsfolk would have had to come from bands, fiddlers, or drunken singing.

Even more debasing than the saloons were the prostitution houses and
dancing halls. Relatively little is recorded about prostitution in Prescott, though it
was most definitely present.\textsuperscript{260} Prostitution was not acknowledged by the \textit{Arizona
Miner} until the end of the 1860s. The trade was obviously flourishing, and
Marion did not approve of the new dance halls in the town. He wrote:\textsuperscript{261}

\begin{quote}
We learn that the old Prescott Hotel, on Granite street, is being fitted up
for a dance-house, and that, ere long, it will be “stocked” with fresh, dark-
eye senoritas, from Pitiquito and other “moral” Sonora towns, who have
been engaged for fandango purposes. Hope something will occur to
prevent their getting here. The town has enough disreputable folk now. . . .
\end{quote}

There was at least one other dance house in town at the time.\textsuperscript{262} Furthermore,
women also operated a brothel house on Gurley Street. The dance halls had
music, and so did the brothel. Marion wrote:

\begin{quote}
There is not, in all Arizona, a more dangerous or demoralizing institution
than the frame house on Gurley street . . . in which a party of abandoned
women hold forth, day and night, dancing, yelling, and capering about
with masculines as abandoned as themselves.\textsuperscript{263}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid., 29-30; Susan Lee Johnson, \textit{Women's Households and Relationships in
the Mining West: Central Arizona, 1863-1873} (1984, Sharlot Hall archives,
Prescott, AZ).
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{261} \textit{Arizona Miner}, March 27, 1870.
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\textsuperscript{262} \textit{Arizona Miner}, December 10, 1870.
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\textsuperscript{263} \textit{Arizona Miner}, November 5, 1870
\end{flushright}
While this is the only specific mention of music in the saloons or prostitution houses in the 1860s, it portrays the general socializing of Gurley and Montezuma Streets, where dancing and music were lively and continually present.

Social Parties

As discussed above, military men and judges were not the only ones to host parties and dances. Prescott citizens gathered together as well. Although these private social gatherings were less likely to be mentioned in the newspaper than events hosted by the town's political and military leaders, by the fall of 1867, parties occurred in Prescott often enough to warrant the Pioneer Bakery's placing an advertisement in the paper for “Made to Order: All kinds of Cakes, Pies, etc, etc, for Private & Public Parties.” The first such private ball to be mentioned in the Arizona Miner newspaper was hosted by one Mr. Benedine at his home in February 1865. The ball included guests from the town as well as the Fort, and Jewell supplied the music. In August 1867, the Hook and Ladder Company held a ball at Campbell and Buffum's new store, for which Messrs. Christie, Elliot,

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264 The social dances and balls in both Prescott and Flagstaff were not generally governed by a “season,” and parties were held year-round. Rather than having social seasons, it seems that both towns held dances for any number of reasons (e.g., a holiday, anniversary, visitors in town) and enjoyed one another’s company whenever desired.

265 Arizona Miner, October 26, 1867.

266 Arizona Miner, February 15, 1865.
and Shanks played “melodiously.” In prefacing the review of one social party, Marion wrote:

If there is one thing more than another that tends to make life pleasant in new communities, where civilization has, as it were, last crept in, that thing is the chaste jovial manner in which leading citizens and their ladies, old and young bachelors and their sweethearts, assemble together and pass away an evening in dancing, chatting and administering to the wants of the inner man.

One of the most sociable families in Prescott was the Millers. Sam and Jake Miller had arrived in Prescott with the Walker party, along with their father, John Miller, and his wife. Sam and Jake worked as freighters, bringing in supplies from California, and the family owned a cattle ranch. The Millers held a number of dances at their ranch, just outside Prescott in Miller Valley. In addition to holiday parties (see below), Sam hosted a ball at the ranch one February evening in 1870, just before leaving for California, presumably to transport freight back to Prescott.

A number of Prescott citizens were known for their socializing. For example, on New Year's Day 1870, the Miner reported that, “Mrs. John G.

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267 *Arizona Miner*, August 17, 1867.

268 *Arizona Miner*, August 1, 1868.

269 Savage, 3; Stevens, 14. The Miller family referred to the party as the Miller-Walker party (Stevens, 17).

270 Stevens, 5, 19.

271 *Arizona Miner*, February 12, 1870; Stevens, 74.
Campbell, Mrs. H. Brooks, Mrs. E. H. Weaver and Mrs. V. Stephens kept 'open houses,' and lost a great deal of good drinkables and eatables by so doing.”

Holiday Activities

Various Prescott social clubs and institutions hosted musical celebrations during the holidays. Balls were sponsored by the lodges, holiday parties were given at individuals' homes, and the brass band played for town celebrations. While the magnitude and success of holiday celebrations did not necessarily develop uniformly through the decade of the 1860s, those holiday festivities that did occur typically included music.

The most common holiday celebrations were dances and balls, hosted by either the town's lodges, as noted above, or by individual citizens. Balls were held to celebrate Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, Washington's Birthday, and the Fourth of July. One of the first holiday balls in Prescott was held in celebration of Christmas 1866 and was hosted by J. H. Lee at his business, Osborne House. Soon after, Lee hosted a second ball at the Osborne House on New Year's Eve, to herald in 1867. His was not the only ball held that evening,

272 Arizona Miner, January 8, 1870.

273 A number of factors affected the successful planning of holiday events. The two most common in Prescott were a general lack of organization on the part of the citizens, like during the Fourth of July in 1869, and heightened Indian troubles, like the skirmishes that affected the winter holidays in 1869.

274 Arizona Miner, December 29, 1866. The hall had been built by Nick Osborn (Savage, 44).
however; the new Saloon, known only for its proximity to the capitol building, also hosted a ball. The Miller families also hosted holiday events: a Christmas ball in 1867 and balls for the Fourth of July in both 1867 and 1869. Another citizen, Mr. Moeller, hosted a Thanksgiving ball in 1868 at the Montezuma Hotel. The ball included a supper and cost two dollars. Forty women and an estimated four-times as many men attended. In 1867, Washington's Birthday was celebrated with a large ball at the capitol building, organized by Nelson and Jackson (see figure 2). Music was provided by the Smith brothers, and tickets cost ten dollars.

Figure 2: Ball for Washington’s Birthday

275 Arizona Miner, December 28, 1867; June 15, 1867; July 13, 1867; July 10, 1869. Sanders, 33, 64.

276 Arizona Miner, November 21, 1868; November 28, 1868. Moeller placed an advertisement for the ball in the newspaper.

277 Arizona Miner, Jan 26, 1867. A Josiah Smith sang during the McGinley troupe's minstrel performance in January 1867; see page 28.
Almost all of the Christmas festivities mentioned in the newspaper were limited to short mentions of balls. However, there is one exception. The Turners organized a Christmas Eve program in 1869 at the Court House, which included singing, as well as presents, a decorated Christmas Tree, and Santa Claus.  

The largest town celebrations were for Fourth of July events, with music as an essential part of the festivities. The first Fourth of July to be celebrated at Prescott was in 1864. About 500 people attended the town celebration that commenced at 11 a.m. The ceremony included a prayer by the Reverend H. W. Read; singing of the “The Star Spangled Banner” and recitation of “The Grave of Washington,” both performed by J. B. Jewell; the reading of the Declaration of Independence in both English and Spanish; and an oration by Richard McCormick, then Secretary of the Territory. The ceremony closed with “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” again performed by Jewell. Fourth of July morning, Governor Goodwin reviewed the troops at Fort Whipple. The paper noted that the saloons in town were very crowded with customers. Richard McCormick, then Governor, delivered an oration for the Fourth of July in 1866, as organized by the Arizona Pioneer Society. The Prescott Brass Band played for the morning.

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278 Arizona Miner, January 1, 1870.

279 Arizona Miner, June 22, 1864; July 6, 1864.

280 Arizona Miner, June 27, 1866; July 11, 1866.
ceremony as well as for the ball held that night at Montezuma Hall, the proceeds of which, about one hundred dollars, went to establishing a school in town. 281

Not every Fourth of July anniversary was well organized. In 1867, the only organized celebration was Moeller's ball at his new residence just outside town. 282 F. G. Christie, Elliott, and Shanks provided the music. The ball was preceded by a horse race. There was another town celebration on the Fourth of July morning in 1868, at which Mrs. N. B. Bowers, and Messrs. Dennison, Dunn and Elliott sang patriotic songs, including “Our Country 'Tis of Thee,” accompanied by Lieutenant Oliver on the organ. 283 The following year, a week before the holiday, John Marion wrote in the Miner, “We are sorry that no steps have been taken by our citizens to celebrate the coming National holiday.” 284 While there was no public celebration in 1869, Sam Miller and A. J. Akin gave a ball at John Miller's home. 285 Finally, by July Fourth in 1870, the Brass Band had reorganized. The town celebration that year included a prayer by the Reverend T. H. Head, music by the band, and an oration by Judge Berry. That evening a ball was held at Kerr's building, at which the band again played.

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281 The money raised for the school went to support the school led by Edward Darling. The ball was also announced in the newspaper with an advertisement.

282 Arizona Miner, June 15, 1867. Moeller placed an advertisement for his ball in the newspaper.

283 Arizona Miner, July 11, 1868.

284 Arizona Miner, June 26, 1869.

285 Arizona Miner, July 10, 1869.
Early Music Business Ventures

Early Prescott was not without musical enterprises. Musical instruments and sheet music were sold through the newspaper, and on various occasions, one local business catered to local music-lovers. Another musical enterprise in early Prescott, though not often done for pay in the 1860s, was teaching music and dance lessons.

Musical Advertisements in the Newspaper

In addition to informing the citizens on musical news, the Arizona Miner printed several musical advertisements in the 1860s, including advertisements for pianos and other instruments, sheet music, and music magazines. All these advertisements were for firms in either New York or California, most often Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Francisco.

The first musical advertisement in the Miner was for Grovesteen & Co., Piano Forte Manufacturers, from New York. While writing on the history of

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286 Other fine art enterprises included a writing school, two different photography studios, and a local artist, L. W. Worth (Arizona Miner, December 12, 1868; April 10, 1869; October 30, 1869; December 11, 1869).

287 The Miner had an agent in San Francisco since 1866.

288 The advertisement ran from June 13, 1866, through September 1867. Once a prominent company specializing in square pianos, Grovesteen did not survive past the first decade of the twentieth century and is today nearly forgotten. For more on their history, see http://www.antiquepianoshop.com/online-museum/grovesteen-fuller/ (accessed February 1, 2011). See figure 3.
the paper, *Arizona Miner* editor John Marion wrote that before he became newspaper editor, “although [the paper] contained about sixteen columns of advertising, [only] one-half column of all this was 'paying advertising,' the remainder having been put in to fill up space.” It is quite likely that Grovesteen’s advertisement, placed beneath the headline “New York Advertisements” was an example of advertisements reprinted in the paper to fill up space. That is, Grovesteen pianos likely did not pay for the advertisement and possibly did not even know that their advertisement had been placed in the remote frontier town’s newspaper. Regardless, the advertisement features three models of seven-octave pianofortes, in either a “Rosewood Plain Case,” a “Rosewood Heavy Molding,” or a “Rosewood Louis XIV style.”

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289 *Arizona Miner*, December 24, 1870.
Figure 3: Grovesteen Advertisement

Source: Arizona Miner, June 13, 1866
While Grovesteen was the only piano manufacturer advertised in the *Arizona Miner* in the 1860s, two stores in California advertised music books and instruments to Prescott settlers. The first of these was H. H. Bancroft & Co. from San Francisco (see figure 4). Bancroft & Co. were “Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Books and Stationery.” They also sold music books, including books for “Instrumental and Vocal, Secular and Sacred, Sabbath School, Day School, and
Social” music. Interestingly, a year later Bancroft & Co. sent two free history books to the Miner office in hopes of by-word advertising. It would seem that Bancroft was a successful seller to Prescott. The second store to sell musical books was one in San Bernardino owned by F. C. Suhr. Suhr sold a variety of books, stationery, and newspapers, as well as cutlery and garden and flower seeds. He also sold musical instruments. If one were to order through the newspaper, music books and musical instruments would be transported to Prescott from California by either pack-mule or wagon. TRANSPORTING FREIGHT WAS A SLOW 

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290 Bancroft’s advertisement appeared in two issues of the Miner: August 24 and August 31, 1867.

291 Arizona Miner, October 17, 1868.

292 Source: Arizona Miner, March 28, 1868.

293 Sanders, 83-87. Sanders also told a story about the hazards of transporting instruments. While transporting 24 military band instruments, along with other army supplies, accompanied by the band members and some traveling laundry ladies, the freight teams passed through extremely dusty roads in east Arizona, coming from Yuma:

. . . At Rattlesnake Station, the next one east of Gila City, there was a saloon. The teamsters told the band boys about the station and told them that, if they would get their instruments out and play for the saloonkeeper, that he would treat. That evening about dusk they got out their instruments and formed a half circle out in front of the saloon to give the proprietor a surprise. The bandmaster, as all well trained bandmasters should, stood in the center of the half circle.

They were all ready, but not one of them gave any thought to the fact that the dust the laundry ladies had kicked about had affected their instruments also. When the bandmaster gave the signal to start, they all tried to obey his command and the first blast was the strangest mixture of discord one could imagine and a smothering cloud of dust descended upon the bandmaster and nearly smothered him. They had to wait a few minutes for it to settle. Then they started over again and played some pretty good music despite the fact there was still plenty of dust in the
business. In 1876, it still took four months for goods ordered from San Francisco to finally reach Prescott.\textsuperscript{294}

It was not uncommon for the \textit{Miner} to recommend magazines from either New York or California. These recommendations included one music magazine, the \textit{Musical Times}.\textsuperscript{295} This monthly magazine was published by J. T. Bowers, from his bookstore in San Francisco.\textsuperscript{296} The recommendation also included an anecdote reprinted from the magazine. Two young ladies were purchasing some music at Bowers' store when one of them noticed a note advertising that the store could “hair” bows. The young lady blushed and said, “I think I shall have to bring down my friend, Mr. [ ] and get some hair put on the top of his head.”\textsuperscript{297} There was no record of anyone from Prescott ordering a subscription, and the magazine was not mentioned in the paper again.

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instruments. They were not disappointed. The saloonkeeper set them up all around. As he did so, he told them he was giving them something that would cut the dust out of their throats all right and that then they could play some more. They played several pieces, and from then on we had plenty of music but we never had any more dust storms.

\textsuperscript{294} Fischer, 130.

\textsuperscript{295} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 24, 1867.

\textsuperscript{296} \textit{Arizona Miner}, August 24, 1867. While the \textit{Miner} advertised Mr. Bowers' musical magazine, it did not advertise the store. This is not the same Mr. Bowers as the Bowers in the Prescott Brass Band. For more information on San Francisco music magazines published in the 1870s, see Michael Saffle, “Promoting the Local Product: Reflections of the California Musical Press, 1874-1814,” in \textit{Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918}, edited by Michael Saffle (New York: Farland Publishing, 1998), 167-196.

\textsuperscript{297} Unfortunately, or coincidentally, the name of the balding man is obscured in the microfilm.
Locally, D. Henderson & Bro.'s general store ordered and sold items to music enthusiasts in Prescott. In early 1869, he sold feathers to the Elysian Club. The next year, he included fiddles, fiddle strings, and accordions in his store's inventory, along with clothing, boots and shoes, tobacco, liquors, paper products, and a host of other items.

Music and Dance Lessons

Life in Prescott also included a variety of ways to learn to play music, sing, or dance. The Gosling dancing lessons led by F. W. Barnard, Jewell’s teaching instruction to the members of the brass band, and the general singing instruction to school children by Mrs. Stephens, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Criss have all been discussed above. Additionally, in 1869, singing classes were offered by Richard Elliot, free of charge. Richard Elliot had resided in Prescott since at least 1868. He was an active member of the Elysians, helping to build their Hall and serving as an officer.

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298 *Arizona Miner*, January 9, 1869.

299 *Arizona Miner*, May 7, 1870. The advertisement does not state how many of each item he had to sell, but it seems likely that he sold off his inventory, rather than return the goods to his supplier in California.

300 *Arizona Miner*, May 29 1869; July 2, 1870.

301 He had also sung during the 1868 Fourth of July ceremony. There was a Mr. Elliot in the brass band, as well; however, without a first name for the latter Elliot, it is impossible to verify that they are the same.
His singing class first met in May 1869, on Thursday nights at the courthouse, with the chorus initially composed of sixty men and women. John Marion attended a number of the singing classes, and in May, he wrote in the newspaper, in the editorial *we*, about his experience singing at the school, “... [We] engaged ourself, gratuitously, as a tenor singer, frightened the pupils, and concluding that singing was not our forte, started for a lagery, exchanged *notes* with the *bar*-keep and started for home.”

A couple months later, Marion again attended a singing class and wrote, “Although not by nature or profession a musical critic, we fancied we could detect considerable improvement in the singing of Richard's pupils.”

Elliot’s class had their first performance that fall, with accompaniment from local instrumental musicians. Marion's review was entitled, “Vocal and Instrumental Treat.” He wrote:

> We were present, Thursday evening last, at a public exhibition, concert, peace jubilee, or something of the sort, given by the members of R. E. Elliott's singing school, at the Court-room, in this town, and can add our testimony to that of other listeners, by saying that the sing, etc., was good. The room was filled with ladies and gentlemen, who appreciated the well-directed and successful efforts of Mr. Elliott and his pupils to prove to the public that we have in this town, warblers and musicians capable of soothing the most outlandishly savage breast.

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302 *Arizona Miner*, May 29, 1869.

303 *Arizona Miner*, July 17, 1869.

304 *Arizona Miner*, September 25, 1869.

305 *Arizona Miner*, October 2, 1869.
The school continued through the fall of 1869 and into the following summer. However, Marion no longer reviewed classes or performances in the *Arizona Miner*, and it is unclear how long the classes continued.
By 1870, Prescott had grown considerably. John Marion was able to write in his paper on the considerable presence of music in the town:

Scarcely a moment passes, during the hours not devoted to slumber that strains of music cannot be heard in this town, and it would be strange if such were not the case—considering that we have two brass bands—one in Prescott, and another at Fort Whipple—besides several organs, that ladies play on, and pine trees innumerable, upon which old Boreas plays doleful tunes.  

Prescott again became the capital of Arizona Territory in January 1877. By then, an inventory of the town’s stores and industries by the traveler, Hiram C. Hodge, listed:

There are fourteen mercantile houses in town, three jewelers, three meat markets, four livery stables, three breweries, eight carpenter shops, eight blacksmith shops, seven wagon shops, five hotels and restaurants, five boot and shoe stores, fourteen saloons, two tin shops two barbers, seven attorneys, four physicians, one drug store, four milliners, one dentist, one harness hop, one photographic gallery, three assay offices, one extensive sash, door, and blind factory, one church edifice, Methodist, with the Rev. Mr. Wright as Pastor, one Congregational Church organization, Rev. Mr. Merrill, Pastor, and one Methodist Episcopal Church South organization, Rev. Mr. Head, Pastor. There is also a comfortable county court-house and jail, and good country offices, and an excellent new brick school-house, erected at a cost of $12,000, and capable of accommodating three hundred pupils, with Professor Sherman, Principal, and a good corps of assistants.

Prescott has many fine business blocks built of brick, which would do credit to a large city, the principal ones being those of C. P. Head & Co., L. Bushford & Co., J. G. Campbell, Wm. M. Buffum, and others.

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306 Arizona Miner, January 8, 1870. Boreas was the Greek god of the north wind.

307 Hiram C. Hodge, 1887: Arizona As It Was (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 193
As the town of Prescott developed over the decade, one finds that the musical culture of the town did not correlate with the town’s growth, but rather fluctuated due to a number of outside circumstances. For example, the brass band was established within a year of the town. However, rather than expand membership and performance opportunities through the decade, the band fell apart within a few years after leading members moved away from town, only to be reestablished late in 1869, when those same men returned. Likewise, while social dances and balls were common throughout the decade, the most prestigious of these balls—those which took place during the legislative sessions—ceased when Prescott lost the capital to Tucson. Although theatrical performances occurred through the decade, individual troupes were created and disbanded, dependent on interest, time, and, again, the relocation of participants. The difficult establishment of schools and regular church services has been discussed at length, and while in some years certain holidays such as the Fourth of July were celebrated elaborately, in other years plans for holiday celebrations were affected by Indian trouble or lack of organization. It seems that the musical culture of Prescott was entirely dependent on the resources of the town: musically inclined citizens, time, and an interested audience. It almost seems that for all Prescott’s work towards establishing itself as a capital and as a place for women and children, the most successful organizations and musical settings were those most closely associated with a mining camp: saloons, dance halls, and brothel houses.

While Prescott’s musical life fluctuated, the musical activities in Flagstaff developed more consistently over the course of the 1880s. A few years after Hiram C. Hodge traveled through Prescott, a new town to the north was founded in 1882 along the newly-completed Atlantic & Pacific Railroad line, the town of Flagstaff, Arizona. As we will see, Flagstaff’s early years were quite different from those of Prescott. Namely, a more developed territory and a link by railroad to New Mexico and California allowed Flagstaff to quickly attract new residences and allowed for more musical activities.
Figure 5: Flagstaff in 1888

Source: Cline, *They Came*, 231.

Figure 6: The Atlantic & Pacific Railroad

Flagstaff, in contrast to the isolation and frontier conditions of Prescott, was situated along a railroad, which connected the town to Albuquerque in the East and California in the West. Far from Prescott’s struggle with Indians and living conditions in the 1860s, Flagstaff in the 1880s competed with the other small towns along the railroad for prestige and growth.

Musical activity in Flagstaff was much more plentiful than in Prescott. Although Flagstaff enjoyed many of the same musical experiences, such as brass bands, music in the bars, social parties, and balls held by lodge societies, the town also had a literary and musical society, two thriving churches, string orchestras, and the privilege of listening to musicians who interrupted a trip along the railroad for an engagement in town.

Although the first settlers came to the Flagstaff area in the late 1870s for cattle and sheep ranching, the town was founded in 1883 along with the coming of the railroad.³⁰⁸ Work began on the railroad late in 1880, which led to the increase of railroad workers in the area.³⁰⁹ When the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad reached Flagstaff on August 1, 1883, the town enjoyed a spurt of growth. By the following month, Flagstaff had fourteen businesses in town.³¹⁰ Growth

³⁰⁸ Cline, They Came, 89-95.


³¹⁰ Arizona Champion, October 6, 1883.
continued throughout the decade. In September 1884, the local newspaper, the *Arizona Champion*, included the note, “We are glad to notice that the town is gradually increasing in population. . . . Many of the ranchers are coming one hundred miles to Flagstaff for their supplies. Our enterprising merchants and reasonable prices has [sic] the desired effect.”

By spring 1887, there were sixty buildings in town, and the town's population was estimated at 1,000 people.

Flagstaff developed in three different geographical areas: Old Town, New Town, and Milton. Old Town was first established in the winter of 1880-1881, at Antelope Spring. Old Town was built against a hill, with all its buildings facing south. Buildings included five saloons, one of which was also a dance hall, two stores, a restaurant, and a bakery.

New Town was built a half-mile east, at a spot more level for the new railroad depot, which was built in 1882. A third community of homes and businesses was Milltown, the company town of the Ayer Lumber mill, which was a half-mile south of Old Town and a mile southwest of

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311 *Arizona Champion*, September 6, 1884. The newspaper was indeed optimistic about the town’s growth. Earlier that year, the editor of the paper had written, “A. J. White, in the mammoth issue of the Albuquerque Journal, speaks of Flagstaff as the Chicago of Arizona. We believe if Chicago keeps pace with the times, and has no more great fires, she will become the Flagstaff of Illinois” (*Arizona Champion*, January 19, 1884).

312 *Arizona Champion*, March 26, 1887.

313 Cline, *They Came*, 228.

314 Hochderffer, 67.

315 Cline, *They Came*, 109; 226. All the town events and building locations mentioned in this paper were in New Town, unless otherwise noted.
New Town. While Prescott’s greatest threat was Indian attack, Flagstaff’s greatest threat was fire. Large parts of Flagstaff were burned in three separate fires in the 1880s. 316 The first of these was in Old Town on July 22, 1884. The fire began at Drake’s dance hall after a careless woman knocked over a lamp. Many of the buildings destroyed in this first fire were never rebuilt. Fire destroyed much of New Town on February 14, 1886, and again on July 7, 1888, though both times, New Town was quickly rebuilt.

Though Flagstaff began as a frontier saloon town, after the railroad arrived the town began to refashion itself into a cultured, settled community. As early as November 1883, the Flagstaff correspondent wrote to the Champion, which was then published at Peach Springs, “Yet we are told that the weekly pistol practice in the classical precincts of Old Town is growing smaller and beautifully less—in fact, only sixteen or eighteen shots were fired on Sunday evening. Only one man killed in a whole week in East End!!”317 While Flagstaff remained, in part, a frontier town, individuals moving to Flagstaff in the 1880s established churches, schools, societies, lodges, and social circles. Music and musical activity were promoted and appreciated both for their entertainment value, as during social dances and holiday celebrations, and for their value in education and refinement, as taught in schools and enjoyed during literary meetings.


317 Arizona Champion, November 24, 1883.
Establishing a Community

Events to open businesses

Throughout the 1880s, one popular way to advertise and celebrate a new business or change of ownership was to host a dance or social party. The early issues of the Champion include many mentions of these parties, though most are only short announcements. For example, a Mr. Wilson’s store was opened with a social hop attended by more than twenty women in November 1883. Later that winter, the Daggs brothers, J. F., W. A., and P. P. Daggs, opened their new lumber building with a party in January 1884, which the newspaper called “a pleasant affair.”

However, one business opening received greater attention from the Champion. A month after the opening of Daggs’s building, Harry Hoxworth announced plans for a grand ball to open the new Hoxworth & Son’s hardware and tinware store on Railroad Avenue. The ball took place March 6, 1884, and people from along the railroad as far away as Albuquerque received formal

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318 Arizona Champion, November 24, 1883. The newspaper does not delineate Mr. Wilson's first name, nor his business, and Wilson did not advertise his business in the newspaper. Likely, this was Mr. J. A. “Slow” Wilson, a skilled carpenter and cabinetmaker who moved to Flagstaff from Prescott in 1881 and resided in Old Town (Cline, Mountain Town, 39, 40).

319 Arizona Champion, January 12, 1884; March 8, 1884. P. P. Daggs was likely in the brass band at one time, see below.

320 The new schoolhouse bell would later be purchased through this store.
invitations. Supper was served at the Flagstaff Hotel, and music for the ball was provided by Mrs. John Leonard, Mr. Leonard, Sam King, and William Dwyer.

However, bad weather interfered with the opening and the ball was less well attended than expected. Because of a snow storm, the trains did not run that day, and invited guests from out of town could not attend, including five persons from Albuquerque. As a result, Hoxworth hosted a second grand ball on March 16. Music was provided by Banjo Bill, organist Van Horn, and lead violinist W.W. Bass, a musician from Williams. Again, a severe snow storm struck the town, but this time, the trains continued to run, and according to the newspaper, “the country around was largely represented.”

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321 Arizona Champion, February 3, 1884; March 1, 1884. The Champion's review of the ball included a list of the fourteen women present and what they were wearing, including Mrs. J. R. Kilpatrick, Mrs. Judge Hicks, Mrs. William Fain, Mrs. J. Leonard, Mrs. A. E. Fay, Carrie and Kate Crothers, Nellie Beal, Ellen Lamport, Miss Johnson, Lillie and Jennie Beal, Susie Taylor, and Norah Fain. Carrie Crothers' name is misspelled as “Cartie” and “Katie” is listed as “Kate” below. Throughout this paper, I have included the names of recurring attendees at balls and dances.

322 Arizona Champion, March 8, 1884.

323 Arizona Champion, March 15, 1884; March 29, 1884. It is unclear who supplied the organ on which Van Horn played for the ball, though the schoolhouse had just recently acquired an organ (see below). We will see Banjo Bill playing for a number of dances in Flagstaff. Banjo Bill and W. W. Bass both played for the Fourth of July festivities in 1884. Van Horn was a lawyer in Flagstaff. He also was a member of the literary society, and in addition to playing the organ, he also sang. We will meet him again, too.

324 Once again the newspaper included a list of the women present, including Mrs. W. E. Ashurst, Mrs. Wm. Fain, Ellen Lamport, Miss Johnson, Carrie and Kate Cruthers, Lillian and Jennie Beal, and Susie Taylor, all who attended the previous ball, joined Mrs. J. R. Kilpatrick, Mrs. Henry Honiff, Mrs. Frank Beal,
One of these social parties demonstrates the population and character of early Flagstaff. In the same month as Hoxworth’s opening, the Flagstaff Hotel held a grand banquet to celebrate new ownership under Jack Smith. The Champion wrote of the affair:

One hundred and seventy-five guests were entertained in a manner that afforded them much real enjoyment. . . . From twelve o’clock until late in the afternoon the dining room was a throng of guests. Family parties in congenial groups at one hour; the business men and merchants at another; and the legal talent at another. It was a gala day for Flagstaff; the different towns along the railroad were represented. . . .

The business parties continued through the 1880s, especially as businesses were rebuilt after being damaged by fire. In April 1886, J. A. Vail hosted a dance at his new building, which thirty couples attended. Supper was served at J. F. Hawk’s restaurant at midnight, and the dancing continued until 3:00 AM. That same month, John N. Berry opened his new saloon building, and O’Neill’s orchestra provided the music. Like during Vail’s dance, supper was served at

Mrs. W. R. Rhodes, Mrs. F. W. Middleton, Mrs. Harry Withers, Mrs. J. W. Cart, Mrs. A. D. Young, Mrs. Samuel Black, and Miss Cummings.

325 Arizona Champion, March 8, 1884.

326 J. A. Vail must have enjoyed music. In 1898, he owned two musical instruments, neither of which was specified; see Donna Ashworth, Biography of a Small Mountain (Flagstaff, AZ: Small Mountain Books, 1991), 133.

327 Arizona Champion, April 24, 1886.

328 See page 126 for more on O’Neill and his orchestra. See page 141 for more on John Berry’s saloon.
midnight at Hawks' restaurant. Following the fire of 1888, two businessmen celebrated their rebuilt businesses. J. A. Vail held a dance for the opening of his new building in October 1888, and D. A. Murphy held a dance to celebrate his new brick store, for which the town band played.

Public School

In comparison to Prescott, which did not have a permanent school until the end of its first decade, Flagstaff established a public school even before the arrival of the railroad. Even though only a few school-aged children lived in Flagstaff, the town's school district was established on November 22, 1882. The first classes were taught by Mrs. Eva Marshall in a log hut in Old Town in January 1883. That winter, with the arrival of additional students to town, a new school house was built halfway between the Mill and Old Town and was dedicated on Thanksgiving. The dedication was followed by a dance at the school the

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329 Arizona Champion, May 1, 1886.

330 Arizona Champion, October 27, 1888.

331 Arizona Champion, September 15, 1888; September 22, 1888.

332 Cline, They Came, 253-254. According to Platt Cline's research, school-aged children in 1882 included the children of Frank and Marvin Beal and of J. F. Hawks.

333 See pages 153 and 154 for more on the parties and dances hosted by Mrs. Eva Marshall and her husband Jim.

334 Arizona Champion, November 3, 1883; December 8, 1883.
following night. A few months later, in February 1884, the town began a subscription to buy a new organ for the schoolhouse; the citizens intended to use the organ in both the school and the Methodist church, which at the time was meeting at the schoolhouse.\(^{335}\) That summer of 1884, the school district purchased a bell from Harry Hoxworth's store and placed it atop the schoolhouse.\(^{336}\)

As the town grew, so did the school. By fall 1885, one hundred and forty-seven school-aged children lived in Flagstaff. Of these, fifty-eight were enrolled in school, but since the average attendance was thirty-five, absenteeism must have been a persistent problem.\(^{337}\) By the last year of the decade, the school included twenty grammar students, thirty-six primary students, and thirty-two intermediate students.\(^{338}\) The increased school attendance quickly filled an additional wing built in May 1887. Also because of the increase in the number of children in town, Miss Laura Fulton opened a kindergarten in 1888, but at a cost of fifteen dollars per student per quarter, it quickly failed and only endured one quarter.\(^{339}\)

\(^{335}\) *Arizona Champion*, February 23, 1884.

\(^{336}\) *Arizona Champion*, June 7, 1884.

\(^{337}\) Cline, *They Came*, 258.

\(^{338}\) Money for the school was a problem, although it was not as problematic in Flagstaff as in Prescott. The public school only closed once in the decade for lack of funds, in February 1886. It was reopened by January 1887. Cline, *They Came*, 259, 260.

\(^{339}\) Cline, *They Came*, 260.
Like in Prescott, singing was part of public school curriculum, and at the end of the school year, the students recited, read, and sang in each school exhibition. In November 1884, the exhibition including songs by Josie Switzer and Irene Hoxworth, both children of town leaders. The schoolhouse was also used for other musical instruction and performances. For example, in February 1885, some of the boys in town put on a children's theatrical performance at the schoolhouse. The newspaper mentioned the event, writing, “Our citizens who attended the juvenile show entertainment, given at the school house by the little boys of Flagstaff, speak in the highest praise of the Juvenile Amateur troupe.”

That same month, the schoolteacher, Mrs. Eva M. Marshall, organized an evening of entertainment to promote the temperance movement. The entertainment included choral singing by the school children, accompanied by Miss Josie Switzer at the organ, and a lecture against alcohol by Minister J. T. Pierce. The newspaper wrote on the event and praised the children's singing: “The children acquitted themselves credibly, some of them exhibiting special excellence which should encourage youthful singers and speakers.”

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340 *Arizona Champion*, November 8, 84; December 8, 1888. Irene's father was George Hoxworth, of Hoxworth & Son's.

341 *Arizona Champion*, February 21, 1885. The newspaper includes no further mention of the boys' troupe.

342 *Arizona Champion*, February 7, 1885.
Methodist and Catholic Churches

By the end of the 1880s, Flagstaff had not one but two thriving, established churches. Both churches included music during services, as well as at weddings and funerals. Music also played a role in the societies associated with the Methodist church and was an important component of benefit events for both churches.

Flagstaff’s Methodist church began meeting soon after the town was established. In July 1883, the Methodist Reverend Nathan L. Guthrie visited the town for a month, to ascertain if Flagstaff was large enough for a permanent pastoral position. Soon after, the Methodist conference sent the Reverend John T. Pierce from Chino Valley to Flagstaff, where he began preaching in the towns along the railroad. By the summer of 1884, the newspaper printed the announcement, “On to-morrow, and every Sabbath hereafter, there will be services at the school house, as follows: Preaching at 10 a.m.; Sabbath School at 11 a.m.; and preaching at 8 p.m.” A number of ministers preached at the Methodist church throughout the decade. At first, Pierce and the Reverend I. M.

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343 For example, a hymn was sung at the funerals of both John Berry (Arizona Champion, January 22, 1887) and John T. Black (Arizona Champion, September 3, 1887), as discussed below.

344 The Methodist church was not incorporated until the church building was erected in 1887; see Cline, They Came 261-262.

345 Arizona Champion, June 7, 1884.
Ashley preached on alternate Sundays; then in 1885 Pierce left, and the Reverend J. G. Eberhart took his place until the Reverend Guthrie returned to Flagstaff.

In the meantime, the congregation made plans to move from the schoolhouse into a church building and raised funds for that end. The Reverend Pierce built a parsonage in 1884 and bought a town lot for the church. The church was not built on the lot immediately, but was erected in late 1886. The building was a frame structure, thirty- by fifty-feet, with a twenty-foot steeple. Shortly after the church was built, several townsmen donated funds to buy a bell for the tower. The bell, weighing nine hundred pounds was rung for the first time on May 25, 1887.

To raise funds for the parsonage and church building, the Methodist congregation also hosted musical events and other benefits, such as ice cream socials and candy pulls. The first of these benefits was a festival held at the skating rink in late August 1885, the proceeds of which were to go to the building of the parsonage. According to the announcement in the newspaper, the festival included “a partner for the evening and a necktie made by her own fair hands, made from cloth similar to the dress she wears, a glass of lemonade apiece, and a mint of enjoyment, all for a half-cent per pound for your partner's weight.”

346 Cline, They Came, 262.

347 Ashworth, 26.

348 Arizona Champion, March 24, 1888; May 12, 1888; June 30, 1888.

349 Arizona Champion, August 22, 1885.
couple years later, a box supper was held to raise funds for a heating stove in the new church building. The supper, organized by Nellie Beal, included musical entertainment. The benefit was well attended and $22.50 was raised, including a $3 donation from Mrs. J. W. Eddy of Mill Town. Members of the church also held a number of benefit concerts late in the 1880s. The first of these took place a month after the box supper, also held to fund the new church building. In August 1887, the congregation held a musical festival, and the next month, J. B. Ellmore directed a night of musical entertainments for which tickets cost fifty cents. In October, Mrs. Celine Riordan hosted another night of musical entertainment, which featured the farce *The Mouse Trap*, in which Mrs. Babbitt played the lead. A year later, debt was still owed on the church building, and so in August 1888, Laura Fulton, whom we met earlier seeking to establish a

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350 *Arizona Champion*, January 15, 1887; January 29, 1887.

351 *Arizona Champion*, February 12, 1887.

352 *Arizona Champion*, September 3, 1887

353 *Arizona Champion*, September 10, 1887; September 17, 1887.

354 *Arizona Champion*, October 22, 1887; October 29, 1887. Celine Riordan was married to David Matthew Riordan, who went by his middle name, Matt. As we will see, the couple figure prominently in Flagstaff social circles in the 1880s. The Riordans were one of two prominent families in Flagstaff history. The other family, the Babbitts, first began to arrive in Flagstaff in the 1880s (see Ashworth, 29) but did not become the famous fixtures of Flagstaff life until the next decade, the 1890s. For this reason, Babbitt family members do not often appear in this paper.
kindergarten, led a concert to raise additional funds.\textsuperscript{355} The next year, in September 1889, the church raised additional funds for new furniture and carpet for the church building by hosting two nights of concerts at the skating rink, then Wood Hall.\textsuperscript{356} The concert was a success, both in raising funds—new furniture arrived in late November—and in providing musical entertainment for the community.\textsuperscript{357}

Finally, like many Methodist churches, the one in Flagstaff had a Mite Society, a missionary organization named for the Biblical “widow’s mite,” the very small but heartfelt and honorable donation of a poor widow.\textsuperscript{358} Members of a Mite Society were typically expected to make a very small donation at each meeting for missionary activities.\textsuperscript{359} The meetings of the Flagstaff Mite Society

\textsuperscript{355} Arizona Champion, August 18, 1888.

\textsuperscript{356} Arizona Champion, September 28, 1889.

\textsuperscript{357} Arizona Champion, November 23, 1889.


\textsuperscript{359} Lisa Joy Pruitt, A Looking-Glass for Ladies: American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2005), 13-15. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, when the society was first established in Boston, the small donation was one cent. It is unclear if the Mite Society in Flagstaff was involved in missionary activity, as the newspaper does not record missionary activity. It is very likely that the money donated by the members of the society in Flagstaff were donated to the fund to build the church.
featured recitations and music. Entertainments and dances were also held by the society, sometimes following meetings.

A Catholic church was established in Flagstaff late into the 1880s. Previous to the establishment of a permanent church, Father Gubitosi occasionally traveled to Flagstaff from Prescott to perform Mass from the fall of 1886 to the spring of 1887. The Catholics in Flagstaff, meanwhile, desired a permanent church and parish. In January 1887, a number of Catholics in Flagstaff met at the home of Dr. Brannen. As a result of the meeting, a letter was sent by Michael J. Riordan, Jason A. Donavan, and Dr. Brannen to the Bishop in Tucson, the Reverend Bishop Bourgarde. The letter requested the appointment of a Catholic priest to Flagstaff and informed the Bishop of the town's ability to financially support a priest and the willingness to raise funds to build a church. The letter read, in part:

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360 *Arizona Champion*, May 8, 1886; May 15, 1886; May 21, 1887.

361 *Arizona Champion*, March 19, 1887. The weather following the Mite Society meeting and dance on March 27, 1885 was so bad, that George Hochderffer later recalled, “About midnight a storm came up, at first a cold rain with sleet and snow, and a cold wind form the northeast. We were obliged to face this wind all the way home” (Hochderffer, 40).

362 Cline, *They Came*, 263.

363 Letter to Dr. Reverend Bishop Bourgarde dated January 12, 1887. Riordan Family Collection, M. J. Riordan Letters, Box 1.1, AHS-NAD #4, Special Collections and Archives, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ; Cline, *They Came*, 263.
It has long been the desire of the Catholics of this place to have a priest among them, but no definite actions towards obtaining one has ever been taken prior to the meeting by which we were appointed to address you. The subject has been fully discussed, and the greatest enthusiasm and readiness to help has been exhibited by all. There are in the town about fifty Catholics; the most prominent merchants and businessmen being among their numbers. Of course we could hardly hope to build anything of a respectable church without calling on outside help. But this, we have not the least doubt, may be obtained in abundance.

As a result of the letter and a favorable reply from Bishop Bourgarde, in the summer of 1887, the Catholics raised $1,500 and began plans to build a new Catholic church. Father Gubitosi remained in Flagstaff and performed Sunday Mass at the schoolhouse until the permanent appointee, Father Ferrari, arrived in town sometime in the spring of 1888. 364 M. J. Riordan later recalled the music during one of the schoolhouse meetings with Father Gubitosi. He wrote, “It was in this schoolhouse on Sunday, January 29, 1888, that singing at Mass was first attempted. As there was a wheezy organ in one of the classrooms, it was dragged that Sunday into a strategic position, as impromptu choir was organized by . . . Caroline Metz and hymns were sung during the service to the great delight of the priest and the congregation.” 365

364 Ibid., 264.

365 Ibid., 264. Caroline Metz later married Timothy A. Riordan.
By June 1888, construction on the new Church of the Nativity had begun.366 The first Mass in the church was celebrated on Christmas 1888. Parishioners started a subscription for an organ, and by March 9, 1889, the newspaper announced that the “new, magnificent organ [was] at the depot.”367 A bell for the church was christened on November 17, 1889, and named “Star of Bethlehem.”368 Mass was typically celebrated Sunday mornings at 10:30 and Vespers Sunday night at 7 P.M.369 In the announcement of one service in the Arizona Champion, the paper promised, “The music will, as usual, be of a high order.”

Like the Methodist church, the Catholics also held benefits to raise money for construction projects, including dinners, ice cream socials, and concerts.370 The most extravagant benefits were the two Catholic Fairs held at Wood Hall, the first held the last three days of October 1888, and the latter the same last three days of October in 1889. The first Catholic Fair included food, refreshments, dancing with music, a raffle, and two contests.371 The Flagstaff Cornet Band also

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366 Arizona Champion, June 9, 1888.

367 Arizona Champion, March 9, 1889. Cline, They Came, 265. Unfortunately, the preceding issues of the Champion, which would have recorded the details of the subscription, are not extant.

368 Arizona Champion, November 16, 1889.

369 Arizona Champion, September 7, 1889.

370 Arizona Champion, June 30, 1888; March 16, 1889.

371 Arizona Champion, October 6, 1888; October 27, 1888; November 3, 1888:
played for the final two nights. The proceeds from the fair was $839.90. The Fair
the following year included an exhibition of oil paintings by Mrs. Dr. Brannen,
along with a number of contests. It was estimated that proceeds were around one
thousand dollars.\footnote{372}

Musical Items in the Arizona Champion

Like Prescott's Arizona Miner, the Arizona Champion also included
articles on musical activities, musical jokes, and other tidbits. However, unlike
Prescott's paper in which musical articles began to appear in the paper only
gradually, and after time, the Champion included musical events from its earliest
issues. The earliest settlers in Flagstaff, unlike Prescott, were not miners and
soldiers, but families. Reflective of the growth of the territory in the intervening
twenty years, the Champion included more mention of the many musical activities
in the territory and less on musical events from across the country. Also in
contrast to Prescott’s Miner, the articles in the Champion were much less
weighted on theatrical events and news, quite possibly because Flagstaff had very
little theatre during the 1880s.

Like the Miner, the Champion also printed jokes, one of which was a
musical joke. In February 1887, the paper printed: “The rack was one of the
instruments of torture in the olden time. The music rack is usually used for the

\footnote{372 Arizona Champion, November 2, 1889.}

November 17, 1888.
same purpose to-day.” Then a year and a half later we find, reprinted from the Springer Stockmen of July 1888, “The merry cowboys are now at the spring round up. As usual every outfit is supplied with a grand upright piano, and in addition John Hill has a quartette of vocalists to sing lullabys to the black-eyed bovians of the prairies. There is nothing so soothing to the bullocks as music.”

The newspaper also included mention of musical activity in the East. In April, 1884, the paper announced, under “Odds and Bits,” that Baltimore was to have a four-day musical festival, beginning April 30th. Two articles described events in Albuquerque, New Mexico. One short article noted, “A theatrical troupe, composed of colored folks, played in Albuquerque on the 29th inst.” The paper also announced the “Monster Musical Festival” in Albuquerque on November 23, 1889, at which P.S. Gilmore and his “greatest band of musicians on earth” would play in honor of Boston's Peace Jubilee.

Most of the announcements concerned events in Arizona territory. In June 1884, Phoenix had two popular variety theatres, and a September 1885 issue announced that Phoenix was organizing a brass band, which would serenade

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373 Arizona Champion, February 19, 1887.
374 Arizona Champion, July 21, 1888.
375 Arizona Champion, April 19, 1884.
376 Arizona Champion, December 1, 1888.
377 Arizona Champion, November 9, 1889. See footnote 229, above.
378 Arizona Champion, June 21, 1884; September 5, 1885.
the Governor Frederick Tritle later that winter. Miss Jeffreys Lewis and her company were performing in Tucson in spring 1886, and the Phoenix firemen were planning a grand ball in November, 1888. In May 1885, the paper announced, “Prescott wants a theatre building. We thought that the burlesque company performing there last winter would be sufficient for two years to come.”

Finally, the newspaper reprinted two excerpts from books. One was a reprint from a Parisian newspaper. The essay was on the creative process that Victorien Sardou used to write his plays, the same excerpt that appeared in the Prescott newspaper twenty years earlier. Another excerpt was a nonfiction story by Mr. Al Wheeler, pen name Nym Crinkle, which was printed in a New York journal and which, to the settlers of Flagstaff, must have been a striking example of a link between cowboy life and Classical music. The story was about a twenty-three-year-old cowboy named Babel who astounded listeners in New York one day by playing Beethoven and Schuman with the “facility, force, brilliancy, and rapidity” comparable to Rubenstein. Babel had not studied music,

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379 Arizona Champion, November 29, 1885. Governor Tritle was only visiting Phoenix. The capital was still in Prescott.

380 Arizona Champion, April 17, 1886.

381 Arizona Champion, November 3, 1888.

382 Arizona Champion, May 23, 1885.

383 Arizona Champion, June 16, 1888.
nor had he taken lessons, and he played with “the marvelous execution minus the technical knowledge.” His father had bought a Chickering piano when he was about sixteen, but it was placed in a corner and never played. However, when Babel was twenty-one, he fell off a horse while drunk, and was “laid up” for months. After the accident, he explained to the author of the article, “One day I had a shock. I did not know what it was then, but I know now. It was electricity.” He went to the piano, and “then I began to play. I hope I may die here if I know how I did it, but I played it.”

384 Arizona Champion, March 13, 1886. Babel gave a concert at Steinway Hall in New York, which the New York Times reviewed in the March 13, 1886, issue. “Mr. A. O. Babel, a performer that his managers have proudly introduced to the public as the ‘cowboy pianist,’ gave a piano recital at Steinway Hall yesterday evening. If it could be satisfactorily proved that Mr. Babel is wholly ignorant of music, and that his mastery of technique has been enquired instinctively and in a very short time, people might marvel at his efforts…. Notwithstanding the blue flannel shirt and leathern riding breeches in which he appears before the spectators, however, we incline to the belief that Mr. Babel is a graduate of some German conservatory who has turned ‘cowboy’ for a while and now proposes to give to his labors the novel charm of his prairie attire and ways.”
Bands and String Quartets

Because of its larger population than Prescott, Flagstaff enjoyed more musicians and more musical ensembles. The most prominent of these groups was the Flagstaff brass band, organized first under Professor A. D. Watson and then, after a few years of absence, by Professor J. B. Ellmore. Various other ensembles organized themselves as well, either for a period of time or for a single event, most notably the quartets led by J. C. Burge and Jim O'Neill.

Similar to Prescott’s Brass Band, Flagstaff’s Band was established early in the town's history, disappeared for a couple of years, and then was reestablished. Established sometime in the fall or winter of 1883, the band, under the direction of Professor A. D. Watson, included some men who had belonged to brass bands back East. Other members were new to music, and the paper noted that due to the “foresight and consideration which experience alone gives, [the accomplished musicians] have decided to send the amateur players to the distant school house for weekly practice, instead of asking the citizens to evacuate.”385 By the close of 1883, the band was organized and practicing, and its members had ordered additional instruments, at their own expense, which arrived in late December.386 The next month, the band serenaded a departing member, Robert Brownie, who

385 Arizona Champion, December 8, 1883.

386 Arizona Champion, December 28, 1883.
was returning to his home in the East. In March 1884, the band consisted of ten members: J. R. Treat on E-flat cornet, John Wallace on B-flat cornet, J. E. McCormick on E-flat alto, Q. S. Layton on tenor, J. L. Treat on baritone [sic], George M. Spencer on bass, J. M. Downing on tenor drum, Texas Jack on bass drum. The band also had three officer positions, two of which were filled by members of the band: John Wallace, President; D. A. Murphy, Secretary; and G. M. Spencer, Treasurer. The newspaper included, among other quotes from various members of the community, a high-spirited quote from the band, “If you don't like it—move out.” The early band spent most of their time in practice,

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387 *Arizona Champion*, January 19, 1884. The paper noted that “Bob returned the compliment in the shape of a few appropriate remarks in which he thanked them for the attention and bade them good bye.”

388 Though the article does not specify, Messrs. McCormick, Layton, Treat, and Spencer were likely on saxophone. Based on another newspaper article that listed the musicians planning to participate in the Fourth of July festivities in 1884 as the Flagstaff Brass Band, it seems that membership in the band varied. The musicians listed in June who may, or may not, represent a complete list of the participants in the Brass Band were J. E. McCormick, Sam King (who had previously played for the ball to open Hoxworth’s hardwood store on March 6, 1884), William Murphy, the Treat Brothers, John Farney, J. A. Wilson, and William Dyer. The Misses Belle and Maude Hoxworth also participated at the Fourth of July, but would not have been in the Band. It is worth noting the absence of Professor Watson's name, since it is unclear when he moved away from Flagstaff (*Arizona Champion*, June 14, 1884).

389 *Arizona Champion*, March 22, 1884. The newspaper article states that there were ten men in the band, but only lists eight instruments. I have not attempted to correct this contradiction, since it is unclear whether the “ten” was the ten men associated with the band (including the officers and Watson himself) or if the article failed to list all ten instrumental performers.

390 *Arizona Champion*, March 8, 1884.
and only a few public performances were recorded in the newspaper. The band serenaded their fellow band-mate George Spencer for his birthday and also serenaded the *Champion* newspaper office one Tuesday night in March. Unfortunately, no one was at the newspaper office at the time, and in the following issue, the editor wrote, “We regret the absence of the family and staff at the time, but we tender our thanks for the compliment instead of speeches and bouquets.”\(^{391}\) In May 1884, Mr. Patterson joined the band, playing the bass horn, and the band was practicing once or twice a week at the home of Dan Murphy. It seems that the band was not as popular as it had been, and the newspaper wrote, “Renewed interest is being taken in members. . . . The citizens should encourage the boys in their efforts, for no one doubts but what a band is a very desirable acquisition to a town and beneficial to the people in more ways than one.”\(^{392}\) The band played for the 1884 Fourth of July festivities.\(^{393}\) In September, the band serenaded the San Juan Saloon owner John N. Berry and his wife,\(^{394}\) and in November, there was a social hop for the band's benefit, with music organized by J. C. Burge.\(^{395}\) However, by the spring of 1885, the band had fallen apart.\(^{396}\) In

\(^{391}\) Arizona Champion, March 22, 1884.

\(^{392}\) Arizona Champion, May 10 1884.

\(^{393}\) See below for more details.

\(^{394}\) Arizona Champion, September 13, 1884.

\(^{395}\) Arizona Champion, November 29, 1884.

\(^{396}\) Arizona Champion, May 16, 1885.
May 1885, the newspaper editor wrote, “Now that some of the old members of the Flagstaff Cornet Band have returned, we hope they will reorganize for the purpose of edifying the people of Flagstaff with music. . . .” However, there was no reorganization of the band that had entertained the town for a year and a half. A number of possibilities for the disbanding present themselves, including a waning interest on the part of the citizens, as mentioned above, and a lack of performance opportunities so early in the town's history. Additionally, it seems that Professor Watson’s move from Flagstaff affected the band’s demise, after no one took over organization of the band.

Flagstaff was without a brass band for a number of years. It was not until early 1888 that another band was organized, under the direction of Professor J. B. Ellmore. By February 1888, the band was organized and practicing. Likely members of the band include P. P. Daggs, Robert Bell, J. W. Weatherford, Joseph and James Treat, Lee Norris, N. B. Layton, E. W. Carter, J. O. Jones, Mr. Shufflin, H. D. Ross, J. H. Hoskins, Jr., G. D. Crothers, and Jim O'Neill. The two Treat brothers were the only returning members from the band in 1884. In the summer

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397 *Arizona Champion*, May 30, 1885.

398 *Arizona Champion*, Feb 11, 1888.

399 *Arizona Champion*, August 18, 1888. The list contains some of individuals present at the Gunthrie’s party in August 1888, as discussed in the paragraph below. While these men are not specifically mentioned as members of the band, the newspaper article appears to be in order of friends of the Gunthries (couples), members of the Sunday school (all Misses), and then members of the band (the men), beginning with J. B. Ellmore.
of 1888, the band members ordered a new cornet, valued at 75 dollars, and presented it to Ellmore.\footnote{Arizona Champion, August 4, 1888.}

The band became an important addition to Flagstaff’s social activities, including such events as dances, holiday balls, the Catholic Fairs, excursions to Mormon Dairy, and other parties.\footnote{Many of these events are discussed more fully in other sections of the paper, i.e.: the holidays.} During the summers of 1888 and 1889, they played for both Memorial Day and Fourth of July festivities.\footnote{Arizona Champion, June 2, 1888; June 16, 1888; July 7, 1888.} In the fall of 1888, the band hosted and played for a dance at D.A. Murphy's new store.\footnote{Arizona Champion, September 15, 1888} The band also played at a local ratification meeting in November 1888 to celebrate Benjamin Harrison and Levi Morton's successful Presidential campaign,\footnote{Arizona Champion, November 17, 1888.} and the band serenaded Tom Roe, a racing bicyclist representing \textit{The Chicago Herald} who spent a night in Flagstaff at the Bank Hotel in October 1889.\footnote{Arizona Champion, October 19, 1889.}

Citizens of Flagstaff showed appreciation for the band. In August 1888, the band was invited by Pastor Guthrie and his wife to a social party, along with the young ladies of George D. Crothers' Sunday school.\footnote{Arizona Champion, August 18, 1888.} The following month,
George Hoxworth hosted an entertainment at his home, in honor of both the band and of those who assisted in the building of his new residence. 407 Tinker, too, praised the band in the *Arizona Champion*. In October 1888, he wrote, “Flagstaff can well boast of the best brass band in the territory.” 408 In March 1889, he wrote, “During the week sweet strains of music hath stolen into our lonely sanctum and touched the hidden cord of consanguinity with which human nature is more or less endowed, keep it up, boys, and you will be the pride of Flagstaff on the Fourth of July.” 409

In the spring and summer of 1888, the band organized two excursions to nearby Mormon Dairy. The first of these took place on Saturday, May 5. 410 The cost was $1.50. The excursion left Flagstaff at 7:30 in the morning and included a short ride along the Mineral Belt Railroad, complete with a picnic lunch that the excursionists brought themselves. The newspaper wrote that rain showers began soon after the party left on the train, 411 but there was no mention of how long the rain lasted, or whether the showers ruined the picnic. Later that summer, on July 17, the band hosted a second excursion to the Mormon Dairy, specifically to the

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407 *Arizona Champion*, September 1, 1888.

408 *Arizona Champion*, October 27, 1888.

409 *Arizona Champion*, March 16, 1889.

410 *Arizona Champion*, April 28 1888.

411 *Arizona Champion*, May 5, 1888.
grand rodeo with 3000 head of cattle taking place that day at the Dairy. This time tickets were $1.50 for adults, with additional tickets selling for 75 cents for children under 10 years of age. Tickets were sold at the train on the day of the event, or in advance at Dr J. Brannen's Drug Store and at the stores of Cameron & Bind and of G. A. Bray. Approximately one hundred people took part in the excursion.

The band remained a part of the town into the next decade. Figure 7 is a photograph of the Flagstaff Brass Band in a parade with the Arizona National Guard Company in 1892, and figure 8 is a later photograph of the band in front of a store in 1900.

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412 Arizona Champion, July 14, 1888.

413 Arizona Champion, July 21, 1888.
Two men in town, J. C. Burge and Jim O’Neill, led string quartets, which performed at balls and dances during the 1880s. One of the first balls for which

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One J. B. O’Neill took part in the theatrical performances in Prescott, about 124
J. C. Burge played was a ball hosted by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, held at the train depot in Winslow in June 1884. Burge played violin, along with Banjo Bill and a Mexican guitar player, while Matthew Black and Mr. McDonald, the latter from Winslow, led the calls for the quadrille. The ball was attended by approximately seventy-five people, including nineteen from Albuquerque and twenty-nine from Flagstaff. The newspaper noted, “The program ought to have been 40 dances to meet the wants of the merry and graceful dancers.” Burge led the music for the Fourth of July ball that year, playing first violin along with W.W. Bass, Banjo Bill and two other musicians performing on bass viol and guitar.

Burge played for two other events reviewed in the newspaper in 1884, both of which took place in November of 1884. The first of these was the grand ball hosted by the G.A.R. (see below) on November 12 at Union Hall. Burge’s “quadrille band” also played for a social hop given in benefit of the brass band.

twenty years earlier. It is unclear, though possible, that Jim O’Neill in Flagstaff is the same as the J. B. O’Neill in Prescott.

415 Arizona Champion, June 7, 1884.

416 Arizona Champion, July 5, 1884.

417 Arizona Champion, November 15, 1884. See below for more details.

418 Arizona Champion, November 29, 1884.
Jim O'Neill moved to the Flagstaff area in 1876 to raise sheep.\textsuperscript{419} O'Neill was considered to be the best fiddler in town and led the music for a number of dances and balls throughout the decade. His orchestra led the music for a dance to celebrate the opening of John Berry's new saloon building in spring 1886,\textsuperscript{420} and also for the G.A.R. ball in December 1887. In August 1888, O'Neill and assistants played for Jason Black's social party at his home.\textsuperscript{421} Occasionally, O'Neill would join with the town Brass Band to provided music for various events. In September 1888, D. A. Murphy held a dance to open his new store. While the Cornet Band played for the dance, O'Neill and his orchestra provided music for the midnight supper at J. F. Hawk's restaurant.\textsuperscript{422} Although O'Neill was considered the best fiddler in town, he also enjoyed his drinking. One early settler, George Hochderffer, later recalled a story in which O'Neill had been engaged to play at a dance.\textsuperscript{423} After word reached the organizers that O'Neill was too drunk to perform, the organizers quickly engaged an orchestra that was playing at a saloon. “The music hadn't more than begun the grand march when Jim O'Neill stepped in, with his fiddle under one arm and a loaded double-barreled shotgun under the other. He demanded fair play and got it. The orchestra stepped out and

\textsuperscript{419} Cline, \textit{They Came}, 210.
\textsuperscript{420} \textit{Arizona Champion}, May 1, 1886.
\textsuperscript{421} \textit{Arizona Champion}, September 1, 1888.
\textsuperscript{422} \textit{Arizona Champion}, September 22, 1888.
\textsuperscript{423} Hochderffer, 81.
Jim played until daylight.” Hochderffer ended his reminiscence by stating, “I can't remember enjoying myself more than I did at that dance.”
The Lodges

Fraternal lodges were founded in Flagstaff very early in the town’s history, similar to the early establishment of the Masonic lodge in Prescott in the winter of 1864. By the end of the 1880s, the three largest lodges in Flagstaff were the Knights of Pythias, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Sons of Veterans. All three of these lodges hosted numerous musical events, typically balls, for various holidays and anniversary events.

Flagstaff’s Ransom Post Lodge of the Grand Army of the Republic, or G.A.R., was a fraternal lodge for Union Civil War veterans. Their first musical event was a grand ball held on November 12, 1884, at Union Hall, with music led by J. C. Burge. A year later, there was another grand ball for their anniversary, held September 23, 1885, at Middleton’s hall. The event was announced in the Arizona Champion a couple of weeks previous, invitations were sent one week in advance, and a reminder article was printed in the newspaper the week prior to

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424 After a failed attempt to create interest in 1884, a Masonic lodge was founded in Flagstaff later in the decade, in December 1888. The lodge hosted one grand ball the following month (Cline, They Came, 271).

425 Cline, Mountain Town, 16.

426 Arizona Champion, November 15, 1884.

427 Arizona Champion, September 5, 1885.
the event. The newspaper later included a review of the ball. Along with the typical praise for the attendance, preparation, and mirth of the ball, the article noted “the expressions of entire satisfaction by the guests [fell] as fluently as the rain patters on the roof.” A second grand ball was held for the G.A.R.'s second anniversary, held on September 23, 1886. The ball was first announced in the newspaper in the issue printed September 18, 1886. Tickets cost one dollar. The ball began at about nine p.m. with a grand march. Dinner was served at midnight, and the dancing continued until about 3:00 AM. The hall was decorated with flags and evergreens.

In early 1886, the G.A.R. began plans for a new building. The new hall was 18 by 40 feet, and though it was intended primarily for meetings of the Post, the hall was built to be available for public meetings as well as church services. A cupola and bell were included in the plans specifically to serve the various organizations that might wish to utilize the hall. Initially, the Post planned to open the new hall with a grand ball on Washington's Birthday. However, a fire interrupted the construction. Work began again in early March. The hall

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428 Arizona Champion, September 19, 1885
429 Arizona Champion, September 26, 1885.
430 Arizona Champion, September 18, 1886
431 Arizona Champion, September 25, 1886.
432 Arizona Champion, February 13, 1886.
433 Arizona Champion, February 27, 1886.
opened with a ball on April 15, which doubled as a celebration for St. Patrick’s Day.\textsuperscript{435} The ball was a considered a success and dancing ended at about one o’clock a.m. with the song “Home, Sweet Home.”\textsuperscript{436}

The Ransom Post also hosted “camp fires” at their new hall, where everyone was welcome to attend. The camp fires were concerts, with music and recitations. The first campfire was held May 1, 1886, and included singing, an address by T. G. Morris, and a recitation by Laura Hoxworth.\textsuperscript{437} Admission was five dollars, which went to the Post's relief fund. The paper reviewed the concert, writing:

\begin{quote}
The programme, which consisted of songs, duets, addresses, and recitations was excellent, and each and every one acquitted themselves well in their different parts. The recitation by Miss Laura Hoxworth was admirably rendered and its delivery was perfect. . . . The song by the twins, Iran and Irene Hoxworth, showed considerable talent for such little folks. The entertainment closed with the song, “John Brown's Body,” in which the entire audience joined.
\end{quote}

Another benefit event was a grand ball in October 1886, at the skating rink, for the benefit of the people of Charleston, South Carolina, following their earthquake on August 31.\textsuperscript{438} This ball was well-attended not just by the town, but by visitors from along the railroad. W. A. Dyer, who also organized the event, Mr.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{434}{\textit{Arizona Champion}, March 6, 1886.}
\footnotetext{435}{\textit{Arizona Champion}, April 17, 1886.}
\footnotetext{436}{See the discussion of “Home, Sweet Home” on page 44.}
\footnotetext{437}{\textit{Arizona Champion}, April 24, 1886; May 8, 1886.}
\footnotetext{438}{\textit{Arizona Champion}, Oct 9, 1886.}
\end{footnotes}
Cotton, the band leader J. B. Ellmore, and string leader Jim O'Neill provided the music. Two weeks later, a party was held for the benefit of Messrs. Dyer, Cotton, Ellmore, and O'Neill. Fifty people danced until 2:00 AM. Additionally, in what may have been their only appearance, the Flagstaff Glee Club sang for the musicians' benefit; the Arizona Champion mentions the Flagstaff Glee Club only once, so it must have been a short-lived organization.\footnote{Arizona Champion, October 23, 1886.}

In addition to grand balls, the Post also hosted social parties at their hall. For example, in May 1886, twenty couples attended a dance at the hall, with music by O'Neill's string band.\footnote{Arizona Champion, May 22, 1886.} Later that year, in September 1886, another dance was given, also attended by twenty couples.\footnote{Arizona Champion, September 4, 1886.} Another dance took place in December 1887, at which Jim O'Neill and his string band provided music.\footnote{Arizona Champion, December 31, 1887. Considering that the dance took place on December 28, this may have been a holiday party.} Another dance took place the following month, in January, 1888.\footnote{Arizona Champion, January 14, 1888.}
Sons of Veterans

Another lodge in Flagstaff, the Sons of Veterans, also hosted balls.\textsuperscript{444} Their first ball was a masquerade held November 12, 1886, at the skating rink.\textsuperscript{445} Tickets were $1.50, but by invitation only. The ball was considered a success, and the \textit{Arizona Champion} printed a large review on the event:

\begin{quote}
The hall was handsomely and profusely decorated with flags, banners, evergreens, and Chinese lanterns, the floor was waxed, and two large stoves were provided for the comfort of the dancers, as the night was bitterly cold. . . . At nine o'clock the grand march was announced. Only the maskers, about sixteen couples, joined to this, and the rest of the company had an excellent opportunity of observing the various costumes. There were clowns, sailors, Indians, cowboys, and fantastic characters among the gentlemen, while the ladies contented themselves with personating pleasant girls of various nations, flower girls, night and morning, etc. The scene at this time was animated, varied and beautiful. The first quadrille was made up entirely of those in costume, but thereafter all the guests were permitted to join in the dancing. At eleven o'clock the order to unmask was given, and great was the surprise among mutual friends and acquaintances that they had been so deceived.\textsuperscript{446}
\end{quote}

Supper was served at midnight at the G.A.R. restaurant, and the dancing ended around three in the morning with the final song, “Home Sweet Home.” The paper noted, “Some were so infatuated, however, that they continued to dance even to this suggestive melody.” Another successful grand ball took place in August

\textsuperscript{444} In military style, a fife and drum were used during meetings (Cline, \textit{They Came}, 268-269).

\textsuperscript{445} \textit{Arizona Champion}, October 30, 1886; November 6, 86; November 13, 1886.

\textsuperscript{446} \textit{Arizona Champion}, November 13, 1886.
Tickets cost $1.50, and invitations were extended to gentlemen and ladies in nearby towns, including Winslow and Williams.

Like the Ransom Post, the Sons of Veterans also hosted entertainments and social dances. One musical entertainment took place February 5, 1887, with music, addresses, and recitations. There was a dance also that same month. Sometimes the Sons of Veterans and the G.A.R. hosted events together, such as a campfire entertainment in November 1886. The event was held in honor of Captain William Griffin and his son, Everett, who belonged to the G.A.R. and Sons of Veterans, respectively, and who were moving to California.

Knights of Pythias

The Lodge of the Knights of Pythias was organized in Flagstaff in May 1887. Like the G.A.R. and Sons of Veterans, the Knights of Pythias also held grand balls. Their first event was a Thanksgiving ball at their new hall on the second floor of J.R. Kilpatrick’s store. Sixty couples took part in the opening grand march at nine o’clock p.m., and the total number of people present was

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447 *Arizona Champion*, August 10, 1889; August 17, 1889; August 24, 1889.
448 *Arizona Champion*, February 5, 1887.
449 *Arizona Champion*, February 12, 1887.
450 *Arizona Champion*, November 6, 1886.
451 Cline, *They Came*, 269.
452 *Arizona Champion*, October 15, 1887; November 26, 1887.
approximately one hundred. There was also a grand ball for the statewide Grand Lodge meeting of the Knights in May 1889. The U.S. Sixth Cavalry Orchestra provided music for both a concert and for the grand ball on May 25.

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\(^{453}\) *Arizona Champion*, April 6, 1889.

\(^{454}\) *Arizona Champion*, May 25, 1889; June 1, 1889. The cavalry musicians returned to play for the Flagstaff Fourth of July that year. See below.
The Literary Society

In January 1884, the editor of the newspaper, Artemus Fay, announced in the *Champion*, “It is probable some society of a social nature, will be formed by the young men of Flagstaff. . . . We listened to an earnest discussion of the matter by a party of young men, but confess we cannot yet determine whether it will be a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, a literary society or a lodge of the Ancient Order of Caliathumpians.” These young men had made up their minds by March 1884, when they found a literary society. The *Champion* editor promoted the society as “an interesting and instructive entertainment.”

The initial members of the society included Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Hicks, Col. H. Reed, J. W. Spafford, E. McCormack, the avid ball attendee Miss Kate Crothers, John Farney, who had played in the brass band, attorney W. L. Van Horn, Jason A. Marshall, W. L. Stewart, Dr. J. Brannen, J. H. Miller, and E.M. Sanford.

The Literary Society met twice a month at the schoolhouse. A typical meeting of the society included recitations, readings, addresses, and essays, which were interspersed with musical entertainments, typically singing by a number of the society members. Music was included in meetings, because, as the newspaper

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455 *Arizona Champion*, January 12, 1884.

456 The first meeting was on March 12, and the Society was officially organized on April 11 at a meeting that took place in the physician Dr. Brennan's office (*Arizona Champion*, April 24, 1884).

457 *Arizona Champion* March 1, 1884.

458 *Arizona Champion*, March 8, 1884.
noted, “[it] add[s] interest to the occasion, as it varies the exercises, and music is always acceptable to an appreciative audience.” After each meeting’s intermission, the society debated a topic. The debates were usually political. For example, in March, the society debated “Resolved, That Chinese immigration should be prohibited.” The meetings usually ended with a song and a grand march. The songs and musical entertainments included solos and duets. The first meeting of the Literary Society included one song performed by E. McCormack and two songs performed by John Farney. Other performers at the society included DeWitt C. Newell on flute, J. C. Burge, William Dyer, W. J. Murphy and Paul Riedel both on cornet, and a solo by Miss Belle Hoxworth. One meeting also included the performance of a one-act farce.

The society was short-lived, however. Over the summer, the group fell apart, and there is no mention of the society in the newspaper in either July or August 1884. In September, the Champion editor, Tinker, asked, “Wouldn't it be a good move to organize our literary society again? Some start the ball to

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459 Arizona Champion, April 19, 1884.

460 Arizona Champion, March 1, 1884.

461 Arizona Champion, March 1, 1884.

462 Arizona Champion, June 7, 1884; June 14, 1884; June 21, 1884. William Dyer and Dan Murphy had played in the brass band.

463 Cline, They Came, 290.
rolling." The society met once in February 1885 and once more the following month, but it was not as popular as it had been. In the review of the March meeting, Tinker observed, “. . . [T]here was a very respectable attendance of both ladies and gentlemen, but not as many as there should have been. The officers of the Society are probably as much to blame as our citizens, as the most of them were very conspicuous for their absences. . . . We hope to see more interest taken in the organization hereafter.” However, it was not until the end of 1887 that the society reorganized, becoming the “Chautauqua Circle.”

“Chautauqua Circle” (C.L.S.C)

The reorganized literary society met at the Methodist church on Friday, November 11, 1887, when the society debated “Resolved, that the A. & P. R.R [Atlantic & Pacific Railroad] should forfeit its Land Grant.” This meeting did not include musical entertainment. In January 1888, the literary society adopted the curriculum from the “Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle.” Originating from a summer training camp and supported by the Methodist Church, the

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464 Arizona Champion, September 6, 1884.

465 Arizona Champion, February 21, 1885; March 25, 1885.

466 Arizona Champion, March 25, 1885.

467 Arizona Champion, November 5, 1887.
Chautauqua Circle provided curriculum that fostered adult education in literary societies across the nation.\textsuperscript{468}

The society began meeting once a week on Wednesday nights at the church, beginning on January 18, 1888.\textsuperscript{469} A typical meeting opened with roll call, during which each member would state their present attendance by reciting a selection of prose selection or a quote from an author. Following this would be selections from the Chautauqua curriculum, interspersed with singing. During early C.L.S.C. meetings, the programs ended with a “Question basket,” led by various members. After a few months, however, the meetings ended with a discussion of current events and a time for unfinished business. The society meetings included occasional debate, including “Resolved: That a pretty, lazy woman is preferable to an ugly industrious one.”\textsuperscript{470} Though the society included women, only men participated in this particular debate: H. J. Miller and N. L. Gunthrie for the affirmative and H. D. Ross and T. G. Norris for the negative. With the women present in the room, it must have been a lively debate.

Musical activity, whether it be general singing or instrumental or vocal solo, was organized by a number of members. Miss Morgan was in charge of singing for the February 15 meeting, and she performed two pieces at the meeting


\textsuperscript{469} \textit{Arizona Champion}, January 14, 1888.

\textsuperscript{470} \textit{Arizona Champion}, February 4, 1888.
on March 7. Miss Weatherford was in charge of music for the meetings on March 21 and April 18. J. B. Ellmore organized the music on March 14, March 28, and, with the assistance of Jim O’Neill, for the July 11 meeting. The meeting on March 28 was of particular importance. The society invited persons interested in joining the society, and as was advertised in the newspaper, “the above programme has been carefully prepared for the entertainment of visitors.” For this meeting, Ellmore organized a musical quartette, and Harry Fulton sang a solo and a comic song.

The society was briefly disbanded in July and briefly reorganized in September, meeting once a week on Friday evenings. When the society reformed in the spring of 1889, it no longer used the Chautauqua curriculum materials and was renamed the Flagstaff Musical and Literary Association. Meetings continued to include readings, recitations, speeches, and musical entertainments. The Association met once a week on Wednesday nights into the next decade.

471 Arizona Champion, February 11, 1888; March 3, 1888.
472 Arizona Champion, February 25, 1888.
473 Arizona Champion, March 17, 1888; April 14, 1888.
474 Arizona Champion, March 10, 1888; March 24, 1888; July 7, 1888.
475 Arizona Champion, March 24, 1888.
476 Arizona Champion, July 21, 1888; September 29, 1888; October 27, 1888. It is unclear when the society disbanded in the fall.
The Saloons

No matter how many churches and societies the people of Flagstaff supported, Flagstaff remained, in part, a frontier saloon town, and the cowboys and laborers who moved to town during the building of the railroad continued to live and work in Flagstaff.\(^{477}\) Flagstaff had numerous bars, saloons, and dance halls in the 1880s, many along the street known as Saloon Row.\(^{478}\) The dance houses in Flagstaff were never mentioned in the newspaper, nor acknowledged by the respectable citizens of the town. The townspeople were careful to distinguish between proper and improper dancing, especially in regard to theater and drinking. For example, the newspaper advertisement for the Grand Ball held at Hawks’ Hall on the Fourth of July in 1887 was carefully to state that “all respectable people” were invited.\(^ {479}\)

Flagstaff’s saloons hosted musical entertainment, including two saloons that advertised piano entertainment: John Berry's San Juan Saloon and the saloon of J. W. Weatherford and Wash Henry.\(^ {480}\) In fact, enough Flagstaff saloons had

\(^{477}\) In September 1882, during the building of the railroad, Flagstaff had eighteen saloons (Cline, *They Came*, 136).

\(^{478}\) Hochderffer, 71.

\(^{479}\) *Arizona Champion*, July 2, 1887.

\(^{480}\) Hochderffer, in his memoir, writes that in 1880s, “most of the saloons had pianos with female entertainers” (Hochderffer, 81). However, I can find no other
pianos that in June 1887, J. W. Weatherford and Wash Henry advertised a new
songstress at their saloon, rather than the acquisition of a piano: “Weatherford and
Henry, the popular saloon men, have added to their many attractions a fine piano
player and songstress who arrived from San Francisco this week.”

John Berry’s San Juan Saloon hosted numerous musical guests and events.
The first advertisement for his San Juan Saloon appeared in the newspaper in
February 1884. By July 1885, the saloon had its own piano, which Berry lent
out for a ball hosted the following month at Middleton’s Hall by Flagstaff Social
Club. In the summer of 1885, the paper noted that “Edson Long, janitor of the
Council of the Thirteenth Legislature [in Prescott, where he lived], is in Flagstaff,
pressing the ivories of the piano at Berry’s San Juan. He is an artist.” In
evidence of “most,” but rather I can only find evidence of two saloons with pianos
in the 1880s.

481 Arizona Champion, June 4, 1887:. Although the newspaper article does not
specify Henry’s first name, Wash Henry was known as a saloon-owner. Wash
Henry opened another saloon, the Gem, the next year, following a fire, which
presumably burned the saloon mentioned here. Weatherford later established the
Weatherford Hotel (Cline, They Came, 163, 164, 243).

482 Arizona Champion, February 9, 1884.

483 Arizona Champion, August 1, 1885; August 8, 1885. This ball is the only
mention of the Flagstaff Social Club. The piano was played by Mrs. Dr.
Hendricks.

484 Arizona Champion, July 18, 1885. Edson Long lived in Prescott and was
visiting Flagstaff. He was previously mentioned in the Champion after he was
hired to play the newly-purchased piano at the Prescott Saloon, along with H.T.
Martim on violin and S.B. Swidensky on cornet (Arizona Champion, July 12
1884).
September of 1886, the paper wrote, “The music at the San Juan Saloon during the past few nights, seems to be enjoyed by the large crowds who thronged the place.”\textsuperscript{485} Following this observation, a new article advertising the saloon appeared in the newspaper: “Whenever you desire to hear some good music, visit the San Juan Saloon and you will be amply rewarded.”\textsuperscript{486} The next month, the paper wrote, “A regular old fashioned cowboy dance, took place at the San Juan, Tuesday evening. The boys were in from the rodeo, and for a couple of hours, enjoyed themselves to the fullest extent imaginable.”\textsuperscript{487} Sadly, Berry was killed in a brawl at his saloon on January 18, 1887.\textsuperscript{488} At his funeral, the choir of the Methodist church sang “Thy Will be Done.”

The Skating Rink

Of the various venues for balls and other social events, the most popular was the skating rink. The rink was originally called Union Hall until Jack Smith and Robert Bell converted the Hall into a roller skating rink sometime before January, 1885, after Jack Smith observed the popularity of skating rinks on a trip back East.\textsuperscript{489} The skating rink quickly became popular, and the February 7 issue

\textsuperscript{485} Arizona Champion, September 4, 1886.

\textsuperscript{486} Arizona Champion, September 25, 1886.

\textsuperscript{487} Arizona Champion, October 2, 1886.

\textsuperscript{488} Arizona Champion, January 22, 1887.

\textsuperscript{489} Arizona Champion, January 31, 1885. According to a later article, the
of the newspaper noted, “The skating rink is the rage and is gathering in all the loose change in the town.” In addition to general socializing and roller skating, the rink was used for dances, masquerade balls, concerts, and theatrical performances. The hall appears to have been the largest in Flagstaff, accommodating up to 28 sets of dancers.

In the spring of 1885, the skating rink was the venue for a number of skating carnivals. The first of these was held on April 10, 1885. The Champion wrote on the affair, “At an early hour in the evening the masquerade 'on wheels' made their appearance in the spacious apartment, and a more merry and gay assemblage never gathered together in Flagstaff.” Over twenty people attended the carnival, including Lillie and Jennie Beal, Cora Marshall, Susie Taylor, Mary Black, Jesse Black, Jim Black, Jim O'Neill, and Elmer Hoxworth. Masquerade costumes included Mrs. A. A. Dutton dressed as the Champion newspaper, Susie Taylor and Mary Black as the Twin Sisters, Jesse Black as a Chinaman, also an  

conversion began as early as mid-November 1884 (Arizona Champion, May 5, 1885; November 8, 1884). In announcing the new skating rink, the newspaper was careful to ensure the respectability of the venue. “The institution will be ably and creditably conducted, as the very names of the management guarantee.”

Arizona Champion, February 7, 1885. Jack Smith actually opened two rinks, one in Flagstaff and one in Prescott in partnership with J. L. Fischer. In May, however, Mr. Fischer closed the rink in Prescott because the rink was “not going to suit him, although the patronage was excellent” (Arizona Champion May 23, 1885).

Arizona Champion, April 6, 1889.

Arizona Champion, April 18, 1885.
Irish Lord, a Yankee, a Dutchman, a Dutch butcher, a clown, and a number of men dressed as women: a fair young maiden, a “frisky female in search of a husband,” a washerwomen, a school girl, and Mother Hubbard. A second carnival was held to celebrate May Day. The masquerade was announced in the newspaper a week beforehand. The newspaper announcement promised “good music,” and the appointment of a May Queen. Tickets to skate at the rink, but not including attendance at the ball, were twenty-five cents. Tickets that including the ball were $1.00 each, and the skaters were to remain in costume until 10 p.m., at which time they would reveal themselves. A number of people from out of town attended the ball. The Champion reviewed the event with an attempt at elevated writing: “The costumes of both ladies and gentlemen were the most perfect in deception as to identify that were ever gotten up here, and as the strange forms glided over the floor the scene was grand to look upon.”

The skating rink remained popular through the summer. Another carnival was held on June 20th, for which the newspaper observed, “The skating rink continues to attract nightly devotees of the rollers.” Another dancing party took place in August 1885. On April 23, 1886, a musical performance at the rink

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493 Arizona Champion, April 25, 1885.

494 Arizona Champion, May 2, 1885.

495 Arizona Champion, June 20, 1885.

496 Arizona Champion, August 15, 1885.
featured J. H. St. Lawrence, the blind baritone and organist. The night also included presentations of scriptural, historical, descriptive and comic diorama scenes by A. J. Ahola. The newspaper reported:

The entertainment was closed by the presentation of a double photograph album to the most popular lady in the house, which was determined by the vote of the audience. This created considerable rivalry among the young men of our town, and a number of candidates were entered for the prize. After a close and exciting contest the album was awarded to Miss Mary Black. Another prize was then offered for the laziest man in the house, which was captured by one of the legal fraternity.

The January 15, 1887, issue of the Arizona Champion included the note, “The rink building will probably be used as a temporary Round house for the Mineral Belt railroad.” However, the loss of the rink must have been opposed, because by the next month the paper announced, “Now that the skating rink has been repaired and made weather tight, it will be a pleasant place for balls and other entertainments. . . . The rink has been lined throughout with new lumber and ample heating arrangements have been made to ensure comfortable warmth for those present. Hitherto the drawback to the rink has been the impossibility of keeping it warm in cold weather.” In March 1887, George Rodgers, under the direction of Jack Smith, opened the skating rink as the Fashion Saloon and Beer

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497 Arizona Champion, April 24, 1886.

498 Since the event is referred to as a performance and not a dance and since the article strictly references “audience,” it is not clear what behavior won the “laziest man” award.

499 Arizona Champion, January 15, 1887

500 Arizona Champion, February 19, 1887.
Garden. He advertised in the newspaper, “The best of everything will be kept on hand and entertainments of various kinds including roller skating and dancing will be given. It will doubtless be a popular resort during the summer months.”

However, Robert Bell protested the addition of a bar to the skating rink, which either in appearance or in reality meant the skating rink, where young people danced, would become a dance hall, where unrespectable women danced. A couple of weeks later, Bell's lawyer, W. L. Van Horn, printed a statement in the newspaper on behalf of his client, “[Bell] has strongly and uniformly opposed from the first any attempt to convert the Skating Rink into a dance-house, and since it is so occupied against his will and beyond his power to prevent, he has used his best endeavors to sell out even at a heavy sacrifice. . . we wish to remove the stigma cast upon his name—perhaps unwittingly.”

Whatever Bell's moral apprehensions, the rink and bar remained open throughout the summer.

In January 1888, Clark and Bell sold the building to the Arizona Wood Company, who planned to remodel the building into storerooms and offices. In February, the company held a dance at the building, now referred to as Wood Hall, led by a committee consisting of Mrs. Riordan, Mrs. Babbitt, Mr. Sommers, and

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501 Arizona Champion, March 19, 1887.

502 Arizona Champion, April 2, 1887.

503 Arizona Champion, January 28, 1888. It seems during the legal and moral disagreements between Bell and Smith, Bell replaced Smith as owner.
Mr. Foster. Again, there must have been town opposition to the conversion of
the skating rink, because rather than becoming offices and storage, the building
was used once more for skating during the summer of 1888. Wood Hall remained
the venue for numerous events through the years, many of which are discussed
elsewhere in this paper. Events included masquerade balls, grand balls, dances,
benefit concerts, Catholic Fairs, private parties, lodge events, and theatrical
performances.

Theatrical Performances

The skating rink also hosted three different theatrical performances in the
1880s, two which were by visiting theatre companies. The first theatrical
performance was the Flagstaff Dramatic Company, organized by Andrew Doyle
from Chicago. Under the direction of Mr. G. B. Lockwood, the Dramatic
Company turned the skating rink building into a theatre hall, building a new stage
and adding a drop curtain and scenery. The Champion newspaper took the
opportunity to boast, “Flagstaff has now the leading theatre in the Territory, with
all necessary stage appointments, and seating capacity for six hundred people.”

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504 Arizona Champion, February 11, 1888.
505 The visiting theatrical companies were taxed $5 for each performance
(Arizona Champion, March 26, 1887).
506 Arizona Champion, January 9, 1886.
507 Arizona Champion, January 23, 1886.
The Company gave one performance on January 21, 1886.\textsuperscript{508} Tickets were fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children. The performance included two plays: the six-act drama \textit{The Miner's Fate}, and the farce \textit{Wanted Lodgings}. The lead character in \textit{The Miner's Fate}, James Morgan, was played by Doyle. The performance was followed by a dance.

A little over a year later, Doyle assisted a visiting theatrical company from the Palace Theatre in Denver. For the event, the skating rink was renamed “The Variety Theater,” and then “The Flagstaff Opera House.” The theatre group performed for one evening on September 10, 1887.\textsuperscript{509} Half of the proceeds went to establish a Hook and Ladder Company.\textsuperscript{510} The newspaper assured, “Preparations have been made especially for the comfort of ladies and reserved seats will be provided for them. The manager specially wishes it understood, that there will be no drinks sold, no dancing; that the strictest order will be maintained.” The reserve tickets did not include an additional charge. The \textit{Champion} noted, “The company will include a splendid minstrel troupe as well as a number of dramatic and musical artists of high reputation in the profession,” which included Mrs. B. C. Levy, originally from San Francisco, but living in Winslow, who sang for the performance. The \textit{Champion} included a very short

\textsuperscript{508} \textit{Arizona Champion}, January 16, 1886.

\textsuperscript{509} \textit{Arizona Champion}, September 3, 1887. It seems the performance was delayed by a week. Originally, the paper had announced the variety troupe would premier on Sept 3 (August 20, 1887).

\textsuperscript{510} \textit{Arizona Champion}, September 10, 1887.
review of the performance, “The performance at the rink building last Saturday evening was entertaining and it would have drawn a much larger audience had it been in any other place.”

The skating rink, now known as Arizona Wood Hall, was host to another theatrical event the following summer. It was a performance of *Esmeralda*, a four-act drama by Francis Hodgson Burnett and William Gillette. The performance was a local production to raise funds to establish a public library. The Flagstaff Dramatic Company, organized under the direction of Mrs. D.M. Riordan, included Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Clark, Clara Coffin, R. H. Cameron, Dr. J. M. Marshall, C. A. Keller, Miss Murray, P. S. Simmons, Zeke Bowman, and Miss Marshall. Rehearsals were held at participants’ homes. A stage was built in the Wood Hall building, and the drama premiered June 23, 1888.

The newspaper printed a favorable review in the following issue, which noted the full house, praised individual performances, and recorded that the event

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511 *Arizona Champion*, September 17, 1887.

512 Esmeralda Rogers wishes to marry her neighbor, Dave Hardy. After gold is discovered on Rogers’ property, her mother sends her to Europe in the hope she will marry very well. However, when it is discovered that the gold is actually on the Hardy’s property, Esmeralda returns home and marries her sweetheart with everyone’s approval (Gerald Martin Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak, *Oxford Companion to American Theater* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 209-210).

513 *Arizona Champion*, June 9, 1888.

514 *Arizona Champion*, June 23, 1888.
raised $150 for the library.\textsuperscript{515} The newspaper also printed humorous, and potentially fictional, quotes of leading members of the community who had attended.

Social Parties

In addition to the dances held by business at the halls of their stores and hotels, as discussed above, many Flagstaff families hosted social events at their homes. Some of these parties received full reviews in the newspaper, while others received only a short mention. Presumably, some events were not mentioned in the paper at all. I have chosen to limit the discussion to the most prominent social events, concentrating on the most sociable families in alphabetical order.\textsuperscript{516}

William Henry Ashurst was one of the earliest settlers to Flagstaff, having moved there in 1875 with his wife and son. He raised sheep and cattle and represented Yavapai County at the Fourteenth Territorial Legislature Session of 1887, where he received the title Honorary Ashurst\textsuperscript{517} At one point, after public school funds had been depleted, Ashurst paid the teacher's salary for the public school where his son Henry and daughter Eva attended.\textsuperscript{518} In addition to New 

\textsuperscript{515} Arizona Champion, June 30, 1888.

\textsuperscript{516} I have also included names of those who were frequent guests. The Riordan families are discussed last.

\textsuperscript{517} Cline, They Came, 90.

\textsuperscript{518} Ibid., 254, 257-9. His son Henry later became a United States Senator (Ibid., 327).
Year’s Eve dances hosted at the Ashurst home (see below), the couple hosted a
dance at their cabin a half-mile south of town in April 1887. The paper wrote, “it
was an impromptu affair and Mrs. Ashurst was completely taken by surprise by
the young folks of Flagstaff who made their appearance at the house, but with the
assistance of her daughter Eva, she did everything to make the evening pass off
agreeably and it is needless to say succeeded.” The newspaper also listed those
present, including, among others, Josie and Bell Switzer, Jennie and Lillie Beal,
Bertha Lockwood, Dora Fain, Messrs. Jim O’Neill and Ellmore, George and John
Fain, and John Tinker.

Members of the Black family were frequent attendees at parties and social
affairs in Flagstaff. The family included eight brothers, at least six of whom lived
in Flagstaff at some point, and two sisters. James Level Black and William
David Black were the first to come to the Flagstaff area, sometime in the late
1870s. They were followed by at least four other brothers: Matthew, who often
gave the dancing calls at balls, George W., Samuel C., and John T. Black.
Matthew and George raised cattle, while Samuel was a stockman, and James was
a Deputy Sheriff. In addition to attending their friends’ and neighbors’ events,
various brothers held a number of parties and dances of their own in the 1880s.
The first to be mentioned in the newspaper was a dancing party hosted by Mrs.

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519 Arizona Champion, April 23, 1887.

520 Cline, They Came, 150, 151; Arizona Champion, September 3, 1887.
Sam Black in March 1885 at their ranch home two miles south of town. In November of the next year, Sam hosted another dance at his ranch for his brother William's birthday, and in December 1888, the newspaper mentioned a third dancing party at Sam's home. James Black also hosted a number of parties at his ranch ten miles south of town, one of which received a large review in the newspaper. The dance in August 1888 included music led by Jim O'Neill. About fifty people attended the party, including a number of James' brothers and their wives, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Vail, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Dennie, Mr. and Mrs. J. Lockard, Jennie and Lillie Beal, and Mr. Weatherford. There was another dance held at James' home in honor of his birthday in September 1889. Sadly, some of the musical activity in which the family took part was not in celebration. John T. Black died of consumption in August 1887 at Sam's home. The Reverend Gunthrie led the funeral service, at which hymns were sung, including one of their mother's favorite hymns.

William M. Fain was also a prominent cattleman who lived on a ranch about 35 miles from town. He and his wife hosted a number of dances and social

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521 Arizona Champion, March 15, 1885.
522 Arizona Champion, November 6, 1886.
523 Arizona Champion, December 1, 1888.
524 Arizona Champion, September 1, 1888.
525 Arizona Champion, September 14, 1889.
526 Arizona Champion, September 3, 1887.
parties at their ranch. The first of these was a dance at his home on December 17, 1886.\textsuperscript{527} The newspaper mentioned a number of parties hosted by Mr. Fain in 1889, beginning with a New Year's Eve party, which was one of two private parties to be held that night, the other being a party by William Ashurst and his wife.\textsuperscript{528} A week later, friends organized a surprise party for William and his wife at their home, with music and dancing.\textsuperscript{529} The party ended around one A.M. Among the approximately thirty-five guests were the Hon. and Mrs. Ashurst and their two children, along with Mrs. Samuel Black, Bertha Lockwood, and Belle Switzer. The Fains hosted a dance in late March 1889\textsuperscript{530} and another dance that August.\textsuperscript{531} The paper wrote, “We predict that everybody had a good time, as Mr. and Mrs. Fain have a world famed reputation as entertainers.”

Jim A. Marshall was one of two Justices of the Peace in Flagstaff in the 1880s. He, his wife Eva, and their two children, George and Cora, arrived in Flagstaff in 1882.\textsuperscript{532} Eva was the first schoolteacher, teaching through the spring of 1885.\textsuperscript{533} Judge Marshall, Eva, and their daughter Cora were often included on

\textsuperscript{527} Arizona Champion, December 18, 1886.

\textsuperscript{528} Arizona Champion, January 5, 1889.

\textsuperscript{529} Arizona Champion, January 12, 1889.

\textsuperscript{530} Arizona Champion, April 6, 1889.

\textsuperscript{531} Arizona Champion, August 10, 1889.

\textsuperscript{532} Cline, They Came, 150.

\textsuperscript{533} Ibid., 257-258. Her husband was charged with embezzling funds from the
the guest list for various dances and social events in town. In March 1884, the Judge and his wife hosted an evening at their home. The newspaper noted, “Notwithstanding the sidewalk was more or less inundated by the flood, some more courageous than the rest, overcame the difficulties and reached the home of peace and plenty in safety, and the merry voices of the happy and gay throng, composed of both young and old, made the welkin ring with music and mirth.”

The two Lockett brothers also hosted social events at their ranch outside of town. Henry Lockett had arrived in Flagstaff from Kansas in 1881. He lived a mile or two north of town and worked in the sheep business with his brother. In the fall of 1884, the Lockett brothers built a new house on their ranch, where J. C. and Henry hosted a number of dances and social parties. The new house was celebrated with a dance in September 1884. J. C. Lockett hosted a social in January 1885 and a number of dances in January 1886, in December 1886, and in October 1888. The last of these dances included about thirty guests, including Mr. and Mrs. Frank Vanderlip, Mr. and Mrs. Jason Vail, the Switzer and Beale school in the fall of 1884. When he was confronted by Thomas McMillan, M.S. Beal, and W.M. Fain, Marshall told them that he had spent the money. He was acquitted by a court in Prescott after returning the funds.

534 Arizona Champion, March 22, 1884.
535 Cline, They Came, 148; Arizona Champion, January 16, 1886.
536 Arizona Champion, September 13, 1884.
537 Arizona Champion, January 31, 1885; December 4, 1886; October 6, 1888.
daughters, Mr. Crothers, Mr. R. W. Bell, Jim O'Neill, P. P. Daggs, and one of the Black brothers.

W.E. Lockwood was proprietor and manager of the *Arizona Champion* at one time and was a prominent member of the G.A.R. In December 1887, he and his wife hosted a birthday party for their daughter, Bertha, which included games and sports. The couple also hosted dances in January and in April of 1889.

The social leaders of the town were Denis Matthew Riordan and his wife, Celine. Denis Matthew Riordan, who went by his middle name, Matt, moved to Flagstaff in 1884 to manage Edward Ayer's lumber mill. In 1887, Mr. Ayer sold the mill to Matt and his two half-brothers, Timothy A. and Michael J. Riordan. One of Matt’s brother’s was Timothy A. Riordan, married to Caroline. Timothy and Caroline purchased a square piano for their home in the spring of 1889. The

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538 Cline, *They Came*, 278-279.

539 *Arizona Champion*, December 10, 1887.

540 *Arizona Champion*, January 19, 1889; April 13, 1889.

541 For example, the newspaper referred to Mr. and Mrs. D.M. Riordan as the “popular leaders of social enterprise in Flagstaff” (*Arizona Champion*, May 12, 88). As discussed above, the Riordans were important members of the Catholic Church. Celine had also helped organize the theatrical performance *Esmeralda*.

542 Cline, *Mountain Town*, 8. Ayer had established his mill in 1883 (Ashworth, 81).
newspaper noted, “A grand square piano was taken up to Milton this week and it will be used by Mrs. T.A. Riordan. It is a magnificent instrument.”

Celine Riordan became the prominent social hostess in Flagstaff. Along with hosting general dances and socials at her home, she also hosted euchre card parties, “sheet and pillow case” parties, and at least one apron party. The newspaper often praised Mrs. Riordan for her hospitality, writing, for example, about a dance she hosted in January 1888, “The many guests were entertained by Mrs. Riordan in that hospitable, genial manner for which she is so well known.”

The largest of her socials in the 1880s was a masquerade ball held at Wood Hall in honor of her husband on April 13, 1888, which the newspaper called, “the most successful social event of the season.” Thirty-two people attended in costume, with many more besides. The Champion noted, “The party may be justly scored as the event of the season. The reporter believes a dance was never more thoroughly enjoyed in Flagstaff.”

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543 *Arizona Champion*, March 9, 1889.

544 *Arizona Champion*, April 15, 1886; July 3, 1886; May 12, 1888; September 22, 1888; October 12, 1889.

545 *Arizona Champion*, January 7, 1888.

546 *Arizona Champion*, April 14, 1888.
Holidays

Like in Prescott, holidays in Flagstaff were celebrated with balls, concerts, band performances, and socials. For example, Thanksgiving was celebrated with balls. On Thanksgiving evening 1885, over fifty people attended a ball held at Middleton's Hall on Thanksgiving evening.\textsuperscript{547} Music was provided by Jim O'Neill, J. C. Burge, and Mr. Fritz, whose last name was not provided. The next year, a party took place at the G.A.R. hall on Thanksgiving night. Apparently, some of the ladies in attendance at recent balls had not been participating in the dancing. In the \textit{Champion}'s review of the event, the paper noted the system that was set into place to ensure that women participated in dancing:

\begin{quote}
A new feature was introduced, that of giving each gentlemen [sic] as he entered a numbered ticket, and when square dancers were announced sufficient numbers were called to fill the floor, and these numbers were not repeated until the whole of the numbers given out had been called thus giving every one a chance to dance at intervals throughout the evening and avoiding confusion and much disappointment. . . . This was decidedly a dancing party. Without exception every lady present danced, they had to, and the result was a most enjoyable evening for all concerned.\textsuperscript{548}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{547} \textit{Arizona Champion}, November 28, 1885. The November 5 issue of the \textit{Champion} gave a general announcement that there would be a ball on Thanksgiving, no specifics listed. The fifty participants included a number of regular ball attendees, including the Groves, a number of Blacks, the Beale daughters, the Marshall daughters, Daggs, and Hawks.

\textsuperscript{548} \textit{Arizona Champion}, December 11, 1886.
In 1887, the Knights of Pythias hosted the Thanksgiving ball at their new hall.\textsuperscript{549} The event was announced in the newspaper with both an article and an advertisement. Tickets per couple cost $4.00 for the ball and a Thanksgiving supper by Mrs. J. B. Thomas, cost $2.50 without the meal. Individual tickets for the supper were $1.00. The ball began at nine o'clock with a grand march of about sixty couples. Around 100 people attended the ball, and music was provided by an orchestra.\textsuperscript{550} Flagstaff celebrated Thanksgiving with balls in the middle of the 1880s, in the last years of the decade, Thanksgiving was celebrated “quietly,” in preparation for Christmas celebrations.\textsuperscript{551}

Christmas celebrations included parties and dances, as well as entertainments at the schoolhouse for the children.\textsuperscript{552} Dances were held on Christmas night at Middleton’s hall in 1885, at Hawks’ new hall in 1886, at F. E. Foster’s home in Mill Town on Christmas Eve in 1887, and at Sawyer’s hall in 1888.\textsuperscript{553} The 1885 ball at Middleton’s was a calico ball, for which the women dressed in calico dresses.\textsuperscript{554} Tickets cost $3.50 per couple. Christmas day also

\textsuperscript{549} Arizona Champion, November 19, 1887; November 26, 1887.

\textsuperscript{550} A list was included in the newspaper of almost 100 individuals.

\textsuperscript{551} Arizona Champion, December 1, 1888; November 23, 1888.

\textsuperscript{552} Arizona Champion, December 12, 1885.

\textsuperscript{553} Arizona Champion, December 12, 1885; December 4, 1886; December 18, 1886; December 31, 1887; December 15, 1888.

\textsuperscript{554} The New York Times, “Merry Dancers See the Old Year Out,” January 1, 1914.
included a church service later in the decade, following the erection of the church building.  

For the children, Sunday school entertainments were held at the schoolhouse on Christmas Eve's night in 1885 and on Christmas Night in 1887. Entertainments included speeches, recitations, songs, and the distribution of presents. In 1887, Santa Claus himself distributed presents to the children, following the printed promise in the newspaper that “Care will be taken to keep the presents from any harm and to give them out properly.”

Like in Prescott, Flagstaff’s New Year was greeted with the firing of pistols, and New Year's Day was one for socializing. A number of New Year's parties were held by individuals at their homes. These included an old-fashioned candy pull on the Eve of 1885 at Mr. Beale's home, a New Year's Day dance hosted by Mrs. Celine Riordan at her home in 1887, and dances for the 1889 New Year at the homes of both Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Fain and the Hon. and Mrs. W. H. Ashurst.

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555 *Arizona Champion*, December 24, 1887.

556 *Arizona Champion*, December 12, 1885; December 24, 1887; December 31, 1887. Likely in 1886, as well, but the event was not recorded in the newspaper.

557 *Arizona Champion*, December 24, 1887.

558 *Arizona Champion*, January 8, 1887; January 7, 1888.

559 *Arizona Champion*, January 6, 1885.

560 *Arizona Champion*, January 8, 1887.

561 *Arizona Champion*, January 5, 1889.
Washington's Birthday in 1887 was celebrated with a grand ball hosted by the Sons of Veterans and the G.A.R. at the skating rink on February 22. The event was first announced in the newspaper in the February 12 issue. Tickets were $2.00 and available for purchase at the stores of D. J. Brannen, P. J. Brannen, and J. F. Kilpatrick. Invitations to purchase tickets were also sent to individuals. The event was to be the “social event of the season,” as announced by the Champion, and many visitors were expected from along the railroad. The newspaper reviewed the ball, declaring it a success. Regarding the music, the paper noted, “A very enjoyable dance programme was gone through to the accompaniment of good music.”

Flagstaff did celebrate two holidays that Prescott did not: Leap Year and St. Patrick's Day. Flagstaff enjoyed three Leap Year Balls, one ball in 1884 and two balls in 1888. The 1884 ball took place in the dining room of the Flagstaff Hotel on April 19. Miss Ella Lamport hosted the event, where the ladies invited the men to the ball. Four years later, J. F. Hawks hosted a Leap Year ball at his hall on January 27, 1888, at which about 40 people attended. Two weeks later, on February 14, Mr. Sawyer held a Leap Year dance at his hall for about 50

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562 Arizona Champion, February 12, 1887; February 19, 1887.
563 Arizona Champion, February 26, 1887.
564 Arizona Champion, April 19, 1884.
565 Arizona Champion, January 28, 1888.
The first St. Patrick’s Day event was an opening ball for the new G.A.R. building in 1886, as mentioned above. A year later, in 1887, the *Champion* also printed a brief history of the saint, writing, “Processions, music and a general holiday, liberally moistened with whiskey is the usual way in which St. Patrick is commemorated in the states. Out here the day will not be forgotten, but the celebration will be confined principally to drinking to the memory of the good old saint. . . .”

The one celebration that year was another dance hosted by the G.A.R. on March 17. Not all St. Patrick's Day celebration were organized balls. In 1888, the newspaper noted the holiday was celebrated with general drunkenness, which made “the crowded streets last night make Flagstaff look like old times.”

Flagstaff also held balls to honor the incoming President of the United States. The elections of two Presidents were honored in the 1880s: Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison. Cleveland's win in the election of 1884 was celebrated with a ball at Union Hall on Thursday evening, November 20. The event included the conclusion of a bet made on the election:

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566 *Arizona Champion*, February 18, 1888.

567 *Arizona Champion*, March 5, 1887.

568 *Arizona Champion*, March 17, 1888. In 1889, the only event mentioned in the newspaper was a St. Patrick's day benefit concert for the Catholic church scheduled for March 17, but which was postponed until March 20 due to weather (*Arizona Champion*, March 16, 1889).

569 *Arizona Champion*, November 22, 1884.
Mr. John Clark, several weeks before election, made a bet of a valuable bedroom set with R.S. Foster, on the result of the Presidential contest, and Thursday evening last was the time fixed for the delivery of the goods. Accordingly, at dusk, a wagon was at the door of Hoxworth's store, where the goods were purchased, and headed by the Flagstaff brass band, a grand torchlight procession marched through the streets and to the residence of Mr. Foster, Mr. Geo. Hoxworth acting as Generalissimo, escorting the winner of the bet. At the residence the furniture was unloaded, and the boys lending a helping hand, in the twinkling of an eye the set was in place.

Following the delivery of the furniture, toasts were made to the new President, during which the band played “appropriate music.” After the furniture delivery, there was a ball at Union Hall, with music led by J. C. Burge and calls by Matthew Black. Four and a half years later, an Inauguration ball and lunch was held for the Inauguration of Benjamin Harrison at Wood Hall on Monday evening, March 4, 1889. The ball was attended by approximately eighty-five people, including guests from Winslow. The Champion’s review of the ball included a final anecdote from the evening:

We cannot refrain from noting the wind [-] up which was not on the programme vix [sic]: Our colored friend Archie on the stage behind the curtains in trying to keep time to the music of the last dance, got mixed up with a schottische step and hit the floor about 4 feet from the front of the stage on his back[.] the peculiar expression on his countenance afforded great amusement for those who witnessed his leap through space.

Beginning in 1886, Decoration Day, also known as Memorial Day, ceremonies were organized by the G.A.R. and began with a morning procession through town of the members of the military fraternal societies, prominent

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570 *Arizona Champion*, March 9, 1889.

571 Previous to 1886, Memorial Day was unobserved. See, for example, *Arizona Champion*, June 7, 1884.
citizens, school children, and the musicians. The procession concluded with a ceremony of speeches and addresses, after which the townspeople decorated graves with flowers.\textsuperscript{572} The morning ceremony included music. During the 1886 ceremony, music was provided by the Tenth Cavalry Band of Fort Whipple.\textsuperscript{573} The following year, music was provided by a vocal quartet of J. B. Ellmore, W. L. Van Horn, G. D. Crothers, and P. P. Daggs.\textsuperscript{574} In 1888 and again in 1889, music for Decoration Day ceremonies was provided by the Flagstaff Brass Band.\textsuperscript{575}

The largest holiday celebrations in Flagstaff were for the Fourth of July. Preparations for July 4th began as early as late May and the town received many visitors from out of town, either from Northern Arizona or from along the railroad line. Town celebrations for the Fourth of July began in 1883, when people from along the railroad came to town to enjoy the festivities.\textsuperscript{576} Preparations for festivities in 1884 began in early June, and the brass band practiced new music for the event.\textsuperscript{577} The morning included a town commemoration, at which both the

\textsuperscript{572} Arizona Champion, June 5, 1886; May 28, 1887.

\textsuperscript{573} Arizona Champion, June 5, 1886.

\textsuperscript{574} Arizona Champion, March 28, 1887; June 4, 1887.

\textsuperscript{575} Arizona Champion, May 26, 1888; June 2, 1888; June 1, 1889.

\textsuperscript{576} Arizona Champion, June 7, 1884. No further details on this celebration were printed in the newspaper nor recorded in memoirs.

\textsuperscript{577} Arizona Champion, June 7, 1884; June 21, 1884. As of mid-June, the musicians planning to participate in the event were J. E. McCormick, Sam King, William Murphy, the Treat Brothers, John Farney, J. A. Wilson, and William Dyer, as well as the Misses Belle and Maude Hoxworth. See footnote 388.
brass band and a choir performed. The program for 1884 is representative of the Fourth of July programs of the other commemorations in the 1880s:

Promptly at ten o'clock the Flagstaff Brass Band were in their seats on the speakers' stand in the grove, from which place they discoursed sweet music until the crowd had gathered and seated themselves in front of the stand. Everything in readiness, at eleven o'clock the President [Frank Beal] called the assembly to order, and the regular exercises of the day were commenced by music from the band. The choir, composed of young ladies and gentlemen of our town, sang “The Star Spangled Banner,” discoursing sweetly this favorite National air, their many voices blending together as if emanating from but one fountain of music. Rev. J. F. Pierce then offered an eloquent and patriotic prayer, while the audience bowed in deep reverence to the Ruler of all nations. Reading of the declaration of independence then followed, by Wm. M. Walters, who displayed a pleasing and cultivated elocutionary powers [sic]. The sweet strains of “My Country, 'Tis of Thee” rang out on the still air, when our townsmen, Dr. D.J. Brannen, was introduced to the audience, and proceeded with a twenty minutes speech, which for eloquence, sound, patriotic and pungent oratory won for the gentlemen a reputation of which any young man may well be proud. He retired at the conclusion of his remarks amid the applause of his hearers. The band then played an appropriate piece, when Rev. J. T. Pierce was introduced to the assembly [and gave a thirty minute speech]. He referred to our local affairs, touching upon topics of vital importance to our people, and was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause. . . . At the conclusion of his address the choir sang an appropriate piece, when the programme was concluded. 578

Flagstaff celebrated Fourth of July afternoon with horse and foot races, and in the evening a dance was held on the speakers' platform, followed by fireworks, under the direction of Harry and George Hoxworth. Music for the dance was played by a string band consisting of J. C. Burge and W. W. Bass, from Williams, both on violin, Banjo Bill, and unnamed musicians on guitar and bass viol. The newspaper praised both the string band and the brass band for their performances

578 Arizona Champion, July 5, 1884.
on the Fourth. The newspaper editor, George Tinker, wrote, “Should the members of the band desire at any time to get up an entertainment for their own benefit, they would receive a liberal patronage.”  

The festivities for the Fourth remained the same each year. The day began with a morning ceremony of speeches and patriotic music, followed by afternoon games and sports, and ending with a ball in the evening. The festivities on the morning of July 4, 1886, began with a procession through town, led by the Brass Band, followed by the officers of the day, the G.A.R., and citizens and guests, which led to the morning ceremony at the grand stand. The band played patriotic music during the ceremony, and a quintet sang “America.” After lunch, further town toasts were made at the grand stand, with music by the band, followed by games, sports, and a balloon ascension. In the evening, there were fireworks, followed by a grand ball hosted by the A. & P. Brakemen Brotherhood. The ball took place at the skating rink, and over a hundred people attended, allowing for sixteen sets of quadrilles, with music was provided by Mr. Tout's band and orchestra. The 1887 Fourth of July was celebrated with the traditional morning ceremony, during which a male quartette sang “My Country, 'Tis of Thee” at the

579 Arizona Champion, July 5, 1884.

580 Arizona Champion, June 19, 1886; June 26, 1886.

581 The July 3 issue of the newspaper announced that a brass band from El Paso had also been engaged for the Fourth festivities. It is likely that this El Paso band is the same as Mr. Tout's band and orchestra (Arizona Champion, July 3, 1886).
conclusion of a forty-minute orations by H. J. Miller. The afternoon was filled with the sports and races, and that evening, the town celebrated with a Grand Ball held at Hawks' Hotel, for which tickets were two dollars. In 1888, the Flagstaff Cornet Band played for the morning ceremony, and the afternoon featured a baseball game between members of the Gallop, New Mexico baseball club. The day ended with a ball at Wood Hall, which nearly one hundred people attended.

The largest Fourth of July event during the 1880s was held in 1889. The two-day event was organized by the Flagstaff Riding and Driving Park association. The Flagstaff Brass Band led the town procession (see figure 9) and played for the ceremony on the morning of the Fourth. That night the town enjoyed a grand ball at Wood Hall, for which admission cost $1.50. However, for the 1889 celebration, an additional band was engaged. The 6th U.S. Cavalry Band from Fort Wingate, NM, who had played for the Knights of Pythias Grand Lodge earlier that spring, was engaged to play a concert on the July 3rd and for the grand ball on the Fourth (see figure 10).

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582 Arizona Champion, July 2, 1887; July 9, 1887.

583 There was an advertisement for the ball in the newspaper.

584 Arizona Champion, June 16, 1888; July 7, 1888.

585 Arizona Champion, June 15, 1889; June 22, 1889; June 29, 1889.
Figure 10: 6th U.S. Cavalry Band Concert, July 3, 1889

Source: *Arizona Champion*, July 29, 1889

The newspaper reviewed the concert. It is worth noting in the article filled with spelling errors, the frontier editor of the newspaper mistook Bellini for “Dellini,” and *Rigoletto* for “Rigeletto”: 
The concert given by members of the orchestra of the 6th U.S. Cavalry on the 3rd of July was a fine musical entertainment, and a programme of select pieces. Space is [too] limited to mention every piece of the programme, but we say that every one of those gentlemen is a brillant [sic] musician. The “Mockingbird,” a violin solo, was performed by Mr. Worbes, the celebrated leader of the band, in such as excellent way, esp. in the last variation, that it was the bird in nature. Dellini’s famous opera “Sonambula” was rendered “com il faute,” Sergt. Pickardt did splendid with the variations. That Mandeline solo by Mr. Worbes was a masterwork of melodie and was called for by the audience a second time. Every piece was applauded, but we think, those gentlemen deserved a more heartier applause, as every one of the five is a “maestro.” The violin duet from Rigeletto by Mr. Worbe and Sergt. Pickardt was brilliant [sic], both understand the compositor [sic] to perfection. The whole concert was first class and it is to be regretted that it was not better attended, but we hope to see these gentlemen again in Flagstaff very soon and promise them an overcrowded house.\(^{586}\)

\(^{586}\) Arizona Champion, July 10, 1889.
Early Musical Business Ventures

Musical Advertisements in the Newspaper

Similarly to the Arizona Miner, the Arizona Champion included advertisements for music and musical instruments, including a number of piano and organ companies who advertised in the Flagstaff paper. The first issue, in fact, contained an advertisement for Story & Camp, the sole agents for Decker Bro's Pianos. The second issue included an advertisement for Messrs. Whitson & Nichols' Temple of Music and Sewing Machine Agency in Albuquerque. The store sold Webber, Decker Brothers, and Holeman pianos, as well as Mason & Hamlin and Western Cottage organs. They also had other musical instruments, as well as sheet music, and offered piano-tuning services. A November issue that year included an advertisement listing a number of piano stores and manufactures in San Francisco. This conglomerate included Statham Pianos, the store of Walter & Pierce, Steinway, Girard's store, Knabe, and Hazelton.

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587 Arizona Champion, October 6, 1883. See figure 11.

588 Arizona Champion, October 27, 1883. Whitson & Nicolls advertised in the Champion through the first issue of 1884.

589 Arizona Champion, November 3, 1883.
We have already discussed a number of organs that were bought by Flagstaff citizens, though it is unclear from which company the organs were purchased. These instruments included organs purchased by subscription for the school house in early 1884 and another for the Catholic church in the spring of 1889. Additionally, Timothy and Caroline Riordan purchased an organ for their residence, also in the spring of 1889. Pianos, organs, and sewing machines were often sold in the same stores in the later half of the nineteenth-century, since all three were used by women in the home.\footnote{Arthur Loesser, \textit{Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History} (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 560-561.}
The Chicago Cottage Organ Co. in Chicago, Illinois, began advertising in the *Champion* in January 1885. The new advertisement was accompanied by an article:

> We call attention of our readers to an advertisement of the Chicago Cottage Organ Company in another column, and we take pleasure in recommending to the public a company whose organs have attained a popular reputation for their superior musical qualities, artistic beauty, and general excellence. This company ranks among the largest and best in the

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*Arizona Champion*, January 6, 1885. In contrast with most musical advertisements, the Chicago Cottage Organ Company advertised in the *Champion* for a year and a half, through May 1886. See figure 12.
United States, having a capacity for manufacturing 800 organs per month, and its organs are shipped into nearly every inhabitable portion of the globe.

A number of stores along the railroad line also advertised in the Flagstaff newspaper. The first of these was the Albuquerque Purchasing Agency, an auction and commission house; furnishing goods and pianos, the firm advertised in the *Champion* in 1883.\[^{592}\] Also in December of that year, Barteltt's Jewelry and Music Emporium advertised from Los Angeles.\[^{593}\] The store's advertisement, however, focused on the “jewelry” part of the store, rather than the “Music emporium.” That same month Bulock & Sewell, the booksellers and stationers from Albuquerque, advertised music and musical instruments.\[^{594}\] Additionally, a general store in Sacramento, the store of Weinstock & Lubin, advertised an array of clothing and household goods for sale, including piano and table covers in October 1886.\[^{595}\]

\[^{592}\] *Arizona Champion*, November 10, 1883. Their advertisement ran through March of the 1884.

\[^{593}\] *Arizona Champion*, December 1, 1883. The advertisement ran through the end of the year, after which Barteltt’s ran a new advertisement, which advertised only the jewelry inventory and no music.

\[^{594}\] *Arizona Champion* December 8, 1883. The Bulock advertisement ran through the first issue of 1884.

\[^{595}\] *Arizona Champion*, October 2, 1886. Weinstock & Lubin commonly advertised in the Flagstaff newspaper. The advertisement that included piano covers ran in from September through November 1886.
The largest of these sheet music advertisements was an article printed in the May 8, 1886, issue of the newspaper that listed the new music available from Oliver Ditson & Co, one of the largest American music publishers in the nineteenth century. The “attractive publications” for pianoforte included any “airy” arrangement of the band piece “Tripping O’er the Hill Schottische” by Milton, for 30 cents; Witzemann’s “Remembrance of Lorraine March” for 30 cents; a “pretty composition for young players, “Slumber Song,” for 25 cents; and a setting of Longfellow’s “The Challenge of Thor” by Sv. Sveinojornsson for 35 cents. Ditson also had two songs available: a temperance song by Mr. Mitchell entitled “Our Boy is at Home by the Fireside” for 30 cents; the “chaste and pretty” love song by Mr. Veazie, “Only as High as my Heart, Love” for 30 cents. Finally, the company listed one sacred song, an Offertory solo and duet by J.F. Gilder, “He that Hath Pity Upon the Poor” for 30 cents, and a taking piano composition by Silvas, “Swinging Waltz” in the style of the famous “See-Saw” pieces.

596 Arizona Champion, May 8, 1886. The Oliver Ditson catalogues in the following decade, the 1890s, included 100,000 titles. For more on the history of Oliver Ditson and his music publishing company, see William Arms Fisher, One Hundred Years of Music Publishing in the United States (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1933; Reprint, St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1977), 71-85.

597 The reference to “taking piano” compositions has proved difficult to find in scholarship. It seems the “taking piano” compositions may have been a reference to compositions written for students taking piano lessons. The Library of Congress’ Memory Project includes a number of See-Saw waltzes from 1885. See, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html.
The *Champion* also included music-related advertisements from local stores near the end of the decade. Similar to Henderson's feathers for Prescott's Elysian Club, Gorham A. Bray advertised to Flagstaff’s local ball attendees. Amidst the announcements of events for Fourth of July, 1888, he placed an advertisement that read, “LADIES, the Ball on the evening of July 4th is to be the GRANDEST AFFAIR FLAG HAS EVER WITNESSED. I just want to whisper in your ear that I have in stock a fine assortment of WHITE GOODS. Suitable for ball dresses. In fact, I have all the fixing needed.”598 Most of the local advertisements were opportunities for purchasing a piano. Two pianos were offered for sale through the newspaper: a Chickering piano for sale from J.C. Vining in 1887 and a piano in Prescott for sale in spring 1889.599 The Flagstaff Chickering Piano was advertised first in the May 21 issue and again mentioned twice in the June 4 issue, possibly a reflection of a quick need to sell the instrument. Finally, in the fall of 1889, the Bank Hotel was host to pianos for sale.600 The pianos must have been shipped to Flagstaff by railroad and were possibly showcased at other railroad towns, as well. Unfortunately, there is no

598 *Arizona Champion*, June 23, 1888.

599 *Arizona Champion*, May 21, 1887; June 4, 1887; April 20, 1889.

600 *Arizona Champion*, September 28, 1889; October 5, 1889; October 19, 1889, November 16, 1889. There is no record of the manufacturers participating in the event. The proprietor of the Bank Hotel at the time was T. J. Coalter (*Arizona Champion*, November 16, 1889).
record of the piano manufacturers or store firms that offered this opportunity to Flagstaff.

Finally, one advertisement in the Flagstaff newspaper used music to sell a product. In June 1889, the following advertisement was placed. It began with a rhyme:

“There was a frog who lived in a spring. He caught such a cold that he could not sing.” Poor, unfortunate Batrichian! In what a sad plight he must have been. And yet his misfortune was one that often befalls singers. Many a once toneful voice among those who belong to the “genius [sic] homo” is utterly spoiled by “cold in the head,” or on the lungs, or both combined. For the above mentioned “croaker” we are not aware that any remedy was ever devised, but we rejoice to know that all human singers may keep their heads clear and throats in tune by a timely use of Dr. Sage's Catarrh Remedy and Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery, both of which are sold by druggists.  

Music and Dance Lessons

In addition to the brass band lessons, taught by Professor Watson and J.B. Ellmore, the Arizona Champion advertised a number of music lessons and musical instruction during the 1880s. Most of these advertisements were one-time announcements and, unlike the editor of the Prescott newspaper, the Flagstaff’s editor, George Tinker, did not attend group lessons nor did he write on participants' progress.

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601 Arizona Champion June 22, 1889. This is an example of the rise of fraudulent home medicines advertisements in the newspapers that peaked in the 1880s and 1890s. The Champion had many such home-medicine patent advertisements within its pages. For more on fraudulent medical advertisements, see Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument (New York: MacMillan Company, 1947), 320-321;327-330.
The first music lessons offered in Flagstaff were voice lessons. In February 1884, Mr. E. McCormack taught a juvenile singing class once a week.602 McCormack was a member of the literary society and had sung during their meetings.603 There is no other mention of the class, except for one newspaper article, which reviewed the class: “‘Mc.’ can ‘slide the scale,’ dash the bars and sound the eighth notes to perfection, and is proving himself a very efficient teacher. Dots and swells don’t belong to preliminaries.”

The most active music teacher in the early town was J. B. Ellmore. In addition to leading the brass band and organizing musical entertainments at the Methodist church, Ellmore also offered guitar and voice lessons. In October 1886, he advertised guitar lessons. The lessons took place at a student's residence and cost fifty cents per lesson.604 Ellmore also led the singing school at the Methodist church. Flagstaff's singing school began in the spring of 1887. It initially met at the church building once a week, on Tuesdays, and then twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays.605

Flagstaff also offered a few opportunities to take dance lessons in town. The first of these was a dancing school, of which the Champion included only one

602 Arizona Champion, February 2, 1884.

603 There was a J. E. McCormick in the brass band in 1884, but he was not the same person.

604 Arizona Champion, October 2, 1886.

605 Arizona Champion, May 21, 1887; May 28, 1887; July 9, 1887
mention, in the issue of January 14, 1888 issue: “A dancing school has been
started in town which many of our young folks are attending.” A year later, J.
C. Dennie made plans to begin another dancing school. Once again, the
newspaper only mentioned it once, on January 19, 1889: “Professor J. C. Dennie
will start a dancing school shortly, and wishes co-operation of all those who wish
to acquire knowledge of the art. A paper is at the post office which any one
wishing to join can sign.” The newspaper did not record whether Dennie’s
enterprise was a success.

606 Arizona Champion, January 14, 1888.

607 Arizona Champion, January 19, 1889.
Visiting Musicians

Flagstaff’s position on the railroad between Albuquerque and Southern California afforded it the privilege of playing host to traveling musicians. Even though Prescott in the 1860s did have travelers and people moving to and from town, including a traveling minstrel family, Flagstaff had many more entertainers visit the town, including the blind baritone and organists, J.H. St. Lawrence who performed at the skating rink, as mentioned above. Zamloch the Wizard King visited Flagstaff in March 1888, before traveling on to Prescott. In August 1889, there was a phrenologist in town.

Musicians traveling through town often played for local dances. One of the first musicians to visit the Flagstaff area was the “Pacific coast champion piccolo player,” Frank Jordan, who was engaged by Mr. J.H. Farlee for musical entertainment during a dance at the home of Mrs. Reiney in the nearby town of Peach Springs in January 1884. The invited guests brought music with them to the party. Frank Jordan played waltzes and quadrilles for the party, presumably

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608 The McGinley troupe’s visit to Prescott is discussed on page 28.

609 Arizona Champion, March 17, 1888. A month later, there was a magic lantern show presented at Sawyers hall. One wonders if the lantern show was inspired by the Wizard King’s performance (Arizona Champion, April 14, 1888).

610 Arizona Champion, August 24, 1889.

611 Arizona Champion, January 26, 1884. Peach Springs in the town in which the Arizona Champion was originally published. See figure 6 for a map of Peach Springs.
with accompaniment. In the summer of 1885, Mr. Siseenden, a musician from The Needles, vacationed in Flagstaff and supplied both vocal and instrumental music for the town.\textsuperscript{612}

Along with bands that came to Flagstaff to play for Fourth of July celebrations, including the Tenth Cavalry Band of Fort Whipple in 1886 and the 6th U.S. Cavalry Band from Fort Wingate in 1889, the \textit{Arizona Champion} wrote on two bands that traveled along the railroad and stopped by for impromptu concerts at the train station. In August 1886, a military band from Akron, Ohio played for the town. The newspaper wrote on the event:

On the arrival of the east bound train yesterday our citizens were treated to some excellent music by the band, numbering twenty-five pieces, of the 8th Regiment, of Akron, Ohio. Sufficient notice had been given so that quite a crowd had collected when they arrived. The first selection played was the celebrated “Consolation March,” which were received with cheers. Our worthy townsman, Geo. Hoxworth, then invited them all to wet their whistles which was accepted unanimously. Before taking their departure they played a series of familiar and patriotic airs, among whom which were [sic] “America,” “Auld Lang Sine,” “Star Spangled Banner” and “Marching Through Georgia.” Three rousing cheers were given them as they boarded the train, which they returned with interest. It is not often that the citizens of Flagstaff have an opportunity to hear a full brass band, and on this occasion it was fully appreciated.\textsuperscript{613}

A year later, the city guard band from San Diego also traveled through town along the railroad line and gave two concerts, one on September 2 and another on

\textsuperscript{612} \textit{Arizona Champion}, August 1, 1885. The paper does not mention where Mr. Sissendon was playing. It is also unclear how long he was in Flagstaff. At the time of the newspaper article, he had been in town for a few days.

\textsuperscript{613} \textit{Arizona Champion}, August 14, 1886.
October 8, 1887, presumably as the band traveled eastward and then westward, back home.\textsuperscript{614}

\textsuperscript{614} Arizona Champion, September 3, 1887; October 8, 1887.
Conclusion

Newly founded communities in the new territory were a gamble; the territory was filled not just with abandoned mining camps and boom towns, but also with failed communities and abandoned towns. There was a financial stake in moving to a new frontier settlement. Fortunes could be found or lost not only in the mines or in cattle, but also in investing in land purchases and newly established businesses.

One of music’s most important roles was in providing a social atmosphere for building a community. In order to thrive, towns needed not only to attract new settlers, but also to retain those who had already arrived. Although the citizens of neither Prescott (a former capital) nor Flagstaff (a busy rail town) needed to worry about the town’s abandonment, they wanted their towns to grow into large cities. Monetary and business opportunities were important and security and safety were essential, but entertainment, friends, and socializing were also important for retaining settlers. And this is where music, whether at a dinner party, at a ball to open a new store, or during a holiday parade, was intrinsically valuable to a new town and a factor in the permanency of Prescott and Flagstaff.

For all the differences between the two towns, they both enjoyed much of the same music and musical activities. Both towns enjoyed the music of brass bands. Both had theatrical entertainments. Both had social dances, dances hosted by lodge fraternities, dances to open new businesses, dances for holiday celebrations,
and both towns enjoyed the same types of dances, especially the quadrille. Both had music sung during school and church, and both heard music in the saloons and dance halls. Both towns had a newspaper that printed articles on musicians and musical events outside of town and both had a newspaper that printed music-related advertisements. The musicians of both towns, as well as the musicians visiting those towns, primarily provided music for dances.

Some musical activity was different, however. Prescott alone had a thriving theater tradition and an established dance club, at least for a while. Prescott alone enjoyed the music of a military Fort, though Flagstaff did invite military bands to perform for special occasions. Lastly, during its time as the territorial capital, Prescott alone enjoyed the heightened social parties and balls during the Legislative sessions. Flagstaff, however, was the only town to have string bands and the only one to celebrate the Inaugurations, Leap Year, and St. Patrick's Day. Flagstaff alone had a literary society. In general, Flagstaff had more than Prescott. Flagstaff had a school and churches sooner. Flagstaff had more visiting musicians. Flagstaff had more musicians, more venues for performances, and more individuals to plan and attend social events. Ultimately, the music of each town was limited by the resources available, whether those resources were the number of musicians in town, the accessibility of the town, the number of the people to plan and attend celebrations, or the physical space in the newspaper to discuss the music in the town.
The relationship between Prescott, Flagstaff, and any developing Western frontier town and music was two-fold. A town provided musicians and audiences, the venues and the reason for musical events. Music provided entertainment, celebrations, educations, business opportunities, and helped create social environments. Entertainment included the theater performances and the music played by the brass band and in the saloons. Music was included in the celebrations of holidays and special occasions, such as the Legislative sessions and business openings. Music was educational, both for children in the schools and for adults who wished to learn and study in the literary society. There were business opportunities in music for teachers and for businesses that sold sheet music and instruments in the newspaper. Finally, music helped to provide a sociable atmosphere at parties, dances, and political balls. Ultimately, this relationship is no different from that between music and any other town in nineteenth-century America, and not much different from the uses of music in communities today.


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APPENDIX A:

SCORE TO “HOME, SWEET HOME”

Home, Sweet Home
from Clari, the Maid of Milan (1821)

John Howard Payne (1792-1852)  SIR HENRY ROWLEY BISHOP (1786-1855)

CINCINNATI, 1852

Andante

Voice and Piano

1. Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam, Be it
2. I gazed on the moon as I tread the drear wild, And
3. Ah, exiles from home, splendor dazzles in vain, Oh

Andante

ever so humble there’s no place like home. A charm from the
feet that my mother now thinks of her child. As she looks on that
give me my lowly thatched cottage again. The birds singing

skies seems to hallow us there. Which seek the world is ne’er
moon from our own cottage door. Thro’ the woodbine whose fragrance shall
gaily that came at my call, give me them and that peace of mind

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met with else-where.  
cheer me no more.  Home, Home, Home, more than all. 
dear-er than all.

home. There's no place like home. Oh, there's no place like home.
Appendix B:

Theater Programs

McGinley Minstrel Troupe

Performance January 28, 1867

Source: Arizona Miner, January 26, 1867.
O’Neill Dramatic Association

Performance January 18, 1868

Source: Arizona Miner, January 11, 1868.
Camp Whipple Dramatic Association

Performance July 13, 1868

Source: Arizona Miner, July 11, 1868.
Camp Whipple Dramatic Association

Performance July 20, 1868

Source: Arizona Miner, July 18, 1868.
Camp Whipple Dramatic Association

Performance August 1, 1868

Source: *Arizona Miner*, August 1, 1868.
Fort Whipple Dramatic Association

Performance February 3, 1869

Source: Arizona Miner, January 30, 1869.
Fort Whipple Dramatic Association

Performance February 10, 1869

Source: *Arizona Miner*, February 6, 1869.
Fort Whipple Dramatic Association

Performance March 6, 1869

Source: *Arizona Miner*, March 6, 1869.
Varieties Comique

Performance September 2, 1869

Source: Arizona Miner, August 28, 1869