Living Anthologies: Authors' Carnivals in Nineteenth-Century America

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Introduction

> Music Hall was filled last night to an extent which must have been gratifying to the managers of the Carnival of Authors and beneficial to the Old South Preservation Fund in aid of which the novel series of entertainments there inaugurated was projected. For some time there has been a great deal of expectation and curiosity in regard to the matter, and what has been made public from time to time in regard to the progress of the arrangements has served to quicken and broaden the popular interest. The result we have just stated. A larger gathering is very rarely seen in Music Hall, the seats in the balconies being all occupied, while on the floor, from which all the seats had been removed, there was a continually moving throng, the constituent individuals of which found very little mere than elbow room wherever they pushed their way. There was no elbowing, however, but perfect behavior at all times, and good nature beamed upon every face. Persons striving to catch a glimpse of what was going on in one direction, and failing to do so, turned away undisturbed to find what might be seen and enjoyed elsewhere. As a consequence, everybody saw something enjoyable and everybody appeared to be pleased. (BOJ, January 23, 1879: 4)

This quote portrays Boston's Authors' Carnival in January 1879, organized for the benefit of the Old South Preservation Fund. As we read in the account, the carnival was a popular and entertaining event. The journalist giving the description takes the viewpoint of an observer who watches the proceedings from a distance. Further, he refers to earlier accounts on the proceedings of the event and interprets those accounts as one reason to explain the large number of visitors coming to be entertained. The report gives a positive and inviting impression of Boston's first Authors' Carnival. Although a large crowd and little room are mentioned, the journalist suggests that the event was a calm and harmonious one. However, with a change of viewpoint the assessment leads into a different direction.

> I was at the Carnival of Authors – who wasn't? – and by the time my shoulders ached, and eyes were dizzy, and body sore, from pushing and striving, and turning and twisting in vain endeavors to see in all directions at once, I would have given all my earthly possessions to go out on a fly for a few hours. It was so tantalizing, here was the lady fair absorbing all your attention in her strife with the evil Comus, while at the side Fanny Squeers shook her red curls, and you were obliged to let her giggle unnoticed. If you paused to look at pale, proud Marie Stuart, defying the haughty Elizabeth by her more regal scorn, you lost the stammering, dazzling Peri, who waited at the gate of Eden next door. If, driven to desperation by the rapturous applause that followed the Arabian Nights, you took your life in your

> hands and broke through the surging crowd to the divan of the beautiful Scheheryerade [sic.], the general uproar of delight in some other direction made you regret the move at once. And when you had finally reached the detectable land in your gallery seat and prepared yourself to receive the reward of your labors, wasn't it always in the booths you could not by any means glance into, that the principal attraction seemed to be? Why is life ever thus? (*BOJ*, February 2, 1879: 4)

This second description is rather emotional and subjective compared to the first one. The account is presented by a person who was actually part of the crowd depicted in the first quote. The description is almost frightening and contradicts the notion of a harmonious and calm event stated before. The visitor, whose impressions are given in the second quote, is fascinated and exhausted at the same time; the experience is overwhelming and asks too much of him. Although the quotes reflect contradictory estimations of one and the same event, they are nevertheless both authentic and underline the effect Authors' Carnivals had on people. Those events attracted huge numbers of spectators and provided entertainment for the masses.

My approach to the analysis of Authors' Carnivals is based on cultural studies. Authors' Carnivals are, on the one hand, 'formed' by aesthetic values existent in the American population of the late nineteenth century and, on the other hand, influence such aesthetic values. In turn to other fields in the research of culture, cultural studies regard aesthetic values as an important part of "cultural meaning-making" (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 10). By arranging and executing an entertainment like an Authors' Carnival participants and spectators evaluated the enacted literary pieces which played a role in their everyday lives. By knowledge of a certain text a reader is "Repräsentant eines Kollektivs, . . . Mitglied einer Gruppe, . . . Teil einer größeren Einheit" (Assmann 1995: 241). Those literary pieces, which are regarded as part of a national basis of tradition are called "cultural texts." A nation needs "cultural texts" to create its specific tradition (Assmann 1995: 238). As soon as a "cultural text" is part of tradition, it does not lose its topicality (Assmann 1995: 243). A "cultural text" already underwent a collective decision

making process and, in this way, is part of a cultural literary pool every member of a cultural group can revert to. So, a personal decision to identify oneself with a certain text means the identification with a certain culture or tradition.

As consumers people give meaning to their cultural texts (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 4). At the same time an evaluation of literature not represented took place. The analysis of the "cultural texts"[1] and the interpretation and evaluation in the context of Authors' Carnivals lead to assumptions of and insights into how nineteenth-century US citizens defined their literary common ground or culture. Additionally, taking further steps in the analysis of such a definition of culture, new perspectives on other facets of society are made possible as culture is bound to different "aspects of social life" (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 3). A discussion on whether Authors' Carnivals were 'high' or 'low' culture are rendered unnecessary by the fact that such a distinction is no longer 'state of the art.' A clear-cut differentiation of what 'high' and 'low' are and were in the context of culture, was abandoned decades ago (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 7). Such an approach to cultural texts and practices provides me with the opportunity to regard Authors' Carnivals as significant displays of nineteenth-century US culture because of their relevance for society.

Authors' Carnivals, as entertainments with general appeal, were part of popular culture during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. John Fiske defines popular culture as created by a group of people who are considered to be less powerful but who use the opportunities they have to address a wide audience (1989, 1-2). According to this definition the female managers of Authors' Carnivals were less powerful people, at least in the public realm, who took advantage of their 'duty' to educate and entertain their peers and used the cloak of charity to become 'active consumers of cultural texts'. In addition,

1 The term "cultural texts" refers to a corpus of literary pieces a certain group of people identifies with (Assmann 1995, 238).

popular culture includes everything "widely shared among a population" (Mukerji and Schudson 1991, 3). The basis for Authors' Carnivals was assembled along those lines. The organizers and managers included the people's "favorite authors" and interpreted their literary pieces with popular types of entertainment (*EC*, December 29, 1881); both aspects were "widely shared" among the participants and spectators of the carnivals. As a common ground of a society, a widely accepted and favored culture does not only depict but also "shapes" the society it is rooted in (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 6). So, Authors' Carnivals are both 'mirror' and 'framer' of nineteenth-century US culture. Popular culture becomes apparent at the point where everyday life meets the consumption of cultural products and the decision on the relevance of such products is made by the consumers (Fiske 1989, 6). With positive reactions towards Authors' Carnivals and the huge numbers of attendances, the people involved in the events supported the events' popularity and cultural relevance. Today popular culture is mostly connected to mass entertainments like television or music but it is more than that (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 8). Performative practices are also part of popular culture today as well as they were part of nineteenth-century popular culture. If we move our research away from 'common' fields and allow ourselves to turn to more 'trivial' aspects of lived culture, we will pave the way for new opportunities and interdisciplinary approaches. "[D]ifferent modes of inquiry into popular culture generate meaningfully different questions, and thus meaningfully different results" (Harrington and Bielby 2001, 6). Focusing on Authors' Carnivals as an example of late nineteenth-century US popular culture then gives us the opportunity to draw a more detailed picture of the cultural status quo of the time within the time. Furthermore, Authors' Carnivals provide the researcher with information on what was considered American literary culture. In a way, Authors' Carnivals are an opportunity to assemble something like a "true" anthology of nineteenth-century popular

literature in the US. Similar to the analysis of book selling numbers the Carnivals represent the actual interest and consumption of literature.

Genesis, Origin, and Development

Back in the nineteenth century all kinds of fairs were "community entertainment[s]" (Gordon 1998, 19). In her *Bazaars and Fair Ladies* Beverly Gordon gives a historical review of what she calls "fundraising fairs", where she describes the development and different forms of fairs, mentioning Authors' Carnivals as descendants of Sanitary Fairs but not giving details on the events. Authors' Carnivals were a kind of literary fair or spectacle, consisting of a number of various program points and performative elements. Their common feature was that they were all based on literary texts, or related to the lives of famous authors. The most common feature was the so-called *tableau vivant*,[2] i.e. the real-life recreation of a scene from a literary text. For an Authors' Carnival a hall was filled with small thematic booths representing authors and their pieces. Beverly Gordon broaches the issue of such booths within female fairs and interprets them as symbols of "domesticity" wherein "food and household products" were highlighted (1998, 131). However, such an assumption is shortsighted in the context of Authors' Carnivals. The focus within the single booths was not domesticity but playing act and theatricality in an accepted and tolerated surrounding. Being highly entertaining events the Authors' Carnivals attracted many visitors and played, at least for a while (in the years between 1874 and approximately 1900), a major role in the popular interpretation of national and foreign literature in the US.

In terms of definition it is difficult to assign Authors' Carnivals to only one specific genre as they were a mixture of several performative genres. While being called "carnivals," the events also contained elements of ritual, festival, spectacle, parlor

[2] *Tableaux vivants* were "figures posed, silent, and immobile in imitation of well-known works of art or dramatic scenes from history and literature" (Chapman 24).

theatricals, and paratheatricals, making the Authors' Carnivals a complex genre of its own. Such a complexity allows the researcher to gain new insights and to define new methods for analysis. The undecidedness in the definition of Authors' Carnivals already began with the original idea of the events, which were initially called "Gallery of Authors' Entertainment." The first idea of one of Buffalo's YMCA members to include the words "gallery" and "entertainment" was abandoned and the general manager of the first Authors' Carnival changed the name.[3] My subsequent attempts to list the major elements of the carnivals and their respective genres, should underline the complexity of the events and their interpretation, without claiming completeness.

Ritual involves a sacred force supporting a transformation in the life of the participants (MacAloon 1984, 252).[4] At times Authors' Carnivals were regarded as "a sort of religious model exhibition" (*CDT*, 16 April 1879). In the first issue of Buffalo's *The Carnival Times* the question "Why Carnival?" is asked (No. 1, October 20: 3). Thinking about the term "carnival," *The Carnival Times* depicts the following scene: "Some good people who have looked up their dictionaries and found that Carnivals are relics of heathen ages, are not a little disturbed that such unscriptural customs should be countenanced by the Young Men's Christian Association, an organization supposed to be devoted to the development of cardinal virtues rather than carnival latitude" (No. 1, October 20: 3).[5] Discussing this heathen tradition, the author compares literary figures with ancient deities, for example, by drawing parallels between Mr. Pickwick to Bacchus etc. The concluding answer is given with a rhetorical question: "[A]re we not all like our Greek and Roman ancestors in the idolatry with which we regard these divinities of

[3] No explicit reasons were given in any of the minutes of Buffalo's YMCA (located in the archives of the University at Buffalo).
[4] I am aware that rituals are not bound to religion as such (Bell 1997, 164). My argument is based on Cathrine Bell's assumption that rituals help to create "sacrality" and in the context of Authors' Carnivals such creations of "sacrality" are based on religious ideas and vocabulary.
[5] Here carnival is regarded as a predominantly Catholic feast and is, therefore, not considered appropriate for a Protestant organization like the YMCA.

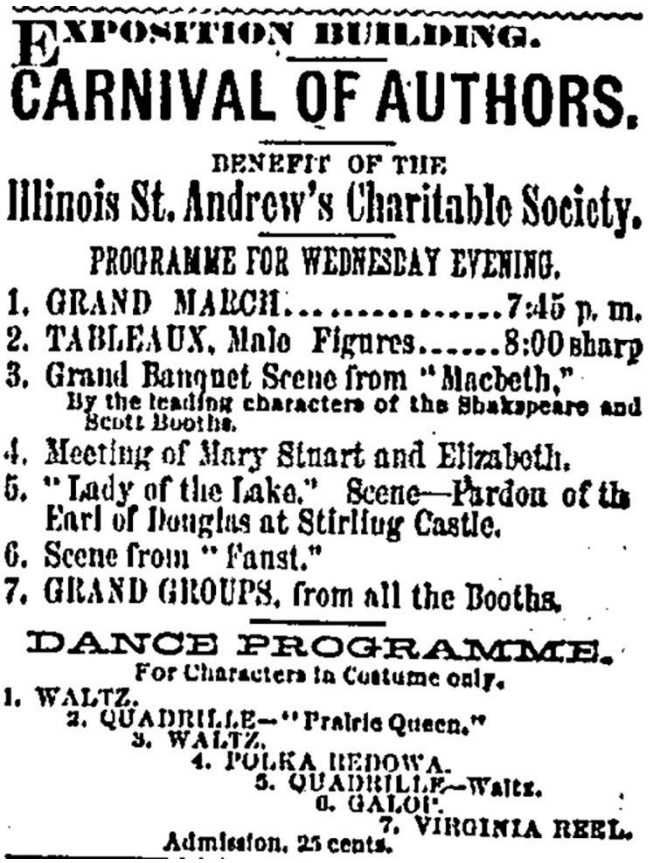
modern romance?" (3). The reason to call those literary fairs "Authors' Carnivals" was the assumption that the American people 'worshipped' famous authors and their fictive characters. The eagerness in the correct and authentic representation of literature underlines the assumption that props and costumes were used as "sacral symbols" (Bell 1997, 155-159). Regarding Authors' Carnivals in the context of ritual, the décor and costumes used were more than mere material things; they gave a "quality of specialness" to the performances and "idealized" the message of the represented pieces (Bell 1997, 157).[6] A message to guide or transform the participants' and visitors' lives.

Furthermore, rituals should give a society order and continuity even in times of change (Myerhoff 1984, 152). The aspect of continuity, especially, was given by the often annual repetition of the events. The list of represented authors changed with the repetitions, but the general outline and the location mostly stayed the same. Along the lines of Rupp's interpretation of pageants (2013, 191), I argue that Authors' Carnivals were rituals in the sense that a community and group identity was one of the central aims of these events.

Authors' Carnivals were also festive entertainments, as the genre festival is defined by a "joyous mood" and a celebration with a special program (MacAloon 1984, 246). The performance of carnivals lasted for a few days during which many participants and visitors recognized a special air or mood accompanying the event. At times, such a special air and the promise of pure entertainment were advertised in advance so that the future visitors were biased in their perception of the event. For example, the *Rocky Mountain News* proclaimed that "[t]here will be an attractive programme presented every evening, and the young folks will be given an opportunity to dance between the acts" (December 15, 1887). Most people were looking forward to the carnivals and some even

[6] In chapter 2.3 the role of material will further be discussed in the context of vanity.

prepared themselves by rereading "popular authors."[7] The *Lowell Daily Citizen* praised the forthcoming carnival as follows: "The [carnival] will be attractive in all details, and those of our people who wish to enjoy a pleasant time should improve the opportunity of attending" (November 12, 1879: 2). Beside the "joyous mood" before and during the entertainments, Authors' Carnivals had a special program, which mostly was published shortly before the actual event began.



EXPOSITION BUILDING.

CARNIVAL OF AUTHORS.

BENEFIT OF THE

Illinois St. Andrew's Charitable Society.

PROGRAMME FOR WEDNESDAY EVENING.

1. GRAND MARCH.....7:45 p. m.
2. TABLEAUX, Male Figures.....8:00 sharp
3. Grand Banquet Scene from "Macbeth," By the leading characters of the Shakspeare and Scott Booths.
4. Meeting of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth.
5. "Lady of the Lake." Scene—Pardon of the Earl of Douglas at Stirling Castle.
6. Scene from "Faust."
7. GRAND GROUPS, from all the Booths.

DANCE PROGRAMME.

For Characters in Costume only.

1. WALTZ.
2. QUADRILLE—"Prairie Queen."
3. WALTZ.
4. POLKA REDOWA.
5. QUADRILLE—Waltz.
6. GALOP.
7. VIRGINIA REEL.

Admission, 25 cents.

Program for Chicago's Authors' Carnival
Chicago Daily Tribune, April 29, 1879: 7. (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

Although some details in the course of the carnivals changed depending on the evening and the audience, the general plan of procedure stayed the same. The audience had an idea of what to expect, when they thought of Authors' Carnivals, assuming they heard of such events before. In the descriptions written for and about the Authors' Carnivals the

[7] This term is often used but not defined in the context of the events. By "popular authors" the organizers are referring to those authors who are widely 'famous' in the sense that many people are acquainted with the works of those writers. Most of the represented authors were of European descent. The names often mentioned on the list of authors were, for example, Shakespeare, Dickens, Goethe, and Longfellow.

term “festival” was often used attributing the events “grand charitable festival” and so forth (*DAC*, November 2, 1879).

As the focus of Authors’ Carnivals lay on the visual presentation of a literary piece, the events also show elements of spectacle. Spectacles are entertainments made for the eye and should appeal to the eye by their “dramatic qualities” (MacAloon 1984, 243). The visual appeal of the performances is continuously stated throughout the descriptions of the Authors’ Carnivals; still, it is often mentioned that it is nearly impossible to give a proper summary of the effects the performances had on the viewer. “It is a pretty hard matter to convey an intelligible idea of the appearances of these booths through the medium of type. Divested of their bright color, and gas lights, and handsome girls, they become but uninteresting objects; to be appreciated they must be viewed, and not read of” (*CDT*, April 16, 1879: 4). The organizers of the carnivals were eager to “[m]ake a picture to the eye” (*SDU*, October 25, 1879) and the visitors had to see this picture instead of reading or hearing about it.

A spectacle requires both actors and spectators (MacAloon 1984, 243). As the performances during the carnivals took place on small or big stages, the presence of those who actively participated and those who watched the performances was guaranteed. However, a clear distinction between participants and visitors became difficult in the run of an Authors’ Carnival when the carnival-like character of the event became apparent and actors and spectators began to interact and to mingle. Spectacles need action, change, and movement (MacAloon 1984, 244). The majority of the performances on the several stages during the carnivals were *tableaux vivants*. But they were not the only type of performance and other types like drama and song enriched the event with the aforementioned elements of spectacle. In Washington, for example, one performative feature was:

> the 'Studio,' where bright-eyed Vinnie Ream modelled a bust of the Chief Justice; she was dressed in her 'working' blouse, and made an animated picture as she perched on the frame-work of her stand, her deft fingers flying to and fro, now adding a lump of clay to the hair, beard, eyes or nose of her handiwork, now patting, smoothing, and refining with her 'sticks' and 'needles' any too heavy feature, while her two doves – brought from Hilda's Tower in Rome – sat above on a bracket embowered in evergreens and nodded approval of their little mistress' progress (*DC*, February 24, 1877).[8]

Moreover, movement and change were visible when the spectators walked from one booth to the other to view several performances, and when the tableau on the main stage changed.

Due to their entertaining character, which at times held connotations of erotic or pornography, spectacles are often connoted with "tastelessness" and "moral cacophony" (MacAloon 1984, 246). The moral ambiguity of the Authors' Carnivals was often displayed when discussing female participants as performers. "Some of the characters were exceedingly well represented, but in some others the young ladies seemed to think that if their attitude was only a striking one its appropriateness was unimportant" (*AWJ*, December 26, 1879). At times, the focus of some participants was on participation and not on the desire to impersonate a certain literary figure or do something for charity. According to MacAloon's definition, the participation in a spectacle is always voluntary and never obligatory (MacAloon 1984, 266). This was true for Authors' Carnivals: "All the young folks, and some of the elder ones, were but too happy to tender their services" (*AWJ*, December 26, 1879).

In terms of "carnival" generally seen, Authors' Carnivals are not entirely consistent with the definition given by Bachtin. According to Bachtin, there is no separation between performers and spectators during carnival; it is an event everyone participates in (1969, 48). Normally, there was a distinction between participants and

[8] Vinnie Ream was an American sculptor. This example shows how actors and fictive characters were assimilated in the reception of *tableaux vivants*. Hawthorne's Miriam, being a painter from *The Marble Faun*, was impersonated by Vinnie Ream, an actual living female sculptor.

visitors during an Authors' Carnival, especially, as only the participants were supposed to be in costume. However, an Authors' Carnival became a 'real' carnival when participants left their booths and stages and mingled with other participants and spectators. There were even examples where actual interaction between visitors and participants was rendered.

> [A] group of young fellows. . . had a word for everybody passing, and occasionally a male or female member of the procession would retort sharply. Result, laughter from the multitude. In the front ranks of the procession an ancient Knight from the pages of Sir Walter Scott, clad in tin from top to toe, stalked along. He was greeted with 'Who's your tailor?' Another wearing the livery and helmet of an antique centurion was asked, 'Who's your hatter?' It was insinuated that Cleopatra wore a full line of Blue Island jewelry, and a group of Swiss peasant-girls, headed by *Capt. Cuttle,* were hailed with the line, 'The merry, merry maidens and the tar.' They imagined they recognized Potter Palmer in the garb of an ancient Scottish harpist, and a shriek went up as an unknown character passed, 'There goes the author of 'Baby Mine'; kill him!' He passed on, however, unmolested. The appearance of a gentleman in Scotch kilt was the signal for an 'Oh!' and an 'Ah! how can you? Pull down your vest! You'll catch cold, George,' etc.etc. (original emphasis, *CDT*, April 16, 1879)

Sketch of the Refreshment Booth in San Francisco in 1879.
Authors' Carnival Sketch Book 1879, n. p. (Courtesy of California State Library)

These were the moments when an authentic carnival atmosphere was achieved. Yet, visitors also appeared in costume from time to time. "Ladies appearing on the floor are requested to be in costume. Gentlemen must be in costume or full evening dress" (*DAC,* November 4, 1879). Nevertheless, Bachtin's categories can predominantly be applied to Authors' Carnivals. The first category is the elimination of distance between the people,

which means human interaction during carnival is free and familiar (Bachtin 1969, 48). Within Authors' Carnivals this first category was integrated in several ways. Authors' Carnivals gave visitors and participants the chance to interact and communicate with other classes, ages, and sexes and, at the same time, to meet and interact with "old friends"[9] and companions from literature. Like Angela Sorby describes it for enactment in general, Authors' Carnivals made literary characters "reachable" (2005, xvi). The second category mentioned by Bachtin is eccentricity, allowing people to show facets of their character which were hidden before (1969, 49). At this point the Authors' Carnival in Boston in 1879 gave a prominent example of a "participant" showing a hidden talent - at least some of the newspapers were of that opinion.

> [Louisa May Alcott's] remarks as a show-woman were copied from nobody. Take all the fun that can be found in all the stories she has written all together, and a fair idea couldn't be given of the wit and humor that she managed to put into her Mrs. Jarley. Somebody remarked *apropos*, 'Louisa Alcott has written some very nice, successful books for children, but I'd no idea that she had *genius* until to-night.' (original emphasis; *CDT*, February 2, 1879)

Although Louisa May Alcott, being a known author, is not the 'typical' attendant of an Authors' Carnival, this example is representative of others when performers – especially women[10] – could express an unexpected side of their personality.

Bachtin's third category of carnival is the elimination of hierarchical structures and separations (1969, 49). In the case of Authors' Carnivals, however, the separation of the participants and the figures they impersonated did not run along the lines of hierarchy but rather along the contrast of fiction and reality. The represented literary figures were fictive beings in a fictive world born by the imagination of an author. With the Authors' Carnivals the separation between reality and the fictive world of literature was eliminated

[9] This term was coined by Zboray and Zboray in *Everyday Ideas: Socioliterary Experience among Antebellum New Englanders* (2006, xviii).
[10] Female opportunities to enact and cross-dress into male roles are part of the analysis in chapter 2.4.

and a communication between spectators and literary figures and also between the literary figures by different authors became possible.

The fourth Bakhtinian[11] category of profanation (1969, 49), however, can hardly be detected in the Authors' Carnivals. The aim was not to diminish the high standing of literary authors but to glorify their works. The glorification of revered authors, thus, again refers back to the elements of ritual mentioned before. Bachtin's idea of carnivals turning the world up-side-down for some time is not true for Authors' Carnivals, which had the aim to celebrate popular authors and literary pieces instead of mocking given political or societal structures. Still, they implicated the fact that they were carnivals in the sense of "a time outside time" which gave people the opportunity to interact in a "utopian realm of community, freedom, equality, and abundance" (Dentith 1995, 76).

Comparing Authors' Carnivals to American Carnivals, the same difficulties occur as with Bachtin's general definition of carnival. Only some aspects of the so-called American Carnival are applicable here. According to a definition given by Joe McKennon carnival is "[a] traveling enterprise consisting of such amusements as side shows, games of chance, Ferris Wheels, Merry-Go-Rounds and shooting galleries" (1972, 19). Authors' Carnivals were no such "traveling enterprises," but they were indeed presented in many cities throughout the US. As far as it is given in the description of and about them, there were no games of chance during the events. In the context of some Authors' Carnivals such games were strictly forbidden: "A former decision that no intoxicating drinks be sold in the building was reiterated. Neither will there be any 'ring-cakes,'[12] or other questionable practices" (*DEB*, October 3, 1879). Driving devices as Merry-Go-Rounds were also not mentioned in the context of any Authors' Carnival, neither were shooting galleries.

[11] As I used a German translation of Bakhtin's theory, I only use the English transcription with the adjective form of his name.
[12] A description of ring-cakes will be given in chapter 2.3.

The idea of the American Carnival emerged during the Columbia Exposition in Chicago in 1893, when independent showmen decided to travel smaller cities as a group (McKennon 1972, 42). As Authors' Carnivals already appeared before the first American Carnivals, they can be considered the ancestors of the American Carnivals. In the setting of Authors' Carnivals the participating charitable societies may be interpreted as the "showmen," or women, who decided to work together in order to increase the benefit for everyone.

> About five months ago several lady managers of one of the six charities came to the determination to give some sort of entertainment which would raise funds for their institutions, but what it was to be they could not tell. Some one suggested that they combine with some other charity, and get up a festival of some kind. Then another suggested that as long as they thought of combining, why not take in three or four of the leading charities, and take the Exposition Building for some huge affair. They acted upon this suggestion, and called a meeting of the lady managers of the leading charities in the city at one of our hotels. This first meeting brought many ladies from all parts of the city, and was the first of a series of the most pleasant and lovable, and sisterly matinees that Chicago has known for many a day, if ever. At one meeting was found that two of the best charities had withdrawn their delegates or cause. After much very sweet discussion, it was determined to secure the Exposition Building, and give a fair or festival of say six nights, as there were but six charitable institutions represented. (*CDT*, May 1, 1879)

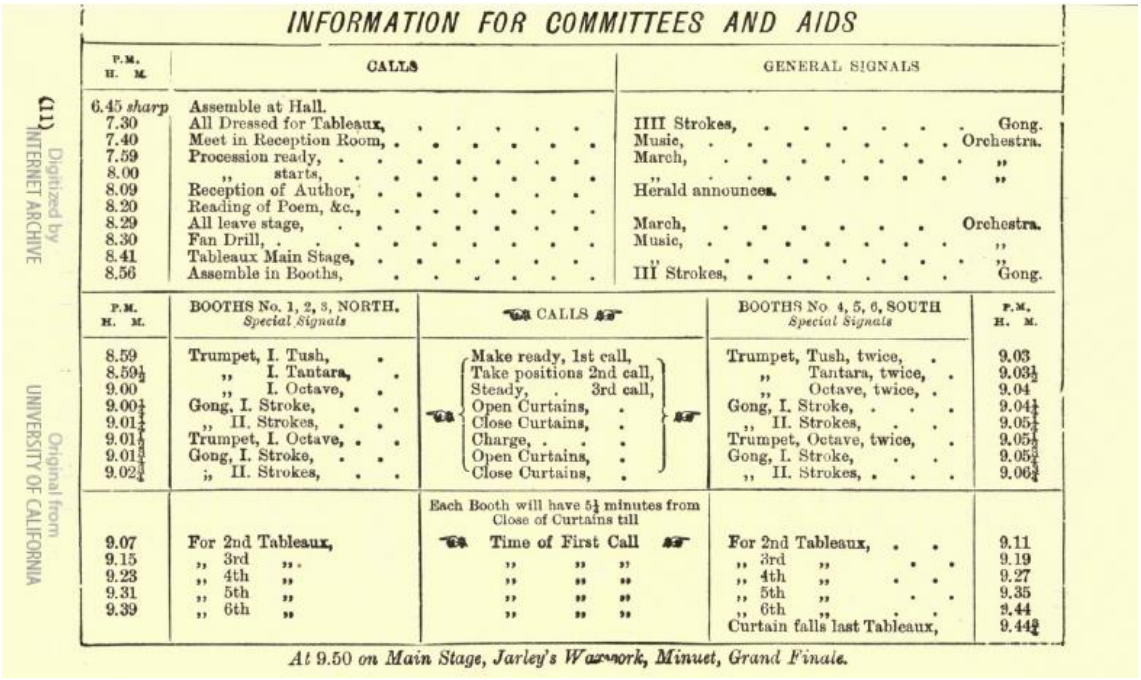
As mentioned before, Authors' Carnivals did not tour the US as a company in the actual sense, but, developing into a genre, those events traveled the country as an institution. Comparing the outer appearance of both types of carnival, similarities become more apparent. "Armies of carpenters were secured in each town and the midway was built up on the show grounds. Rows of two-by-four inch timbers were erected on each side of the carnival street" (McKennon 1972, 45). In the case of Authors' Carnivals the erected "rows" were mostly located within large buildings like halls. "A great stage has to be built and nearly twenty four smaller ones in the booths, scenery must be painted . . ." (*SDU*, October 21, 1882). To accomplish those plans, the organizers of Authors' Carnivals also needed the aforementioned "armies of carpenters". Carnival promoters were also part of both types of carnival. McKennon describes promoters of American

Carnival: "The promoter owned nothing except a good appearance and a suave manner. He came into a town and signed contracts with the local businessmen to produce a festival for them on their city streets" (1972, 25).[13] Such a description of a promoter is true for Frank P. Pease for the Authors' Carnivals.

Frank Porter Pease, son of Francis Stebens Pease, "the well-known oil manufacturer" from Buffalo, New York, was the first person to promote the Authors' Carnivals (*The Buffalo Commercial*, November 7, 1890: 6). Being an author and playwright, he was interested in the entertainment and moral education of others. Although Pease was not mentioned as the organizer or manager of the first carnival in the historical material located in Buffalo, he is considered to be the "conductor" of Buffalo's carnival in other sources (*CH*, January 31, 1881: 8). For example, it is stated in the *Daily Globe* "that a letter had been received from F. T. Pease [sic.], conductor of the 'Author's Carnival,' which entertainment, has been given with great success in Chicago, San Francisco and other cities" (November 11, 1879). Pease also supported female managers in their organization of Authors' Carnivals (*DG*, November 11, 1879).

A different kind of carnival promoter was George B. Bartlett, whose influence was rarely spoken of but probably was more effective. George B. Bartlett, an American actor and playwright, combined commercial interests with the entertainment and amusement of his contemporaries. Apart from writing guidebooks for all kinds of amusements, he published a book called: *The Carnival of Authors: Carefully Arranged and Compiled from the Best Sources by G. B. Bartlett of Concord, Mass*.[14] In this handbook George Bartlett gives a detailed description on how Authors' Carnivals should be organized and executed, e.g. a detailed "Plan of Procedures".

[13] Although McKennon describes a later case, the description still works for Authors' Carnivals as they were the American Carnivals' ancestors.
[14] There is no publication date given in the handbook. First articles mentioning the book are dated from 1881 on, for example, with an article in the *Christian Union* (July 27, 1881: 75).



INFORMATION FOR COMMITTEES AND AIDS

P.M. H. M.	CALLS	GENERAL SIGNALS
6.45 *sharp*	Assemble at Hall.	
7.30	All Dressed for Tableaux,	IIII Strokes, . . . Gong.
7.40	Meet in Reception Room,	Music, . . . Orchestra.
7.59	Procession ready,	March, . . . ,,
8.00	,, starts,	,, . . . ,,
8.09	Reception of Author,	Herald announces.
8.20	Reading of Poem, &c.,	
8.29	All leave stage,	March, . . . Orchestra.
8.30	Fan Drill,	Music, . . . ,,
8.41	Tableaux Main Stage,	,, . . . ,,
8.56	Assemble in Booths,	III Strokes, . . . Gong.

P.M. H. M.	BOOTHS No. 1, 2, 3, NORTH. *Special Signals*	CALLS	BOOTHS No. 4, 5, 6, SOUTH *Special Signals*	P.M. H. M.
8.59	Trumpet, I. Tush,	Make ready, 1st call,	Trumpet, Tush, twice,	9.03
8.59½	,, I. Tantara,	Take positions 2nd call,	,, Tantara, twice,	9.03½
9.00	,, I. Octave,	Steady, 3rd call,	,, Octave, twice,	9.04
9.00¼	Gong, I. Stroke,	Open Curtains,	Gong, I. Stroke,	9.04¼
9.01¼	,, II. Strokes,	Close Curtains,	,, II. Strokes,	9.05¼
9.01½	Trumpet, I. Octave,	Charge,	Trumpet, Octave, twice,	9.05½
9.01¾	Gong, I. Stroke,	Open Curtains,	Gong, I. Stroke,	9.05¾
9.02¼	,, II. Strokes,	Close Curtains,	,, II. Strokes,	9.06¼
		Each Booth will have 5¼ minutes from Close of Curtains till		
9.07	For 2nd Tableaux,	Time of First Call	For 2nd Tableaux,	9.11
9.15	,, 3rd ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, 3rd ,,	9.19
9.23	,, 4th ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, 4th ,,	9.27
9.31	,, 5th ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, 5th ,,	9.35
9.39	,, 6th ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, 6th ,,	9.44
			Curtain falls last Tableaux,	9.44¾

At 9.50 on Main Stage, Jarley's Waxwork, Minuet, Grand Finale.

The Carnival of Authors: Carefully Arranged and Compiled from the Best Sources by G. B. Bartlett of Concord, Mass: 11. (Courtesy of University of California)

Besides being the promoters of Authors' Carnivals both Frank Pease and George Bartlett wrote manuals and programs for so called "parlor theatricals." In contrast to theater,[15] the parlor as a private place was regarded as a safe harbor from the vices of the theater. The authors of manuals written for parlor theatricals "stressed that drama, within the confines of the home, offered wholesome, innocent amusement" (Buckley 1998, 476). Those entertainments were popular in the 1850s and 1860s and may be regarded as one of the 'ancestors' of Authors' Carnivals. Parlor or private theatricals were mostly located in middle-class culture (Halttunen 1982, 196). They could be performed in various ways and *tableaux vivants* were one way to entertain guests in one's own home (Halttunen 1982, 175). Authors' Carnivals were thus a new, public type of parlor theatricals, which means, Authors' Carnivals were an accumulation of parlor theatricals brought onto a stage in the public realm. Many *tableaux vivants*, which were famous features of private theatricals, were also performed in the context of Authors' Carnivals. One example is

[15] The term theater, in this context, is not bound to an actual building provided with seats. It rather goes along Elizabeth Maddock Dillon's description of "common lands" (2014, 4). Public places where people watched performances and "performed" social reality.

Dickens' scene of "Little Nell and her Grandfather." During the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco in 1879, Nell was impersonated and dressed similarly. "The part of Little Nell is taken by Mrs. Fisher Ames, who wears a simple childish dress and gipsy hat" (*DEB*, October 31, 1879). In the 1870s, with the organization of Authors' Carnivals, women transferred those morally unthreatening theatricals into the public. The Carnivals attracted "people who [had] a craving for the dramatic, and who [had] 'scruples' about the theatre" (*CDT*, January 26, 1879).

Continuing the interpretation of Authors' Carnivals along the lines of parlor theatricals going public, and using Peter Buckley's concept, the carnivals are a "paratheatrical" genre. "[T]he term 'paratheatricality' suggests something even more far-ranging. Rather than limiting its purview to commercial forms and to those theatrical forms with a known relation between performers and a seated audience, paratheatricality borders on signaling an anthropological interest in the enactment of social roles in public" (Buckley 1998, 424). Especially by the end of the nineteenth century, fairs became more than passive enjoyment; they became events where participation was expected not only from the performers but from the audience as well (Gordon 1998, 21). In his discussion of paratheatricals Buckley includes popular entertainments for two reasons. First, for their commercial success and, second, for "issues of value" (Buckley 1998, 425-426). According to those reasons, Authors' Carnivals are also a type of paratheatrical which did, however, not gain any attention from Buckley or any other discussion of nineteenth-century popular culture so far.

Authors' Carnivals were both commercially successful and were valued for their instructive character. To give one example, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* stated: "The Carnival of Authors, whose three evenings' entertainments have just closed, is unanimously decided on all sides to be the most successful amateur entertainment that has ever been given in Boston" (February 2, 1879). Further descriptions about the impact

of Authors' Carnivals in other cities run along the same lines. Without mentioning Authors' Carnivals explicitly, Buckley gave a valid statement about their role for American cultural identity. "America gained its cultural identity on the terrain of the popular and vernacular. It elevated minor forms into major commercial successes" (Buckley 1998, 426).

The societal roots on which Authors' Carnivals were based were located in nineteenth-century society. From the mid-nineteenth century on, American society began to neglect its former sentimental ideals, i.e. "the sentimental demand for sincerity was losing its tone of urgency and being replaced by a new acceptance of the theatricality of social relationships" (Halttunen 1982, 157). Halttunen evidences these changes by examining plays, manuals, and magazines between 1840 and 1860 (1982, 153-90). Especially for American white middle-class society the outer appearance became more and more important. So, it was beneficial to know how to 'act' properly. Virtuous demeanor was now a question of the right "mask," namely the "mask of virtue" (Halttunen 1982, 166). Such a mask was sufficient to seemingly lead a virtuous life. "Masks" became part of life and character. A reality already described by Mrs. Jarley in Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop*:

> It's calm and – what's that word again – critical? – no – classical, that's it – it's calm and classical. No low beatings and knockings about, no jokings and sqeakings like your precious Punches, but always the same, with a constantly unchanging air of coldness and gentility; and so like life, that if waxwork only spoke and walk about, you'd hardly know the difference. I won't go so far to say, that, as it is, I've seen waxwork quite like life, but I've certainly seen some life that was exactly like waxworks. (Dickens 198-199)

Although the talk in the quote is on waxworks, their immobility is comparable to *tableaux vivants*. Waxworks like *tableaux vivants* were "calm" and unprovocative. Parlor theatricals or *tableaux vivants* were thus an option to practice the right mask for everyday life.

Sentimental feelings could often be learned and the best way to learn how to express and to control emotions is playing act (Halttunen 1982, 184). In this manner, theatricality entered into American nineteenth-century society and culture and "the most literal intrusion of theatricality [...] was the vogue of parlor theatricals" (Buckley 1998, 476). People used manuals to practice certain emotions or expressions and set up stages in their parlors to amuse their guests (Halttunen 1982, 178). At this point, the theatricality of everyday life mingled with the parlor theatrical; as Halttunen explains: "A number of structural parallels linked the parlor theatrical with the larger genteel performance" (1982, 182).

Talking about American readers in the nineteenth century Zboray and Zboray state:

> Few populations have made literature and the ideas they got from it as much a part of their everyday lives. These folks did not just consume reading matter or attend lectures to kill time, but, rather, reflected deeply about their literary experiences and applied the results of their thinking to their social world. (Zboray and Zboray 2006, xvi-xvii)

Reading and literature were essential for nineteenth-century Americans. Literature was not only a source for diversion. It was rather guiding its readers through everyday life and provided a set of rules for social interaction. Literature helps to enhance knowledge and define moral values (Bentley 2009, 41). Although Authors' Carnivals were staged, ostensibly, for charity, and, in fact, for entertainment, it was important for the organizers to re-create the aforementioned functions of literature within the paradigm of this special genre.

By analyzing such popular events, and especially their theatrical performances, one can draw conclusions about the development of American society and culture. As the lack of inner virtues had to be resolved, people clung to the arts and tried to internalize the virtues they found there. Literature was an important source for this quest for a virtuous life, and the Authors' Carnivals were an amusing occasion to learn something

about and from literature. Especially the organization of such an event had an educational character; as it is described in the *Christian Union* in a July 27, 1881 article:

> The 'Carnival of Authors' is entertaining and instructive; instructive, because many will be asked to take a character of which they know little or nothing, and will be obliged to read in order to understand the character. Object-teaching is admitted by all to be the best kind of teaching for children; we may go farther and include the 'children of a larger growth.' Many who know little of the writers of the past or the present age take their lesson from a tableau with reading accompanying it. The desire to know the sequel of the lovely picture or story is born then (January 21, 1881: 75).

A high variety of foreign and national authors were represented within the context of the carnivals. The main 'criteria' for the inclusion of a certain author was his or her popularity. However, some of the booths were not dedicated to authors, but to entire nations or cultures. It was important to display as many entertaining and educating facets of humankind and especially of the American multicultural nation. Although most of the pieces represented at the Authors' Carnivals, were entertaining without an exact knowledge of the literary basis, many of the visitors were familiar with the performed literature. These visitors either prepared themselves for the carnivals (Hale 1886, 188) or simply had read those pieces long before. The familiarity with the enacted literary pieces becomes apparent with humorous or ironical puns based on the performed pieces.

> 'WHERE [sic.] were you last night?' said the Judge. 'Carnival Authors,' said the prisoner. 'Staid [sic.] till 9 o'clock; was a little Dryden, and went out and Goethe drink. I couldn't pay the Scott and a Longfellow at the Wayside Inn asked my name. 'Robert Burns,' says I; 'Put him out,' says he; 'The Dickens you will, says I;' 'my Holmes in the Highlands a drinking the beer;' 'You'll get no Moore here,' says he; and the Little Boy Blue came along and ran me in. That's what's the matter, Judge; I would not tell you a false Hood; I'm innocent as a Lamb.' And the Judge thought so, for he sent him behind the bars for thirty days, a wiser, if not a Whittier man. (*SDU*, February 22, 1879)

Such a pun filled with authors' names and elements of literature could only be detected by people acquainted with the listed names and pieces. As the Authors' Carnival is directly mentioned in the text, it addresses people who knew Authors' Carnivals or at least were interested in those events and/or the represented literature.

Rowland Hughes begins his companion on *Nineteenth-Century American Literature* by giving the historical context with the aim to equip the reader with an overview of the agitated era he is presenting. He then continues his analysis in two ways by, first, discussing nineteenth-century American literature in terms and sections which are genre specific and, second, by giving an analysis which is theme specific and includes "modern theoretical approaches" (2011, 5). Hughes then includes both "canonical and non-canonical" authors to underline the diversity within the literature of the nineteenth century (2011, 8). Hughes's work is an effort to 'rewrite' the existent canon or rather canons. My approach goes along the same line as Hughes's; however, I do not focus on the actual literary texts but rather on their reception and role in popular entertainment.

The literacy rates in the US during the nineteenth century were quite high compared to those in European countries (Brown 2004, 10). For the Authors' Carnivals this meant that a familiarity of the audience and the participants with the enacted pieces was, if not already given, easy to achieve and people read a lot. Even though, Barbara Sicherman states in her essays "Sense and Sensibility: A Case Study of Women's Reading in Late-Victorian America" that reading became a rather private and passive activity by the late nineteenth century, I regard Authors' Carnivals to be an example for the opposite (1989, 206). The enactment of literary pieces shows that reading or the reception of literature was still also a public activity and in the late nineteenth century even connected with a high level of popular entertainment. Literary texts or books were not only companions addressed in solitary leisure but they were also the basis for communal pleasure.

Further, books or rather literature became a more important aspect of the "school curriculum" in the second half of the nineteenth century (Stiles 1996, 252). This means that by the end of the nineteenth century literature still played a major role in public spaces. Moylan and Stiles already mentioned the importance of books, if we want to

understand the relation "between American literature and American culture" (1996, 11). I would go one step further and say that not only books but also the receptions and performances of the books' contents need to be analyzed to give a comprehensive picture of American culture and literature in the late nineteenth century. Angela Sorby provides a good example here with her Schoolroom Poets as she focuses on "when and how readers read" (2005, xiii). Like Sorby's poems, Authors' Carnivals are a useful source to recover how literature was read. "It is impossible to fully recover and redeploy nineteenth-century horizons of expectation, but it is useful to partially excavate them in order to understand why certain poems were seen as beautiful and useful" (2005, xvii). Along the lines of Sorby's interpretation of schoolroom poetry, Authors' Carnivals supported the development of a "collective memory" by enacting literary pieces. Thus, an "imagined community" was established around those familiarized pieces, which, continuing in Anderson's train of thought, means that an American national identity was, if not explicitly created, at least supported.

Benedict Anderson bases most of his concept of "imagined communities" on a common language and along with this language a common printed corpus of texts which 'unites' communities and nations. With Authors' Carnivals Anderson's concept can be further developed. The Carnivals were based on a common knowledge of certain literary pieces but a common language was not necessary to create an "imagined community". Most performances did not include language at all because they were *tableaux vivants*, a performative practice where the performers do not talk. The people participating in Authors' Carnivals 'imagined' their 'American nation' within their country's borders, i.e. every person living on American soil was part of the American nation, as long as he or she also internalized the enacted pieces as part of their cultural heritage.

Joan Shelley Rubin focuses on poetry in the late nineteenth up to the mid twentieth century. Her aim is to show how poetry affects readers because such an analysis allows

insights on how culture was actually practiced during that period (Rubin 2007, 3). Like Rubin I would like to turn away from a mere focus on literary "authors and movements" and rather analyze people's engagement with and reception of literature in the late nineteenth century, which allows a "more democratic portrayal of American culture" (Rubin 2007, 6). However, I will not discuss what Rubin calls the "emotional work" of the Authors' Carnivals but give a description of the genre and its structure.

According to the definition of "mediations" as it is made by book historians Authors' Carnivals are, like books, "mediations" of literary texts; even though, those "mediations" are not solid physical objects but rather ephemeral enactments. In my opinion, the single representations during an Authors' Carnival are to be regarded along the lines of Rubin's assignment that texts are "employ[ed …] for social purposes" (2007, 9). The Carnivals were supposed to affect the participants and spectators disregarding their "social differences" as Rubin states it for the text (2007, 9). In the context of Authors' Carnivals a division of social or cultural categories played, if at all, a minor role. Those events were a 'civic sphere' including and inviting various literary pieces and people. Thus, the Carnivals shared the aspects Joan Shelley Rubin assigns to poetry: "As American readers compounded meanings out of printed words and their social uses, they bridged a number of divides: not only between the high and the popular, but also between the secular and the sacred, the liberatory and the conservative, the modern and the traditional" (2007, 15).

The infrastructure for events such as Authors' Carnivals was established in the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period (mainly the 1820s and 1830s) larger halls were erected for the display of "industrial products and technologies" (Gordon 1998, 9). This was also the time of the first fairs organized by women (Gordon 1998, 9). In the North those fairs developed from mere "ladies' fairs" to large community entertainments, whereas, in the South such a development was made 'impossible' due to a lack of

"extensive networking and intercity cooperation" (Gordon 1998, 96). Authors Carnivals were examples of later female managed fairs which were held in the large buildings originally built for male business purposes.

According to archival documentation, the first Authors' Carnival took place in October 1874 in Buffalo, New York. The idea for this event originated with Isaac G. Jenkins, general secretary of Buffalo's YMCA. This kind of entertainment was first described as "gallery of authors [sic] entertainment" in *The Board of Directors-Record* (May 1871-November 1885: 62). As stated in the History of the Young Men's Christian Association of Buffalo

> the idea was the presentation of living pictures of characters, taken from the books of celebrated authors, clothed in the costumes, doing the things and surrounded by the environment, as their creators had described them; these pictures made the various booths, in which were not lacking the usual means for turning an honest penny; there were, besides, special entertainments for each evening and various other attractive features. (Sickles 1902, 59)

The reason for the organization of such a charity event was the lack of money to finance a new building for the YMCA. "The Carnival was a grand success, artistically, socially, and financially" (Sickles 1902, 59); the event cleared about $6000 for the building fund (Sickles 1902, 59). Comparing this amount to the entrance fee of about 50 cents, the success becomes even more explicit. Based on the translation undertaken by Gordon for fairs given in the late nineteenth century, the amount raised by the YMCA is equivalent to about $80.000 in today's terms (1998, 124).

Another source of income usually used during all kinds of fairs were special newspapers (Gordon 1998, 44). Those newspapers were particularly published for the occasion and were not simple sources of information but also mementos of the event. The newspaper published for Buffalo's Authors' Carnival was called *The Carnival Times*. The major aim of the editorial staff was "to faithfully reflect the scenes and incidents of the Carnival" (*The Carnival Times* No. 1, October 20, 1874: 2).

The reason for the 'birth' of Authors' Carnivals was a general 'lust for entertainment' in the late nineteenth century. People were longing for "spectacle, packaged amusement, or play that offered more sensation" (Gordon 1998, 118). The most effective way to allay this desire was the creation of "carnival-like areas" which "heightened the promise of the imagined other worlds" (Gordon 1998, 118). Those were the features of Authors' Carnivals; they were "carnival-like" and provided their visitors with numerous thematic booths or "imaginary worlds."

The promotion of Authors' Carnivals was not only driven by a general interest in entertainment but also by people who understood those events as business ventures. Frank P. Pease and George Bartlett, already mentioned before, were men who realized the potential of Authors' Carnivals as business ventures. The idea of the Authors' Carnivals was spread through different people and all kinds of written media. Besides these personally motivated promotions, the events became popular via newspaper articles, advertisements, the various carnival papers, and even a children's book by Lucretia P. Hale. In her story "The Peterkins at the 'Carnival of Authors' in Boston" Hale describes how a family (the Peterkins) visits and prepares for the Bostonian Authors' Carnival in 1879. All aspects naturally heightened the popularity and the excitement about the carnivals.

Most Authors' Carnivals were organized by charitable organizations or social institutions. Thus, the organization was mainly done by women as they were more often involved in social work than men. But while the female organizers mostly outnumbered their male supporters, the audience was at equilibrium.

Looking at the geographical distribution, the effectiveness of the promotion becomes visible. Authors' basically were organized throughout the major cities in the US. However, there was at least one carnival taking place abroad, in Dresden (Germany) in 1884 (*The Churchman*, January 23, 1887: 93). This event was given by the American

Church of St. John, which underlines the fact that the Authors' Carnivals were a specifically American type of entertainment. Thus, Authors' Carnivals were part of public life up to the 1900s and were not a specifically regional phenomenon.

Most carnivals were quite similar, which means that not only the occasions were comparable but also the contents. Nevertheless, due to regional differences the Authors' Carnivals were individualized. In Concord, Massachusetts, for example, the carnival took place on boats floating on Concord River (*BDA*, July 27, 1881: 8). As time passed and mass entertainment developed, Authors' Carnivals and their importance changed. By the beginning of the 20th century, those carnivals became smaller and more private or even commercial events like the Authors' Carnival in New York in 1892, which was rather a trade fair where publishers and authors advertised their products.

Methodological Framework

Today's turn from exclusively textual culture to the examination of other, more ephemeral cultural types of expression is one impulse to reconstruct and reevaluate performative practices like Authors' Carnivals. As they are a forgotten phenomenon, there is no secondary literature so far.[16] My aim with this dissertation is to reconstruct Authors' Carnivals and to take first steps into the analysis of those complex entertainments. I hope to provide readers and researchers with a fundament for further research in this field.

In his *Theatre, Society, and the Nation* Wilmer describes theater as a "site for staging national history, folklore and myths" and according to this it is a realm where "claims for a national identity" are made (2002, 1). This is true for Authors' Carnivals in an outstanding way because they are usually not organized by professional stage directors but by the people of a community. They are then what Wilmer calls "a microcosm of the

[16] Authors' Carnivals are mentioned in Beverly Gordon's *Bazaars and Fair Ladies*, however, they are only listed as one example for a shape of a "ladies' fair" and a detailed description is missing (1998, 135).

national community" (2002, 2). Wilmer draws parallels between theater's function in European countries and the US and concludes that the theater had the same effects on both sides of the Atlantic (2002, 2). This is different with Authors' Carnivals because they are entertainments which were performed exclusively in the US or in US communities. They do not only represent American national elements like the ones mentioned by Wilmer for the theater but those Carnivals were also an entirely American genre.

Wilmer chooses the Chautauqua movement to analyze how theater or rather theatrical performances influenced US society in the late nineteenth century. Chautauquas were performed during the same timespan as Authors' Carnivals and, in my opinion, Wilmer's usage of Chautauquas as theater is short sighted because he misses to mention that those entertainments had more and different elements than mere theater. Although he mentions that Chautauquas were annual events which lasted for a couple of days and included several performative elements, he does not discuss in how far those differences between Chautauquas and theater influenced the audiences' receptions of the performances (2002, 11). Along those lines, it would be wrong to treat Authors' Carnivals like Wilmer treated Chautauquas. Even though Authors' Carnivals mostly consisted of theatrical performances, they were far more complex in their structure and effect than dramas in a theater. Authors' Carnivals deserve to be treated as a complex performative genre. Wilmer formulates a list of "factors that were represented as uniting the country" mentioning the following aspects: "The English language, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, and the common dream of prosperity founded on notions of liberty, equality and free enterprise" (2002, 10). In the context of Authors' Carnivals the uniting factors were based on a common literary taste and tradition in a highly literate society.

My research is based on historical source material. Such primary documents are necessary, if, as in my case, the actual reception and role of such events in a certain era is

the object of research. The digitalization of historical newspapers opened up a new array of opportunities for today's research. With digital archives and databases I was able to gather source material from different years, different cities and different countries to make my description as detailed as possible. Visits to actual archives showed that there is more material than mere newspaper articles. However, those sources are often not filed or might even not be discovered yet. On the one hand, it was at times frustrating to know that there is a lot more source material hidden in the archives as my research in the local archives has proved. On the other hand, the work with the librarians and researchers on site was motivating because people always showed a high interest in the topic and were eager to render every help they could. The archival work showed how Authors' Carnivals, although being attractive events for many people, lost their significance.

As the actual archival material has not been entirely recovered yet, I focused my research on historical newspapers and added further material where possible. Newspapers were the primary medium of communication in the nineteenth century and give 'real-time' feedback and information on the Authors' Carnivals. Thus, the actual perception of the events and their influence on society are documented in the newspapers. According to this, newspaper articles are a useful basis for the investigation of Authors' Carnivals' popularity and role as they were perceived by visitors and participants.

The field of Digital Humanities made the creation of searchable newspaper databases possible in its present form and provided me with the possibility to undertake my research (Lauer 2013, 106; Thaller 2017, 4). As Gerhard Lauer puts it, the digital era makes an entire collection of culture possible (2013, 110). However, while the browsing of the existent data is pragmatic, a simple list of the newly available data is insufficient and still needs the interpretation and analysis of the researcher (Thaller 2017, 7; Lauer 2013, 111). The table listed in the back of this dissertation was my effort to collect and arrange the, in my regard, useful sources I was able to find in several different databases.

The list contains short summaries of newspaper articles dealing with Authors' Carnivals in a chronological order based on the date of the events' displays. Hopefully, this table will be the basis for further research in the field of Authors' Carnivals. However, I am not claiming completeness with my table but rather a first insight into the available material and a first overview of potential directions a further analysis of the events may take, be it the representation of nations, the inclusion of children or the use of musical elements. Working on the table and reading my way through the newspaper articles, I used the following categories to summarize the articles: In which year did the Carnival take place? When and where did it take place? In which newspaper and database have I found the article? What were the article's publication date and title? What was the occasion for the Carnival? Which organizations and institutions were involved? What roles did men/women play? What were the represented pieces and authors? Which information do we get about the audience? Was there a special children's program? How and which nations and races were represented? How was music tied in? Which technicalities were given (stage, light, props)? How many characters were included? What were the terms for admission? Were there any critical remarks? And what were the general remarks given in the article?

Authors' Carnivals are a special kind of performative practice and the analysis of such events is complex, but at the same time an analysis may lead to new insights into nineteenth-century American culture. As Judith Hamera puts it: "Performance is both an event and a heuristic tool that illuminates the presentational and representational elements of culture" (2006, 5). Splitting up the aspects which are combined in the Authors' Carnivals, we get the opportunity to reconsider themes like creating an American nation, literature reception, the role of churches and social organizations in the nineteenth century, women's networks, and entertainment as an instructive tool. So, Authors'

Carnivals may help to improve the research on nineteenth-century American culture on many levels.

Chapter Outline

As outlined before, Authors' Carnivals were performative entertainments during the last three decades of the nineteenth century based on popular literary pieces. Today Authors' Carnivals are a forgotten type of entertainment although they have many parallel structures with modern types of entertainments, e.g. cosplay or Comic Con. The aim of this dissertation, however, is not to show in how far Authors' Carnivals are related to today's entertainment but rather to investigate the role the carnivals played during their own era. I focus on the meaningful aspects of female agency and the consumption of literature in the late nineteenth century. With the organization of Authors' Carnivals women used their opportunities to be active participants within a public realm. Furthermore, those women introduced a new way of consuming literature in a morally accepted context. The closer analysis of female agency and literary consumption follows a detailed description of a prototypical Authors' Carnival to provide the reader with elementary knowledge on the events' structure.

Following the introduction, chapter one provides the reader with a detailed description of the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco in 1879.[17] It was San Francisco's first Authors' Carnival and it is a significant example for a number of reasons. San Francisco's organizers took advantage of earlier Authors' Carnivals undertaken in other cities of the US and made their carnival a paradigmatic event. The chapter begins with a closer look at the institutional and organizational framework of the Authors' Carnival. The questions to be addressed will be: Who managed and organized the event? How did

[17] Another reason for the choice of San Francisco's Authors' Carnival in 1879 was that San Franciscan archives (California Historical Society, California Pioneers, Bancroft Library, California State Library) have already located and filed a lot of material on the topic. My research on San Francisco's first Authors' Carnival is thus not only based on digitalized newspaper articles.

charitable institutions work together for such an occasion? How were financial issues dealt with? The description of the management will be followed by an analysis of the communication tools used in the context of an Authors' Carnival.

The focus within chapter 1.2 will be on newspapers as they were the most important medium in terms of communication and marketing strategies. With the publishing of their own newspapers, the organizers of Authors' Carnivals also supported the interest in materials, which will be the central theme of the following subchapter (1.3). Talking about material in the context of the Carnivals, the term "authenticity" was all-pervasive. A detailed description of the decorations, costumes, and props used during the event will be given. Turning from the material aspects of the events to the literary performances, the major theme of chapter 1.4 will be the enacted literary pieces. A list of represented authors will be the basis for the description and analysis of the program and the performances. How were the authors and pieces selected? How were the performances directed and what types of performance were used? Those will be the questions leading through the subchapter. From the actual performances I will turn to the participants and the audience in chapter 1.5. The numbers of participants and visitors were huge and the subchapter is based on the constellation of the attending crowd. Besides giving numbers, details will be presented on the background of both participants and visitors. Further, it will be discussed who took which parts and how the members of the crowd interacted. The final subchapter (1.6) is a review on the aftermath of the Authors' Carnival. The issues presented in this chapter will be whether the organizers of the carnival actually met their aims and in how far the event influenced San Francisco's society in terms of literature and consumption. San Francisco's Authors' Carnival of 1879 was the starting point of and an example for several Authors' Carnivals following in subsequent years.

In all Authors' Carnivals women were the driving forces. Therefore, chapter two is dedicated to the work and roles of women. The Carnivals were a 'neutral zone' where

men and women worked together for a benevolent cause. The focus of this chapter will be on how and where female participation was accepted and appreciated within the realm of the Authors' Carnivals.

Charity was the overall aim and focus of the events. As benevolent work was female work it will be discussed in chapter 2.1. In chapter 2.2 the major theme will be the role of women as creators of popular entertainment. Female agency in the sense of active participation is an important aspect which needs a detailed analysis (2.3). Authors' Carnivals were a chance for participants to step into a different role or to play some character. In how far this stepping into something new was relevant for women in the context of the events will be the theme of chapter 2.4. Even though female agency was welcomed and necessary for Authors' Carnivals, the participation of women was still controversial. Such controversies will be the content of chapter 2.5.

In chapter three, I will focus on how far Authors' Carnivals affected entertainment and society in the late nineteenth century. The female carnival organizers aimed for the education of their visitors and participants and influenced the consumption of literature (3.1). At the same time Authors' Carnivals were reflections of popular entertainment and popular literature. Chapter 3.2 is dedicated to the analysis of the impact Authors' Carnivals had on popular entertainment and popular literature and to the question of the effect popular culture had on the carnivals. The literary pieces enacted at the Carnivals were chosen by the organizers and the managers of the events. But on what grounds were those choices made? Which pieces were considered worth the representation and why? Those final questions will be addressed in chapter 3.3.

Even though Authors' Carnivals are a forgotten performative practice today, they do have contemporary 'siblings'. Without going into a thorough analysis and discussion on the degree of kinship, in my conclusion I would like to show that the close inspection

of seemingly extinct practices is worthwhile and gives a more exact image of the object of investigation.

1. A Paradigm of Authors' Carnivals: San Francisco 1879

Before a closer interpretation of Authors' Carnivals and their role in nineteenth-century US culture will be given, a detailed description of the events is necessary to comprehend their character and associated implications. In the present chapter the focus will be on an Authors' Carnival performed in San Francisco in October 1879. San Francisco's Authors' Carnival is paradigmatic for a number of reasons. Its location, its scale and its general use was exemplary in the sense that it followed certain organizational patterns being characteristic of the genre in its most prevalent form. Further, the San Franciscan carnival was not the first of its kind and is an example of a more elaborated and improved event, considering its organization and management. Analyzing some of the several construction patterns of the entertainment, the problem of locating Authors' Carnivals within only one genre becomes apparent. Authors' Carnivals are "paratheatricals" combining elements of spectacle, festival, drama, and rite. An impression on the impact the Authors' Carnival of 1879 had on San Francisco's society was given in an article published in 1900. "How perfectly delightful, they said, to be permitted to impersonate characters in fiction. And immediately everybody began to plan, to sew, to study the art of make-up, and – to read books" (*SFC*, July 15, 1900). The statement makes clear that an event like the Authors' Carnival called for "performance" on many levels.

1.1 The Institutional Framework of Authors' Carnivals

The idea of holding an Authors' Carnival in San Francisco emerged more than two months ahead of the actual realization of the event. The first step to be taken was the formation of a committee which had the right to make decisions on the questions accompanying the Authors' Carnival. The final committee was only "appointed on the 15th instant" (*DEB*, August 27, 1879). The general consideration of whether to hold a carnival or not was the first task of the committee and the proceedings for this decisions

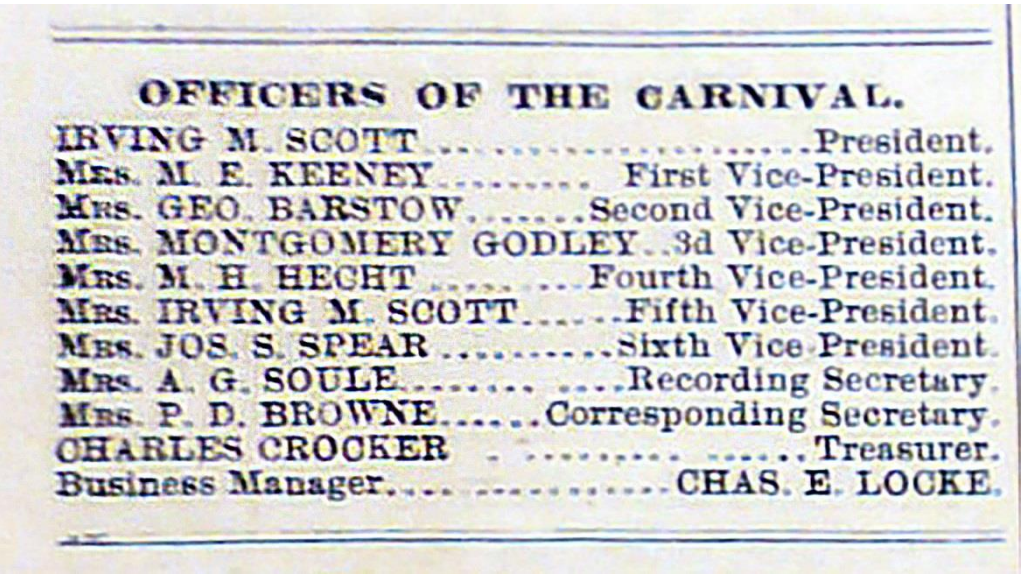
were the following: "A number of ladies and gentlemen representing various charitable organizations of this city met last evening in the parlors of the Palace Hotel to consider the idea of holding an 'Authors' Carnival.' The plan was broached some time ago, and a committee had been appointed to inquire into and consider the matter" (*DEB*, August 27, 1879). Holding an Authors' Carnival was not an impulsive idea of a single person, but it was the subject of a long decision making process which included discussions among several different people and institutions.

In total, the Executive Committee of San Francisco's Authors' Carnival in 1879 consisted of the general manager of the affair, the president, the treasurer and members of six charitable societies. Those societies were the "Young Women's Christian Association, [the] Ladies' Protection and Relief Society, [the] Clay Street Lying in Hospital, [the] Little Sisters' and Infant Shelter, [the] Old Ladies' Home and [the] Pacific Dispensary, and Hospital for Women and Children" (*DEB*, August 27, 1879).[18] Dividing the responsibility for the event between several institutions was necessary in two ways. First, it would have been nearly impossible for one of those societies to organize an entertainment of such a size. Although San Francisco was a rapidly growing city, its infrastructure for leisure and entertainment was not yet as well developed as in Eastern cities (*ArA*, Vol. 1 No. 5, 1879: 97). Second, the financial risk would have been too high

[18] Each of the charitable institutions was dedicated to a certain aim. The Young Women's Christian Association was "an offshoot of the Young Men's Christian Association" which provided reading and sewing-rooms, so that "[y]oung women of all creeds [were] welcome to visit the rooms and derive all benefits possible from the kind association of experienced and generous women" (*DAC*, November 6, 1879). The Ladies' Protection and Relief Society's "special object was to provide a comfortable home for friendless and destitute boys and girls of tender age, [from two to fourteen,] until desirable places in Christian families could be obtained for them" (*DAC*, November 6, 1879). The Clay Street Lying in Hospital was "one of the most liberal charities in the city. Poor sick women [were] treated without regard to native, religious or social characteristics" (*DAC*, November 6, 1879). The Little Sisters' and Infant Shelter allowed "working mothers [to] leave their children at the Shelter during working hours" (*DAC*, November 6, 1879). The Old Ladies' Home was a place where "[o]ld, infirm Episcopal women were received . . ., and provided with necessaries and ordinary comforts of life that old age and physical disability prevented them from earning" (*DAC*, November 6, 1879). The Pacific Dispensary, and Hospital for Women and Children was an institution "providing competent medical aid for women and children of lowly stations in life, and whose circumstances, otherwise, would prevent them from receiving the care necessary to their healthy existence" (*DAC*, November 6, 1879).

for only one institution. A cooperation between the charitable institutions was sensible due to finance and size reasons. As it is stated in the *Daily Alta California*: "For months the matter was deliberately discussed in society's circles, and for months almost condemned. At length six of our local charities determined to make the venture" (October 26, 1879). In addition, it was mentioned that "the plan of [the Authors' Carnivals] . . . will be similar to those that have been given in St. Louis, Chicago and other large Eastern cities" (August 27, 1879). In Chicago one charitable association decided to organize a huge entertainment in cooperation with other charities so that they could both afford such an enormous affair and take a big hall as the location for the event (*CDT*, May 1, 1879). The decision to include several charities and to take the Mechanics' Pavilion for San Francisco's first Authors' Carnival was based on experiences made in other cities.

Although the major part of the organization was under female control, the "important" parts were taken by men who were not strictly members of the participating societies. Such fallbacks on male professional managers were common for larger fairs in the closing nineteenth century (Gordon 1998, 127). The Executive Committee, as it is given on the list within the *Carnival Echo*, consisted of 11 members of which eight were female.



OFFICERS OF THE CARNIVAL.

IRVING M. SCOTT.....President.
Mrs. M. E. KEENEY..... First Vice-President.
Mrs. GEO. BARSTOW.....Second Vice-President.
Mrs. MONTGOMERY GODLEY..3d Vice-President.
Mrs. M. H. HECHT.....Fourth Vice-President.
Mrs. IRVING M. SCOTT.....Fifth Vice-President.
Mrs. JOS. S. SPEAR.....Sixth Vice-President.
Mrs. A. G. SOULE.....Recording Secretary.
Mrs. P. D. BROWNE.....Corresponding Secretary.
CHARLES CROCKER.....Treasurer.
Business Manager.....CHAS. E. LOCKE.

The Executive Committee
The Carnival Echo, No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4. (Courtesy of California Historical Society)

Each charitable society sent "ladies" as representatives of their institution and one of each society was announced Vice-President of the committee (*DAC*, August 27, 1879). The roles of General Manager, President, and Treasurer, however, were male dominated. There was, at least in San Francisco's case, no interest in appointing a woman as 'decision maker.' As it was stated later on in an issue of the *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, "the President and Treasurer [were] necessarily gentlemen" (*SDRU*, October 21, 1882). Early in the process it was decided to appoint Irving M. Scott as President, Charles Crocker as Treasurer and Charles E. Locke as General Manager (*DEB*, August 27, 1879). The position of General Manager was the only one being discussed but the Committee decided that "Mr. Locke having been so successful in his numerous local enterprises, would be the best man [the Committee] could appoint to take care of the undertaking" (*CDT*, November 24, 1879). Locke's appointment, however, did not mean that Charles Crocker and Irving M. Scott were not "such representative business-men . . . [as being] competent enough to audit the accounts without . . . interference" (*CDT*, November 24, 1879).

Nevertheless, because of their number, women had the chance to outweigh their male leaders and to prove that they were not the 'weaker' sex. Authors' Carnivals

provided women with a realm of "equal rights" (*SDRU*, October 21, 1882). At least in the context of the Authors' Carnival, they had a say on the business level, being responsible for the gathering of donations, as members of the Refreshment Committee, and the procuring of "material on the best terms possible" (*DEB*, October 15, 1879; *DAC*, September 26, 1879). The constitution of the Executive Committee in San Francisco's case shows that the concept of separate spheres was not carved in stone in late nineteenth-century US society. Women had opportunities to work on a project which promised to have a cultural and financial impact on their society.

The management of the booths dedicated to the pieces of popular authors was entirely under the responsibility of women. Every booth-manager was accountable for the 'functioning' of her booth, which means that they also had to inform their participants about meetings and rehearsals[19] and were obliged to hand in "reports" on the status of their booths and programs (*DAC*, September 26, 1879). The carnival consisted of 24 booths in total. "Each of the six charitable associations represented [had] charge of four [booths]" (*DEB*, October 23, 1879). Not all of the booths were dedicated to authors but also to nations or special themes. Thus, 16 authors were represented, four booths "were set apart to exhibit national costumes and customs without distinction of authors[,]" and a thematic refreshment booths were erected (*DEB*, October 23, 1879). Whereas each of the societies had an equal number of booths (namely four), the numbers of participants within the several booths varied between approximately 3 to 300 active participants in character (*DAC*, September 26, 1879). Such variations again were in some aspect dependent on the size and opportunities of the single charitable institutions, but the main reason was the choice of author. So, while a booth representing characters from Longfellow had 316 participants, a booth like Goethe had only 50 participants in costume

[19] The announcement of those meetings and rehearsals is part of chapter 1.2 focusing on the role of newspapers.

(*Authors' Carnival Scrapbook*, 1879). The different numbers allow inferences on the authors' popularity and the communities' familiarity with the enacted pieces. An unequal distribution also leads to the conclusion that the financial effort for the single booths was similarly unequal.

Despite such disequilibrium between the charitable societies and the booths, "the net proceeds [were] divided equally among the . . . Benevolent Institutions" and the General Manager, Charles Locke (*DAC*, October 14, 1879). The question of finance was important to the organizers throughout the entire procedure of the Authors' Carnival. One of the first steps taken by the Executive Committee, right after the decision to hold a carnival, was a "guarantee fund." The aim of this fund was "to pay the expenses, should the matter be a failure" and the amount was set at $3000 (*DEB*, August 27, 1879).

A detailed plan of procedures concerning admission fees was only determined in October, some weeks before the actual event. The committee decided to sell 5000 transferable season tickets with coupons for ten admissions. Further, single admissions were sold for 50 cents apiece (*DEB*, October 3, 1879). According to a contemporary report, season tickets were not affordable for all classes so that those visitors with a lower income had to buy the "more expensive" single admissions, as the coupons of the season tickets were issued for fixed dates (*DEB*, October 9, 1879). Still, the Executive Committee proved that their decisions on the details of the Authors' Carnival, and especially on the financial details, were reasonable and aimed at the inclusion of all San Franciscan classes whatever their income was.

1.2 Communication, Marketing, Publicizing

As we see in the example of the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco in 1879, all relevant and perhaps irrelevant information on the event were published in local newspapers. The public learned about each step taken in the proceedings of the carnival on a regular basis.

Such a detailed and extended description of the progress, had the aim to heighten the interest in the entertainment (*ODT*, December 30, 1879; *BOJ*, January 23, 1879: 4). This was common for all kinds of fairs in general (Gordon 1998, 44). The promotion of the event was undertaken on the local as well as on the national level. *The Art Amateur*, published in New York, mentioned San Francisco's Authors' Carnival, its "preparations on a large scale" and its "worthily" literary representations before the actual event took place (Vol. 1, No. 5, 1879: 97). On the local level, phrases like: "it promises to be the most elegant entertainment ever offered this side of the Rocky Mountains[,]" enlarged people's curiosity for the Authors' Carnival (*DAC*, September 18, 1879). Depending on the progress of the booths, advertising was more specific and 'praised' only certain booths. For example, the Dickens Booth had already arranged a precise program by late September so that the *Daily Alta California* stated "[the Dickens Booth] will be one of the principle attractions" (September 28, 1879). Rousing curiosity by giving the readers details on the event was not only achieved by describing the booth but also by listing names of participants and donators. Providing the public with their names, on the one hand, lead to a 'glorification' of the benevolent people and, on the other hand, slightly 'forced' others to show the same generosity. Thanking benefactors for their magnanimity was mostly connected to a calling for more donations. "While recognizing the generosity of [the donators], the Committee is still compelled to appeal for more . . ." (*DAC*, October 18, 1879). However, this call was not sufficient and the ladies of the Refreshment Committee had to "send a wagon to the down-town merchants, for contributions" (*DAC*, October 21, 1879).

Especially on the local level, advertisements did not solely have the purpose of attracting future visitors and financial supporters but also helped to 'generate' candidates. The recruiting of participants ran along the same lines as the search for donators. Publicly naming 'famous' lay actors was an effort to mobilize those interested in an active

participation. “Mrs. Tippett a well-known soprano, will assume a prominent character in [the Arabian Nights] booth” (*DEB*, October 18, 1879). However, in general the organizers were bound to the following proceeding: “The unhappy booth managers, when they come to cast characters, must apply to their friends and their friends’ friends, and then trust to the wandering stars whom vanity, ennui or curiosity prompt to file participants’ applications” (*SDRU*, October 21, 1882). One month before the actual event was to take place, the Italian Booth, for example, was still in search of lay actors and candidates and thus acknowledged that “[t]he ladies and gentlemen interested in the Italian Booth of the Authors’ Carnival are requested to meet . . . at the Occidental Hotel . . .” (*DAC*, September 18, 1879). Such requests were common, but not every charitable society was dependent on them, as some were able to engage enough participants without publishing ‘calls for participation.’ A lack of participants always depended on the number of required characters for the respective booths.

Besides the recruitment and the call for donations, local newspapers were also used for further announcements like rehearsals and meetings. Following democratic principles, the organizers and managers of the Authors’ Carnival informed the public about their meetings and decisions, which were joined by many members of the six charitable societies. For instance, there was a discussion on whether to build a platform for the booths so that they would be raised and the visitors could have a better view on the performances. A summary of the discussion and the final decision to erect a platform was published in the *Daily Alta California* (September 26, 1879). Such detailed reports were not only made for the overall decisions made by the Executive Committee but also for the single booths. So the readers intrigued in the Authors’ Carnival always had the latest information on the progress of the event. In contrast to the readers who were interested in the upcoming entertainment, the participants of the carnival had to pay attention to the newspapers in order to know, the appointed time and date of rehearsals of

the booths would take place. The dates of the meetings and rehearsals were published for each booth separately meaning that some parts of the newspapers were loaded with rehearsal announcements, as for example the *Daily Alta California*'s issue of October 14, 1879.

A general rehearsal of the Cervantes Booth will be held at No. 1019 Bush street, this evening, at 7:30 o'clock sharp. A full attendance is desired.

The people interested in the David Copperfield booth are requested to meet this evening at the parlors of Mrs. Ludium, No. 203 Taylor street.

Those interested in the Bardell vs. Pickwick booth are requested to meet to-morrow evening at the residence of Messrs. Diggins, No. 2530 Sutter street.

A meeting of the "Royal Infants and Mother Goose" Booth will be held at Lunt's Hall, 320 Post Post street, this afternoon at 3 P. M.; Mrs. Ames, Manager.

The Executive Committee of the Authors' Carnival meets with the Managers of Booths at Parlor A, Palace Hotel, to-day at 2 P. M. Manager Locke will be at Parlor A at 1 P. M., to consult with all who may require further directions, previous to the meeting at 2 P. M.

List of announced rehearsals
Daily Alta California, October 14, 1879. (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

Another aspect, which was mentioned in the local newspapers before the carnival began, was the detailed description of the programs planned for the single booths. However, those details were published on short notice (*DAC*, October 23, 1879).

The following programme has been arranged for the first and second evenings, Thursday and Friday:

Tableau—Shakespeare surrounded by his creations, on either side a statue of Tragedy and Comedy.

"Romeo and Juliet"—Romeo, L. M. Tewkesbury; Mercutio, Jas. B. Ryson; Benvolio, F. C. Davis; Peter, E. M. Greenway; Nurse, Mrs. Judah; Juliet, Miss Emma Pearson.

Tableau from "Cymbeline."

"Taming the Shrew"—Petruchio, L. W. Mix; Baptista, E. M. Mott; Katherine, Mrs. Perkins.

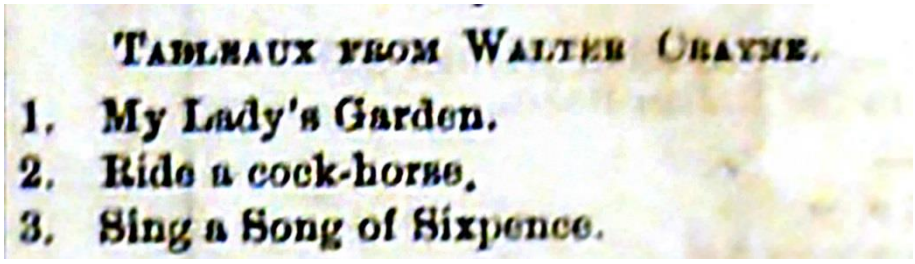
Example of booth program.[20]
Daily Alta California, October 23, 1879. (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

[20] This image is only an excerpt of the original display of the program. The complete list includes the tableaux for all of the nine evenings.

So the main function of newspapers in the forerun of the Authors' Carnival was to provide participants and potential visitors with information on the progress and to advertise the "great forthcoming charitable festival" (*DAC*, October 22, 1879).

The promotion of the Authors' Carnival and the emphasis on its importance to San Francisco's society was upheld during the event. Journalists steadily underlined that the Authors' Carnival was "the greatest of all [entertainments]" so far given in San Francisco and that it outdid Eastern cities with its ability to create living people out of fictional characters (*DAC*, October 25, 1879). The consequence of the successful carnival was a cancellation of other entertainments because the organizers were "anticipating a large attendance at the carnival" (*SDU*, October 25, 1879). As in the forerun of the event, mentioning the attendance of 'famous' personages was used as a tool to heighten the number of visitors. "Last night was the opening night, and the attendance, though immense, is nothing to what will be to night, as it is expected that General Grant will be present" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879). Further, there was an ongoing usage of 'agitating' adjectives and metaphors to rouse the public interest in the event. The Authors' Carnival is often described as "a dazzling and bewildering scene of beauty and art[,]" which has the potential to "[dispel] all dark clouds that gather on the outside" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879; *DEB*, October 24, 1879). In addition to such picturesque descriptions, the success was regularly given in total numbers by listing the receipts of every evening. Nevertheless, such 'rational' arguments for success were less frequently mentioned and were the last section of articles presenting the Authors' Carnival (*DAC*, October 26, 1879). So, the overall attempt to increase the interest and curiosity of potential visitors, was a rather indirect one using the readers' imagination and explaining that "the Carnival is truly a study for many nights if one wishes to take it all in and digest it" (*DEB*, October 25, 1879).

During the Authors' Carnival the official reporting organ was the *Carnival Echo*. Although many details of the event were published in the newspapers beforehand, the detailed program of "the booth tableaux" was solely given to the editors of the *Echo*. "The programme of the tableaux on the stage, will be given to the daily papers, those of the booth tableaux will only be given to the *Herald* (*DAC*, October 21, 1879). [21] For example, whereas the newspapers got the information that there will be some performance within the Walter Crayne booth, the *Carnival Echo* published in detail which three scenes from Walter Crayne would be shown.


TABLEAUX FROM WALTER CRAYNE.

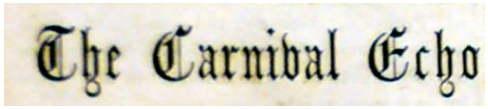
1. My Lady's Garden.
2. Ride a cock-horse.
3. Sing a Song of Sixpence.

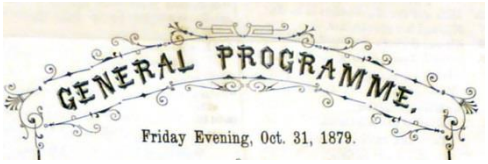
List of tableaux from Walter Crayne booth
The Carnival Echo, No. 8, October 31, 1879: 6. (Courtesy of California Historical Society)

The tableaux from Walter Crane are a mixture of actual "pictures" drawn by the author and "word-pictures"[22] written by Crane. As a memorabilia, the list of tableaux within the *Carnival Echo* helped to remember the performances in the aftermath of the event. As a guide or program to the entertainment, the displayed enumeration helped visitors to decide whether they were interested in the performances or not. Envy to the *Echo*'s special position was non-existent. On the contrary, local newspapers supported and promoted the *Carnival Echo*, for example, by praising its "artistic taste and skill" of design (*DAC*, October 22, 1879). The *Echo* used a straight and simple layout without illustrations. Every page contained four columns loaded with text and details on the event

[21] In the forerun of the Authors' Carnival the *Carnival Echo* is referred to as the *Herald* (*DAC*, October 21, 1879). However, shortly before the actual start of the entertainment, the editors decided to name the newspaper *The Carnival Echo*.
[22] Margit Peterfy defines this term as "detailed and vivid descriptions of visual impressions" in her article "The Fireside Poets: Henry Wordsworth Longfellow's 'A Psalm of Life' and John Greenleaf Whittier's 'Barbara Frietchie'" (2015, 98).

and its participants. The only 'ornamentation' or more 'playful' design was given with the mentioning of the *Echo* itself or with the display of the general program.

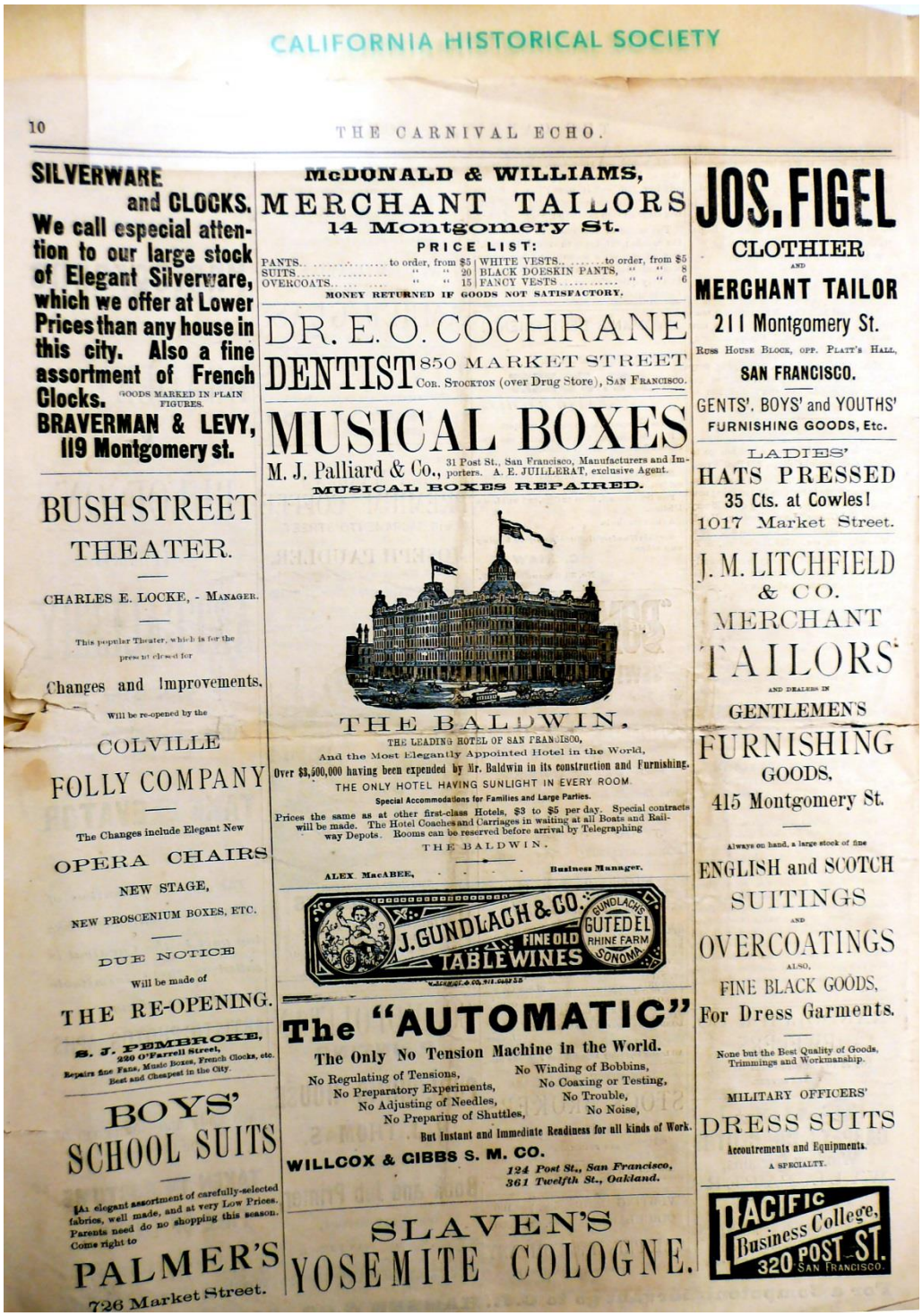




Examples of ornamentation in *The Carnival Echo*
The Carnival Echo, No. 8, October 31, 1879: 1+5. (Courtesy of California Historical Society)

The details on the event published in the newspapers almost rendered the *Echo* unnecessary, but, as a carnival paper was part of every Authors' Carnival, it was important for the organizers to include the *Echo* as a potential source of income. The *Echo*'s editors described the purpose of the "official organ of the Authors' Carnival" as follows: "It will be printed daily during the Carnival's continuance. It will contain the programme of exercises, comments on the nightly entertainments, contributions from well-known local writers, and valuable literary selections" (*Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4).[23] The apprehension of being superfluous led the editors to the continued emphasis on the *Echo*'s importance. "We assert without fear of contradiction that in no newspaper in the city can there be found a record of the nine day's entertainment so concise, so full of names, and personal information, and useful every way as a book of reference after all is over, as the ECHO" (original emphasis; *Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4). Such indirect advertisements on the *Echo*'s own behalf were surrounded by common commercial advertisements.

[23] The mentioned "well-known local writers" were not explicitly named in the remaining exemplar of the *Carnival Echo*.



10 THE CARNIVAL ECHO.

SILVERWARE and CLOCKS.
We call especial attention to our large stock of Elegant Silverware, which we offer at Lower Prices than any house in this city. Also a fine assortment of French Clocks. GOODS MARKED IN PLAIN FIGURES.
BRAVERMAN & LEVY,
119 Montgomery st.

BUSH STREET THEATER.
CHARLES E. LOCKE, - MANAGER.
This popular Theater, which is for the present closed for
Changes and Improvements.
Will be re-opened by the
COLVILLE FOLLY COMPANY
The Changes include Elegant New
OPERA CHAIRS
NEW STAGE,
NEW PROSCENIUM BOXES, ETC.
DUE NOTICE
Will be made of
THE RE-OPENING.

S. J. PEMBROKE,
220 O'Farrell Street,
Repairs fine Fans, Music Boxes, French Clocks, etc.
Best and Cheapest in the City.

BOYS' SCHOOL SUITS
An elegant assortment of carefully-selected fabrics, well made, and at very Low Prices. Parents need do no shopping this season. Come right to
PALMER'S
726 Market Street.

McDONALD & WILLIAMS,
MERCHANT TAILORS
14 Montgomery St.
PRICE LIST:

PANTS	to order, from $5	WHITE VESTS	to order, from $5
SUITS	" " 20	BLACK DOESKIN PANTS	" " 8
OVERCOATS	" " 15	FANCY VESTS	" " 6

MONEY RETURNED IF GOODS NOT SATISFACTORY.

DR. E. O. COCHRANE
DENTIST 850 MARKET STREET
COR. STOCKTON (over Drug Store), SAN FRANCISCO.

MUSICAL BOXES
M. J. Palliard & Co., 31 Post St., San Francisco, Manufacturers and Importers. A. E. JUILLERAT, exclusive Agent.
MUSICAL BOXES REPAIRED.

THE BALDWIN,
THE LEADING HOTEL OF SAN FRANCISCO,
And the Most Elegantly Appointed Hotel in the World,
Over $3,500,000 having been expended by Mr. Baldwin in its construction and Furnishing.
THE ONLY HOTEL HAVING SUNLIGHT IN EVERY ROOM.
Special Accommodations for Families and Large Parties.
Prices the same as at other first-class Hotels, $3 to $5 per day. Special contracts will be made. The Hotel Coaches and Carriages in waiting at all Boats and Railway Depots. Rooms can be reserved before arrival by Telegraphing
THE BALDWIN.
ALEX. MacABEE, Business Manager.

J. GUNDLACH & CO. FINE OLD TABLE WINES
GUNDLACH'S GUTEDEL RHINE FARM SONOMA

The "AUTOMATIC"
The Only No Tension Machine in the World.
No Regulating of Tensions,
No Preparatory Experiments,
No Adjusting of Needles,
No Preparing of Shuttles,
No Winding of Bobbins,
No Coaxing or Testing,
No Trouble,
No Noise,
But Instant and Immediate Readiness for all kinds of Work.
WILLCOX & GIBBS S. M. CO.
124 Post St., San Francisco,
361 Twelfth St., Oakland.

SLAVEN'S YOSEMITE COLOGNE.

JOS. FIGEL
CLOTHIER AND MERCHANT TAILOR
211 Montgomery St.
RUSS HOUSE BLOCK, OPP. PLATT'S HALL,
SAN FRANCISCO.
GENTS', BOYS' and YOUTHS' FURNISHING GOODS, Etc.

LADIES' HATS PRESSED
35 Cts. at Cowles!
1017 Market Street.

J. M. LITCHFIELD & CO.
MERCHANT TAILORS
AND DEALERS IN
GENTLEMEN'S FURNISHING GOODS,
415 Montgomery St.
Always on hand, a large stock of fine
ENGLISH and SCOTCH SUITINGS AND OVERCOATINGS
ALSO,
FINE BLACK GOODS,
For Dress Garments.
None but the Best Quality of Goods, Trimmings and Workmanship.
MILITARY OFFICERS'
DRESS SUITS
Accoutrements and Equipments.
A SPECIALTY.

PACIFIC Business College,
320 POST ST.
SAN FRANCISCO.

Page with advertisements
The Carnival Echo, No. 8, October 31, 1879: 10. (Courtesy of California Historical Society)

The editors used advertising within their paper to heighten their revenues. Additionally, talking about future Authors' Carnivals and future *Carnival Echoes*, the visitors' and readers' appetite for 'cultivated' entertainment was increased. One of the features mentioned for carnivals to come was the editors' promise to allow represented authors to be part of the *Echo* by "[bringing] in the great artists as guests in the form of short essays

or papers to appear in the ECHO" (original emphasis; *Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4). The aim was to increase the number of visitors for the present and for future carnivals. Furthermore, the *Carnival Echo* had the purpose of reminding participants and visitors of the event and of the popular represented authors. The *Echo* presenting "a perfect outline of Carnival history[,]" should "roll from soul to soul, and grow forever and forever" (*Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4). So the *Carnival Echo* was important in two ways: On the one hand, it was a promotion tool to increase the number of visitors and, on the other hand, it was considered as memorabilia of "[o]ne of the most remarkable festivals ever held in San Francisco" (*DEB*, November 3, 1879).

1.3 The Role of Props and Costumes as Authentic Materials

Discussions about what material to use when and where were frequently part of meetings and rehearsals (*DAC*, September 26, 1879). During such discussions the division between male and female responsibilities was clearly drawn, women were the overall decision-makers concerning decoration and men were mostly the executors of those decisions. Even the male artists especially hired for the decorations of the booths were "under the directions of the ladies managing the various booths" (*DEB*, September 5, 1879). The erection of the booths was a cooperation of architects and "a small army of workmen" (*DAC*, October 14, 1879; *DEB*, October 20, 1879). The artists and architects engaged for the carnival were known throughout the US, which, on the one hand, lead to a higher interest of potential visitors into the event and, on the other hand, increased the pressure on the organizers to conduct a perfect entertainment. For example, the artist Jules Tavernier was helping the managers with the interior decorations of the booths (*ArA* Vol. 1 No. 5, 1879: 97). Although there still was a separation of male and female tasks within the organization of the Authors' Carnival, the decoration and costuming underlines the blurriness of the strict separation of spheres. "[T]he lady managers of the various booths

will arrange for decorations and embellishment" (*DEB*, October 20, 1879). Women worked in close collaboration with men and were dependent on their physical agency.

The focus of the artistic effort was the decoration of the various booths, leaving the interior of the Mechanics' Pavilion subject to less creative and excessive decorations.[24] The decorations already installed for former entertainments within the Pavilion were not replaced. "The decorations of banners and streamers, put up before . . ., [would] remain" (*DEB*, October 22, 1879). Using the Mechanics' Pavilion was a question of infrastructure and logistics. Such halls and pavilions were often applied for other kinds of fairs (Gordon 1998, 9). The clear aim was to attract the visitors with the booths rather than with the hall in general.

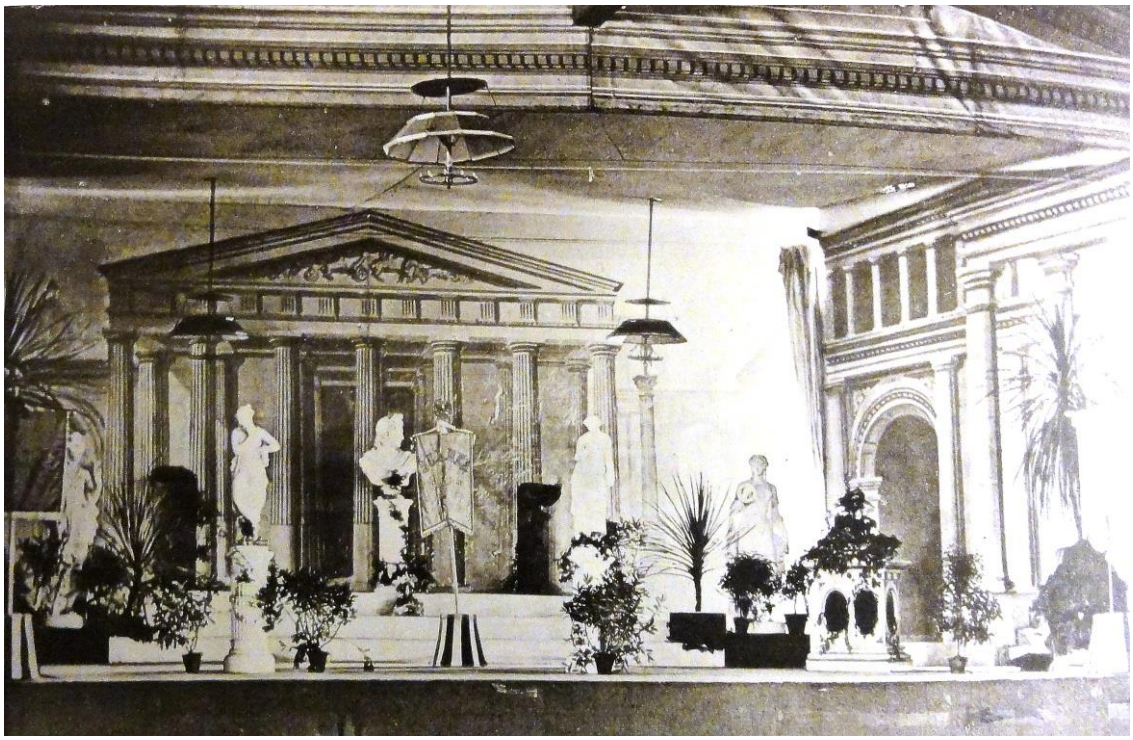
The decorations of the booths were planned in every detail. And the managers invited 'experts' to make the interiors of the booths as authentic as possible, which means, the booths should give a real and historically correct representation of the chosen scene. For instance, "[v]arious Italian residents [had] been appealed to for suggestions, and [had] rendered material aid" (*DEB*, October 1, 1879). So, the booth managers contacted people with an ethnical background fitting the booths' themes. For example, the "Japanese Consul has rendered valuable assistance in the preliminaries of [the Japanese] booth" (*DEB*, October 23, 1879). "Material aid" by those people included a wide range of channels of supply like imports, loans, and customization. The *Daily Alta California* describes the collecting process for the Arabian Nights booth as importing some objects from "India and Persia" and loaning others from "India[n] merchants" (October 29, 1879). Authenticity and historical correctness were the driving forces to exhaust the channels of supply for proper decoration. In addition, the decorations depended on the 'form' of the booth, which means, the mangers had to consider what their booth should

[24] This was only the case in San Francisco. In other cities the decorations of the halls were as important as those within the booths.

look like besides the interior decorations. Would it be necessary to have a garden or a theater to give a correct representation of an author's pieces? And in accordance to this, how should the light be arranged (*DEB*, October 3, 1879; *DAC*, October 26, 1879)?[25] "Where it is particularly desirable to direct a flood of light to the stage, calcium lights will be used" (*DEB*, October 15, 1879).

Looking at the actual props applied within the booths, one has to distinguish between those helping to identify the author and those used for the representation of literary pieces. The presentation of stereotypical props and decorations is sensible because it increases identification and recognition and, at the same time, lowers controversial or unfamiliar perceptions. Authors' Carnivals should entertain during leisure without raising questions of morally correct ethnic representation. Stepping into a "foreign" world was amusing as long as this world seemed "familiar". Within the Goethe and Schiller booth the managers assembled "busts of the German master minds" (*DAC*, October 28, 1879) and "[t]hroughout the camp [of the Arabian Nights booth] are strewn rugs, carpets, mats, divans and settees" (*DAC*, October 29, 1879).[26] The same was true for paintings used as props. While portraits of authors were part of some booths (for example, within the Dickens booth (*DAC*, October 26, 1879)), In other booths paintings supported the illusion of being in a foreign place (for example, a painting of the Alps within the Swiss cottage (*DAC*, October 24, 1879)). The decorations of the booths aimed at capturing the visitor's attention and taking him into another world, a world of literature and phantasy. The Jules Verne booth showing *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* was a submarine cave with "a foreground strewn with shells and a submarine view, behind a screen of water-color gauze" (*DAC*, October 25, 1879).

[25] The Japanese Booth had a garden and the managers sowed grass and hoped that artificial light would make the grass grow. Whether that turned out a success is not mentioned (*DAC*, October 24, 1879).
[26] The stereotypes used to depict ethnicity facilitated the recognition and identification for the visitors who were not that familiar with the represented pieces.



Scenery of the Bulwer-Lytton booth.
Authors' Carnival Album, 1880: n.p.[27] (Courtesy of Library of Congress)

On the photograph we see the Bulwer-Lytton booth as it was arranged in San Francisco in 1880. The literary piece to be performed on the stage was *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Accordingly, the scenery should be a representation of the ancient Roman city Pompeii shortly before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. As shown in the photograph, several props and decorations were used to make the representation of the literary model as authentic and inviting as possible. "Hanging curtains of blue and red bestrewed with silver stars, one of black and gold, used when the tableau of the mysterious chamber of the Egyptian Arbaces was represented – which was further adorned by a black bust of Isis, and, by an electrical arrangement, emitted a vivid, lurid flame – added to the brilliancy of the *tout ensemble*" (original emphasis; *Authors' Carnival Album* 1880, 42).

As Authors' Carnivals were highly visual entertainments, paintings were not only important as tools to create an illusionary world, but also as models for a creative and

[27] The pictures displayed in this chapter are taken from *The Carnival Album* from 1880, which means that the images are not exactly taken from the event discussed in this chapter. However, as most of the costumes and booths became the property of the Authors' Carnival Association, it is to be assumed that the carnival of 1879 was very similar to the one in 1880.

productive process. Paintings and drawings were the basis for the production of costumes and decorations. For example, the mermaids' costumes for the Jules Verne Booth were "made after drawings" (*DEB*, October 15, 1879). Furthermore, artists involved in the decoration of the booths like Jules Tavernier also 'donated' sketches of the carnival, which were sold for the charitable cause (*DAC*, October 26, 1879). In addition, a sketchbook of the Authors' Carnival was planned as a memorabilia in the aftermath of the event (*DAC*, October 24, 1879).

Paintings as models for some costumes were already mentioned, by way of example, for the Jules Verne and the Recamier booths (*DAC*, October 28, 1879), but such images were either not existent or not necessary for other costumes. Describing the Alhambra Palace, it was stated in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* that "[c]onsiderable trouble was experienced by the ladies in the correct costumes of the Moors. It was necessary to have them all made especially for the occasion" (October 29, 1879). In other cases, the booth managers could not afford to have their costumes made, so they asked their participants "to provide themselves" with costumes and only added details to make the costumes more festive. "The young ladies volunteering [in the Refreshment booth] are requested to provide themselves with white Swiss caps and aprons, and wear blue, white or cardinal ribbons in their hair. Each young lady will be provided with a rosette to match her ribbons" (*DEB*, October 21, 1879). Other costumes, like some of the decorations, were imported or loaned. The costume of Iago, for example, "was directly imported from Damascus" (*DAC*, October 31, 1879) and the costumes for the Hiawatha scenes from Longfellow were loaned by Native Americans (*Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 3). Again, the focus was to give an authentic and accurate representation of historical and literary figures. The correctness of costumes and decorations is continually emphasized in the reports and descriptions of the Authors' Carnival. Even fake noses made of wax were used to give an authentic image of the represented character. "Mrs. Sandford Bennett

and Thomas J. Duffy represent alternately the Magician. The costume is Oriental in the extreme, the high conical cap and remarkable wax noses being features of their make-up" (*DAC*, October 28, 1879). Those details in decorations and costumes were not only expected on the side of the managers of the booths but also on the side of the visitors. Costumes had to be impressive and the following quote summarizes the dazzling effect of the costumes:

> Think, then, of this imposing array, costumed in gorgeous raiment of the East, in the striking dress of Egypt, in the picturesque and classical drapery of Italy, in the coquettish skirts and caps of Switzerland, in the stately and trained robes of France, in the miner's red shirt and muddy trousers, in the mermaid's glittering scales, and in all Persian richness which the wonderful stories of Arabian Nights suggest." (*SDU*, October 28, 1879)

The above mentioned visitor described that "it was not performance [she] most cared to see, it was costume and character" (*SDU*, October 28, 1879).

The consuming aspect of the Authors' Carnival, at least in San Francisco's case, was 'limited,' which means the opportunities to spend money on knick-knacks were not as numerous as in other events of the same kind. However, another interpretation could be that newspapers did not mention the bric-a-brac sold because those played a minor role for the visitors of the entertainment. The interest of the journalists and the spectators is focused on the authors and their representations. Some of the knick-knacks mentioned in the context of the Authors' Carnival were "autographs by Mr. Longfellow" and sketches of the event (*DAC*, November 1, 1879; *DAC*, October 25, 1879). In the forerun of the carnival, it was mentioned that "[f]lower-stands, ice cream tables and other modes of obtaining dollars usually found in fairs will be placed at convenient places" (*DEB*, August 27, 1879). The purchase, however, had to be voluntary and an "importuning to purchase articles" was prohibited (*DEB*, September 27, 1879). Shortly before and during the actual event, the issue of such articles was no longer broached in the media. The only products to be purchased were refreshments, which were to be found in "several of the booths" (*DAC*, September 26, 1879). As the Authors' Carnival was considered a morally

respectable and Christian entertainment, there were restrictions given for the refreshments. Thus, the Executive Committee decided that "intoxicating drinks" and "ring-cakes"[28] would not be allowed (*DEB*, October 3, 1879). Restrictions concerning refreshments were even taken further and the managements' calls for donations were accompanied by lists of "desired" refreshments (*DEB*, October 20, 1879). So, the consideration of every detail was not only upheld in the discussions and preparations of props and costumes, but also in the decisions on refreshments and other purchasable articles.

Turning from costumes and props to the actual performances, there was a 'transition level' where performance and props were combined. The most emphasized booth in this context was the Longfellow booth, wherein the poem Kéramos was represented. Within this booth a potter was at work throughout the evenings (*DEB*, October 31, 1879; *DAC*, November 1, 1879). Made by "an experienced potter work[ing] at his bench and wheel in sight of the audience[,"] those "[t]erra cotta souvenirs of the Carnival" were then "painted by the ladies of the booth" and sold afterwards (*DAC*, October 24, 1879). The combination of actual materials, performance and audience supported the carnival-like atmosphere of the event.

1.4 Adapting Text to Stage

With the Authors' Carnival beginning in late October, the list of authors to be represented was already loosely fixed in late August. As the actual event was some time ahead, the list was open to "minor changes and additions" which were dependent on the literary pieces and their realization or reproduction (*DEB*, August 29, 1879). Some authors and themes were moved from one charitable society to another. Those themes were regarded

[28] Ring cakes were actual cakes having a baked-in ring. The pieces were expensive as the purchasers had the chance to "win" a precious ring (*MF*, March 16, 1854: 2).

as important to be represented within the context of the carnival. One example for such a movement was the Little Trianon booth, which originally was to be presented by the Pacific Dispensary and was later on led by the Young Women's Christian Association. Every society had to manage four booths, which meant that the original list given in August was not only subject to additions but also to deletion. Some of the 'deleted' authors were Thackeray, Victor Hugo, and George Eliot. Exact reasons for those deletions were not given.[29]

The process from literary piece to performed scene was coordinated by the booth managers, which does not mean that all the 'transformation' work was left to the managers themselves. The task to turn a piece of literature into a performable tableau was divided. Every booth had several sections, according to the pieces to be presented, the participants belonging to the section had to read the books or pieces and had to think of possible ways to perform the given model in an appropriate mode. Margaret Blake-Alverson, a participant of the carnival, describes her contribution:

> I asked . . . to let me take the book to see what could be done . . . . It was fortunate for me that I had traveled much and seen so many odd characters. As I read carefully I was convinced we could excel in this very book. I went to the library and got a Dickens book illustrated by Cruikshank. We called a meeting and found we needed thirty two persons. . . . Besides studying the proper characters we were obliged to have a series of tableaux to represent the different episodes in the lives of these people. . . . Parts were assigned and arrangements made for rehearsals. . . . We worked hard for days perfecting our parts. (Blake-Alverson 1913, 137-138)

Not every tableau or dramatic scene was based on a literary model. Some of the performances were pageant-like and did not represent an author or a literary piece. For example, the Italian booth was especially designed to give "tableaux representing ancient and modern Italy" without being connected to a special author (*DEB*, October 1, 1879). The inclusion or exclusion of authors, literary pieces, and other types of performance

[29] As many archival materials on the Authors' Carnivals and their respective charitable societies are not yet completely recovered and sorted, there is a chance to find reasons for those eliminations of some authors. However, the focus of this dissertation is rather on what was represented than on those pieces not represented.

needed some start-up time to finally lead into an appropriate and harmonized entertainment. Shortly before the event was to take place, local newspapers published excerpts of some of the original texts and scenes so that the visitors were able to 'prepare' for the approaching carnival (*DAC*, October 22, 1879).

The table below shows the final list of which charitable institution represents which author or theme:

Charitable institution	**Represented author or theme**
Young Women's Christian Association	Dickens, Cervantes, Longfellow, Little Trianon
Ladies' Protection and Relief Society	Scott, Tennyson, Washington Irving, Walter Crane
Clay-Street Female Hospital	Goethe and Schiller, Arabian Nights, Egyptian, Swiss Cottage
The Infant Shelter	Bulwer, Floral Temple, Land of Funny Infants, Bonbon
Old Ladies' Home	Shakespeare, Whittier, Mme Recamier, Italian
Pacific Dispensary	Thomas Moore, Jules Verne, Bret Harte, Japanese

This final stage of the list of authors and themes displays the effort to give a wide range of different authors, nations and arts. Every charitable society presented several nationalities within their booths and, thus, combined the representation of popular, classic authors and more 'exotic' themes. The majority of the represented authors was of European descent. Only four American authors were included. Those were: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Bret Harte, Washington Irving, and John Greenleaf Whittier. Two booths were based on paintings and printings: Walter Crane and the Floral Booth. Several booths displayed nations and their traditions. Such were the Egyptian, the Swiss Cottage, the Italian, and the Japanese. The booths representing French national themes focused on French society women: Marie Antoinette (Little Trianon) and Mme Recamier (French Salon). The only society seemingly focusing on their 'local' and eponymous

region was the Pacific Dispensary which dedicated its booths to a 'Pacific' author and theme namely Bret Harte and the Japanese booths.

Although *tableaux vivants* were the major type of performance used to depict literary scenes, other types like drama or song were also part of the carnival. One feature which was inherent in the event was the so called "tableau of 'The Authors' Carnival'," which was the highlight and also the end of the grand procession in the beginning of every evening's program. This first tableau already shows that a *tableau vivant*, in the context of the Authors' Carnival, had not necessarily to be based on a literary model. In another case, however, a literary source was used to demonstrate a more 'active' type of performance: the Fan Drill, which was "a reproduction of Addison's Essay on 'The Use and Abuse of the Fan'" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879).

The Fan Brigade
Authors' Carnival Album, 1880: n.p. (Courtesy of Library of Congress)

"The ladies who took part all wore powdered hair, dressed very high, powder, and patches, looking as if they had just stepped out of a picture such as Sir Joshua Reynolds loved to paint of our great-grandmothers" (*Authors' Carnival Album*, 1880: 36). The program of the Fan Brigade contained the following elements: "1. The Audacious Flirt;

2. Handle Your Fans; 3. Fan Flusters, showing the Coquettish and the Modest, the Angry, the Repellant and the Inviting Flutter; 4. The Retreat and Surrender; 5. The Ground; 6. The Salutes; 7. The Farewell" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879).

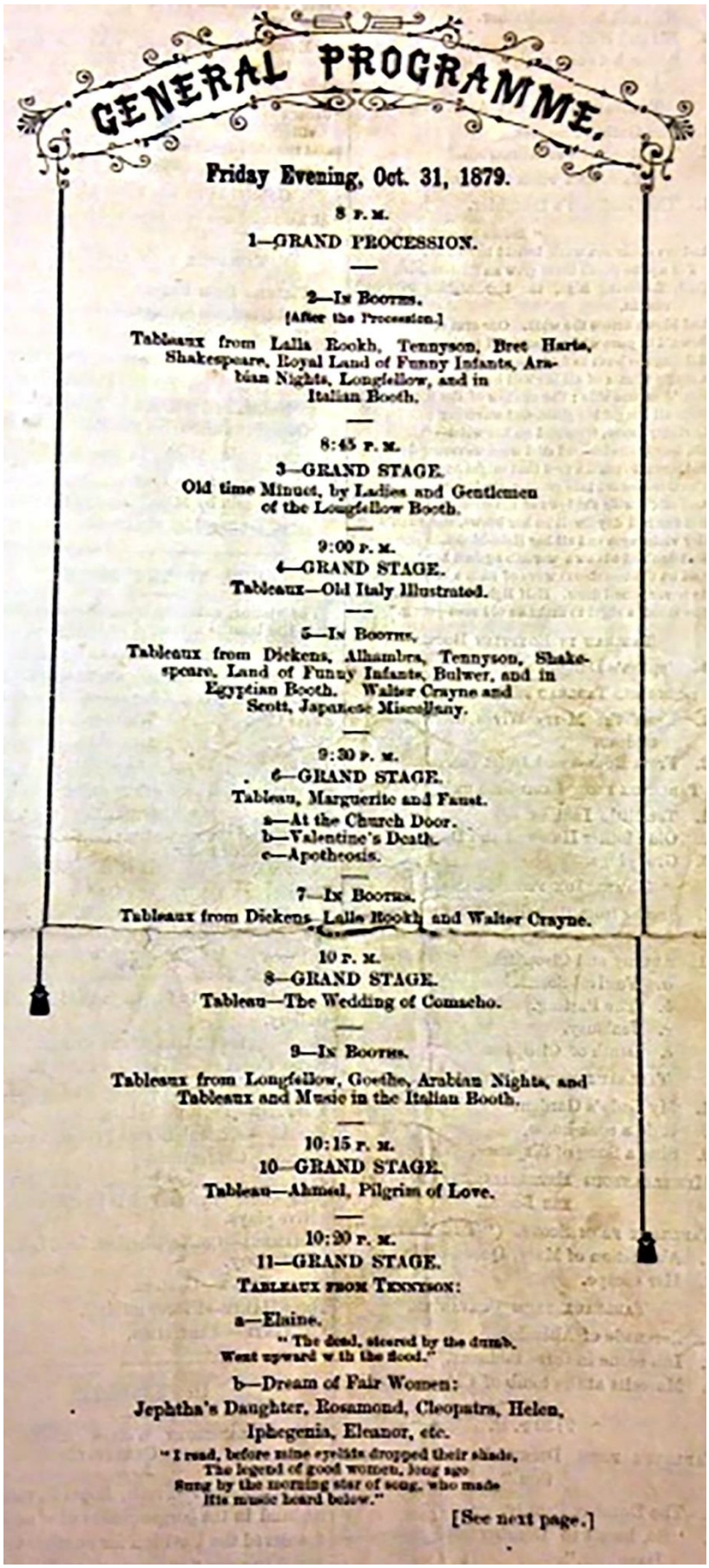
Sketch of the Fan Drill.
Authors' Carnival Sketch Book 1879, n. p.

Within the Goethe and Schiller Booth parts of an opera, which was itself an interpretation of Goethe's *Faust*, were recited. "The 'Soldiers' Chorus' from Gounod's *Faust*, . . . [was] rendered by one hundred amateurs, members of different singing societies" (*DEB*, September 9, 1879). Yet other booths added "speaking . . . characters" and "readings" to their programs and tableaux (*DEB*, October 3, 1879; *DAC*, October 23, 1879). The variety of adaptations heightened the entertaining character of the Authors' Carnival and attracted visitors as well as participants, who had the chance to show their talent on different levels apart from the display of an image taken from literature. A description of the carnival given by the *Daily Evening Bulletin* summarizes the various elements of the event: "Songs, short scenes, tableaux and dances attracted the eye of the visitor at every side" (October 25, 1879).

To give a more detailed insight into an evening at the Authors' Carnival, the focus of the following paragraphs will lie on the detailed program given in the *Carnival Echo* for October 31, 1879.[30] Besides publishing a general program for the evening, the *Echo*

[30] So far this paper is the only original copy of San Francisco's Authors' Carnival in 1879, located in the archive of the California Historical Society. There was no other copy to be found yet, thus, this paper will serve as a primary source for the analysis of an actual evening's program and will be discussed in detail.

also contains more detailed information on the single booths' programs. Further descriptions of the booths' programs will be taken from the local newspapers to complete the image of the single performances on the grand stage and within the booths.



GENERAL PROGRAMME,

Friday Evening, Oct. 31, 1879.

8 P. M.

1—GRAND PROCESSION.

—

2—IN BOOTHS.

[After the Procession.]

Tableaux from Lalla Rookh, Tennyson, Bret Harte, Shakespeare, Royal Land of Funny Infants, Arabian Nights, Longfellow, and in Italian Booth.

—

8:45 P. M.

3—GRAND STAGE.

Old time Minuet, by Ladies and Gentlemen of the Longfellow Booth.

—

9:00 P. M.

4—GRAND STAGE.

Tableaux—Old Italy Illustrated.

—

5—IN BOOTHS.

Tableaux from Dickens, Alhambra, Tennyson, Shakespeare, Land of Funny Infants, Bulwer, and in Egyptian Booth. Walter Crayne and Scott, Japanese Miscellany.

—

9:30 P. M.

6—GRAND STAGE.

Tableau, Marguerite and Faust.

a—At the Church Door.
b—Valentine's Death.
c—Apotheosis.

—

7—IN BOOTHS.

Tableaux from Dickens, Lalla Rookh and Walter Crayne.

10 P. M.

8—GRAND STAGE.

Tableau—The Wedding of Comacho.

—

9—IN BOOTHS.

Tableaux from Longfellow, Goethe, Arabian Nights, and Tableaux and Music in the Italian Booth.

—

10:15 P. M.

10—GRAND STAGE.

Tableau—Ahmed, Pilgrim of Love.

—

10:30 P. M.

11—GRAND STAGE.

TABLEAUX FROM TENNYSON:

a—Elaine.

"The dead, steered by the dumb,
Went upward with the flood."

b—Dream of Fair Women:

Jephtha's Daughter, Rosamond, Cleopatra, Helen, Iphegenia, Eleanor, etc.

"I read, before mine eyelids dropped their shade,
The legend of good women, long ago
Sung by the morning star of song, who made
His music heard below."

[See next page.]

General program for October 31, 1879
The Carnival Echo, No. 8, October 31, 1879: 5. (Courtesy of California Historical Society)

All in all, the general program of the Authors' Carnival displays a mixture of various characters, eras, and nationalities represented in the same context. This seemingly chaotic mixture ended when it came to the actual performances. The organizers and managers of the event were eager to avoid overlaps between the performances on the grand stage and those within the booths. This task, however, was not always accomplished as, looking at the program, the timetable was tight. The repetition of the "Wedding of Comacho" by the Cervantes booth was "omitted" because the performance of the Dickens booth was too long (*DEB*, October 31, 1879).

San Francisco's first Authors' Carnival began at eight o'clock at night with a "Grand Procession."

> […] Schultz's Band played an air from 'Fatinitza,' and the grand march commenced. The procession moved in the following order: Bulwer booth, Temple of Flora, Royal Land of Funny Infants, Bonbon booth, Manager Locke, Police und Captain Short, President Irving M. Scott and Treasurer Charles Crocker, Fan Brigade, Dickens' booth, conspicuous in which was Frank Van Rankin as Uriah Heep; George Bromley and Smyth Clarke as the Cheeryble Brothers; the Bardell vs. Pickwick representatives looked very wise to their wigs and gowns, the Moore booth, rich in Oriental costumes and banners; several native Indians were in this section of the procession; Lalla Rookh in a palanquin, followed by dancing girls and standard bearers in conical hats. Madame Recamier, wearing an elegant costume, and her literary friends, Don Quixote and his Sancho, Italians, Shepherdesses, Brigands, Tennyson booth, Bret Harte booth. The Caledonians, preceded by their pipers, and carrying Scottish banners. Jules Verne booth, with the crew of the *Nautilus*, Knickerbockers, Sala's Alhambra, rich in Eastern emblems. Whittier booth, Mrs. Neal wearing a cap of Elizabeth Fry. Japapnese, chattering like magpies. Italian booth, led by Professor Speranzas. Swiss girls, looking like little pictures. Shakespeare booth with a banner bearing the inscription, 'Not for a day, but for all times.' Goethe and Schiller booth. Egyptian booth, led by Antony and Cleopatra. Longfellow booth. Indians. The rear of the procession was brought up by Wm. Newhall. (*DAC*, October 24, 1879).[31]

The grand procession ended with all participants mounting the grand stage and performing a huge tableau being executed in an effective manner: "After making the circuit of the building, the entire force of characters ascended the stage and appeared in the tableau of 'The Authors' Carnival'" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879). After the tableau on

[31] The names mentioned in this quote are regarded of minor importance in this context.

the grand stage, the participants returned to their respective booths and the program within the booths began. The first performances on the grand stage were only loosely based on literature. Following the tableau of "The Authors' Carnival" the performances on stage were a minuet by the participants of the Longfellow booth and tableaux showing "Old Italy." The minuet was a performative interpretation of the wedding scene in Longfellow's "The Hanging of the Crane" (*DAC*, October 29, 1879). However, a minuet or dancing in general is not mentioned in the original poem. The participants of the Italian booth focused on the representation of Italian history and its country "in all its phases" and kept up this focus on the grand stage as well as within the booth (*DAC*, November 1, 1879). A clear focus on the literary role model is apparent in the subsequent tableaux on the main stage, which are based on the works by Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, Miguel de Cervantes, Washington Irving, and Alfred Tennyson.

The number of performances within the booths varied. Whereas there were eight to eleven booths opened for performances in the first "in booths" slot, there were only three to four performances in the second slot. Both slots show a combination and mixture of distinct eras and nationalities similar to the program on the grand stage. Some booth managers decided to tell stories throughout the evening and split their performances into two parts, which 'forced' visitors to return to see the whole story told. Such were the proceedings of the Lalla Rookh, Arabian Nights, and Longfellow booths. Others chose several pieces for representation without the intention to tell only one specific story. The Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller, Funny Infants, Tennyson, Walter Crayne, Italian, and Egyptian booths chose to perform a mixture of several pieces within one time slot. Yet another choice of some managers was to perform tableaux based on the literary model of only one piece at a time. Examples for such a focused representation were the Bret Harte,

Dickens, Cervantes, Scott, Irving, and Bulwer-Lytton[32] booths. Regarding the simultaneity of the "in booths" performances, the aim was to avoid neighboring booths displaying performances at the same time. However, this aim was not always accomplished. This led to some frustration on the part of the visitors because the performances caused a stir and the large number of spectators jammed the small booth stages.

The performances on the grand stage were special in the sense that they could better be seen as the stage was higher than the booths and the spectators had a better view on the performances. Additionally, the size of the stage had influence on the effect of the performances. "On the grand stage all the tableaux were more distinct, brilliant and effective for the simple broad background of dark red with which they were at first presented" (*Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4). The number of performers was, at times, also adjusted to the large stage and led to 'bigger' tableaux than it was possible within the booths. Aside from that, the performances were at all times harmonized as the following example will show.

The Goethe and Schiller booth took advantage of the grand stage and performed tableaux with a large number of participants

> [p]resent[ing] on the stage The Church Scene, and Valentine's Death from 'Faust,' and the apotheosis. Over one hundred singers from the German singing societies appeared in connection with this booth. They sang 'Das Deutsche Herz,' and 'Die Wacht am Rhein.' Max Freeman, for the first time, attended in costume, and looked remarkably handsome as Goethe" (*DAC*, November 1, 1879).[33]

The story, told with the performed tableaux, is that of Valentine, Gretchen's brother, fencing Faust for his sister's sake. The fight concludes in Valentine's death and his apotheosis. The songs underline Valentine's role as a German hero who wants to 'save'

[32] This booth was especially installed for this evening as it is not mentioned in the outline of the booths' positions. This means that not only the program changed every night but also entire booths were 'moved.'
[33] Max Freeman was the manager of the German theater and directed the Goethe and Schiller and Arabian Nights booths at San Francisco's Authors' Carnival in 1879 (*DEB*, November 5, 1879; *DAC*, October 24, 1879).

his sister's honor by killing her seducer. Although he is not successful, he enters the divine space because of his heroic deed. The focus of the tableaux is not the presentation of female 'weakness' but the moral victory of male virtue over vice. Marguerite's immoral behavior and her love affair with Faust is only indirectly mentioned and her brother gains the role of protagonist of the performance. The vicious story of Faust and Gretchen is redeemed by the heroic and virtuous act of Valentine.

Following the performance of the Goethe and Schiller booth, the main stage is occupied by the Cervantes booth. The focus of the performance was again a story of lovers who should be kept apart by the decision of another party. Cervantes's story and its interpretation are summarized in the *Daily Evening Bulletin*:

> Don Quixote, in his travels in search of adventures, learns that wealthy Comacho is about to marry the beautiful Quiteria, and that the wedding feast is preparing in an adjoining grove. Quiteria is really in love with a peasant, Basil, but has been forced by her parents to reject him for the wealthy grandee Comacho. Sancho Panza, always ready for something to eat, scents the cooking of the wedding feast, and persuades Don Quixote to join the party. Just as the priest is about to unite Comacho and Quiteria, Basil, wandering through the woods cursing his fate and upbraiding the falseness of all womankind, comes upon the scene. He sees instantly that the wedding that is to take from him forever the girl he loves, is in progress, and with equal promptness decides upon the course he will pursue. He stops the wedding by denouncing Quiteria as false and fickle, and telling her 'life without thee is […] a hollow mockery, let the miserable Basil die whose poverty has clipped the wings of his felicity,' pretends to stab himself, and falls bleeding to the ground. Quiteria now shows her love and rushes to him. Basil tells her he has but a few moments to live and urges her while yet he has life, to be united to him and he will die happy. The priest and Sancho beg of him to forget marriage and think of his fleeting soul. Quiteria cheerfully consents and tells him he is her husband. Basil, apparently in his last breath, calls her his loved wife, the priest, mixing the service of the dead with the marriage service, blesses the union, and by the law of Spain and the church, they are married. Basil jumps to his feet and embraces his wife. The wedding guests cry 'miracle,' but Basil says it was only a slight stratagem. Comacho, more than indignant at being robbed of his intended wife, draws his sword be avenged, the duel is interrupted by Don Quixote, who persuades him that if Quiteria loved another before marriage, she would not have been happy if united to him. Comacho finally accepts the situation and joins the wedding feast of Basil" (*DEB*, October 29, 1879).

The detailed summary provides the readers with both literary acquaintance and a description of the actual performance on the grand stage. Taking a closer look at the representation of Cervantes and the preceding tableaux from Goethe, a connection based

on a story of a hopeless love becomes apparent. While in Goethe's case the story ends with a dramatic twist, the twist in Cervantes's case leads to a happy end.

The interpretation of "Ahmed, The Pilgrim of Love" is yet another story of two lovers who are separated first by magic and then by religion, but who in the end find each other and get married. As in the preceding story on the grand stage, the desperate male lover gains his future wife by trick. Ahmed fools the king of Toledo and takes the princess with him to Granada after having healed the princess from her unknown disease, which turned out to be a broken heart.

The program on the grand stage closed with two tableaux themes from Alfred Tennyson. The first was based on the tragic figure of Elaine who fell in love with Lancelot and who later died of a broken heart as her love was not returned. Taking up this tragic female figure, the last tableau on the major stage was "The Dream of Fair Women." "The tableau represents Tennyson lying asleep. The fair women of his dream appear before him. By an arrangement of stage effects this evening the tableau will gradually grow fainter and fainter, until entirely hidden from sight. The novel exhibition will be accomplished by means of glass and gauze being placed between the spectacle and the spectators" (*DEB*, October 29, 1879). This tableau completes the circle of tragedies which involved heroic men and women in some kind of love relations. All male and female protagonists in the tableaux on the grand stage were involved in a complex love story, which, at least for a while, led to the suffering of at least one person. What is more, the performances on the grand stage went from the display of male heroes to the display of female heroes. By serving as a closing of the stories told on the stage, the tableau also closes the carnival program by growing "fainter and fainter."

The variety of performative practices within the Authors' Carnival was one reason why it was not possible to give tableaux in all booths or "in adjacent booths at the same time" (*DEB*, October 15, 1879). Especially, when voices or music were part of the

performance, a high distraction would have been the effect of simultaneous playing. Another restriction to the performances was the prohibition to use fire. As the booths as well as the Mechanics' Pavilion itself were made of wood, "colored fires [were] not . . . permitted" (*DEB*, October 15, 1879). So, the booth managers had to think of other possibilities to make their tableaux and performances as effective as possible. Such restrictions did not diminish the creativity of the responsible managers. On the contrary, the decorations and representations were elaborate and detailed. For example, the Jules Verne Booth represented a bluish grotto with mermaids to give the visitor the impression of being somewhere in the ocean (*DEB*, October 15, 1879). The major aim of the representations was to make literature come alive. Looking at the reports and descriptions in the local newspapers during the carnival, the aforementioned aim was completed. There is a continuous praise of the "living, walking literature" during the nine nights of the event (*SDU*, October 25, 1879). The represented characters came to live as "[t]he breath of life [was] breathed into the productions of the pen" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879). As it was mentioned before, texts were not the sole source of inspiration for the creation and elaboration of the characters. In some cases portraits and illustrations served as role models (*DAC*, October 26, 1879; *SDU*, October 28, 1879).

San Francisco's Authors' Carnival closed with a "fancy dress ball" organized by the Executive Committee (*DAC*, November 4, 1879). The opening scene was the usual procession of participants in character costumes. However, this time the procession ended on the main floor and was followed by dances of the characters. The musical support was given by a band and "the procession paused with the Executive Committee at their own booth, and their followers variously distributed about the floor in convenient localities for dancing" (*DIO*, November 13, 1879: 7). The floor of the Mechanics' Pavilion was covered in white canvas for the occasion (*LAH*, November 9, 1879).Those people who wanted to enter the floor had to appear either "in costume or in full evening dress" (*DEB*,

November 4, 1879). The Executive Committee was responsible for the sale of admission tickets and had the right to reject admission whenever they considered it necessary (*DEB*, November 4, 1879). In addition to the admission tickets, the booths were auctioned for this part of the event. This means that the various booths dedicated to "popular authors" were furnished with seats and who ever rented a booth for the evening got ten admission tickets for his or her company (*DAC*, November 4, 1879). Although thousands attended the grand ball, there were still critical remarks on the low number of participants and visitors in the Pavilion compared to the huge masses attending the carnival beforehand (*DIO*, November 13, 1879: 7). The overall success of the entertainment, however, was not lowered by this fact.

The conceptual step from text to stage was at all times dependent on the effect the directors or managers wanted to achieve. Thus, various forms of performance and representation were used with the aim to make the impression on the visitor as effective as possible.

1.5 Participants and Audience

The description of the opening night published by the *Daily Evening Bulletin* gives today's readers an impression on the popularity of the event.

> The greatest entertainment in projection and prosecution that San Francisco has ever seen, opened last evening. At an early hour in the evening carriages began to rumble from all parts of the city congregating together at the Pavilion. Street-car conductors for once could not find room for one more. Many people were forced to walk long distances . . . . (*DEB*, October 24, 1879)

The Authors' Carnival was an important event for the charitable institutions and for San Franciscan society in general. The numbers of attending people increased during the first three evenings, starting with a number of about ten thousand (more than one thousand participants and about nine thousand visitors) and reaching "at least 15 000" on the third

night (*DAC*, October 24, 25, and 26, 1879). Such masses were a rare sight in San Francisco up to that point.

Sketch of the crowd attending the Carnival.
Authors' Carnival Sketch Book 1879, n. p.

Accordingly they "serve[d] as a great attraction to many" (*DEB*, October 29, 1879). The huge crowd standing in line to gain admission to the carnival was an interesting sight and many people assembled around the Mechanics' Pavilion just to see this crowd (*DEB*, October 29, 1879). It was a rather hard task for journalists to describe the immense run on the Pavilion, thus, they used images and details to evoke an adequate impression in the readers. For example, again giving a description on the first evening, one reporter states how "[s]everal ladies fainted, and . . . one lady had an eye gouged out by a man's cane" and added that "[i]n large gatherings there will always be a few rowdies" (*DEB*, October 24, 1879). These statements explain the excitement about the Authors' Carnival. While, on the one hand, being a highly interesting and fascinating event, on the other hand, being a novel entertainment, the carnival had a rather frightening and uncanny character. Nevertheless, reporters did not want to weaken the carnival's success and, therefore, included positive and comical accounts to minimize potential concerns.

Worries about the negative aspects of the event were reduced by flattering San Francisco's citizens and explaining that "[t]he Pavilion . . . was free from the attendance of noisy and boisterous persons" as "[t]he entertainment is radically one for the educated classes" and "[t]he large crowd present was highly complimentary to the city" (*DEB*, October 24, 1879). The comical aspects picked up were mostly based on the ignorance of some visitors.

> Not less common, but more amusing were the remarks of spectators as they stopped before a booth. 'C-r-a-y-n-e, Crayne, who's Crayne? What did Crayne write?' One young man gazed intently at the Cervantes booth for some minutes, and then slowly said: 'Oh, that is the servants' booth.' One man was struggling to know what scene from Tom Moore that was in the booth and what in the world those Egyptian fans and Moorish costumes had to do with Moore. (*DEB*, October 24, 1879)

The large attendance of participants and visitors was frightening and fascinating at the same time and in the end led to the carnival's overall success.

Although it is mentioned that only the "educated" classes attended the Authors' Carnival, the actual aim was to conduct "a unique and interesting entertainment [for] all classes of San Franciscans" (*DEB*, October 7, 1879). The adjective "educated," however, was not meant to limit the audience to their respective social or financial status but to their knowledge of 'appropriate' behavior. The aim should be considered accomplished, as the carnival turned out "[a]n entertainment in aid of charity's cause, which [gave] satisfaction to all classes" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879). San Francisco's Authors' Carnival was an opportunity for "all classes" to mingle, which means that those who could only afford one admission to the event were not less important than people who were "prominent" and did not want to be mentioned as donators (*DAC*, October 31, 1879). The social status played no role, merely morality and benevolence were taken into account. At least that is what the statement suggested.

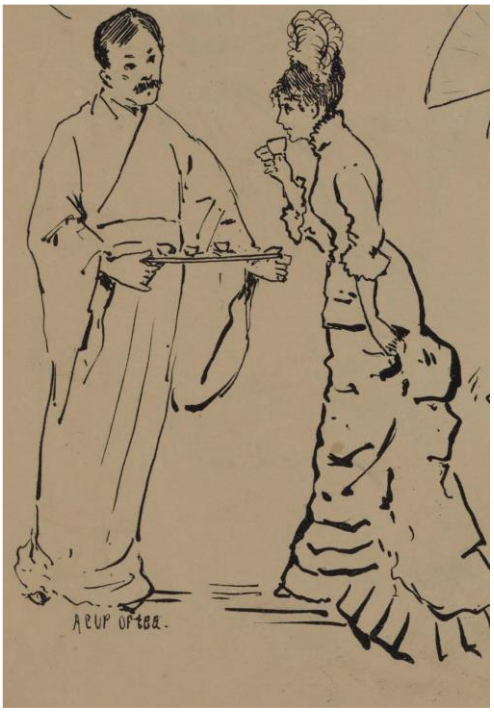
The invitation to visit or participate in the Authors' Carnival was not only given to people of all "classes" but also of all ages. There were special matinees arranged for

children. “It is desired to make this afternoon’s performance as much as possible one for children” (*DAC*, October 25, 1879). It was a pleasure to see children at the carnival, at least as long as they were “clean and happy” (*DEB*, October 24, 1879). Although most of the carnival took place in the evening, children were not excluded as participants.

Sketch of a baby impersonating Moses and sketch of little Nell and her grandfather
Authors’ Carnival Album, 1880: n.p. (Courtesy of Library of Congress)

The rehearsals in the forerun of the event, which normally were conducted at eight o’clock in the evening, were held earlier with children. For example, some of the rehearsals for children were arranged “directly after school” (*DEB*, September 22, 1879). Children as active participants were an attraction often mentioned in the reports on the entertainment. One example is given by a journalist of the *Daily Alta California*: “From the Funny

Infants booth, Hilda Hecht, eight years old, made a wise-looking little old woman in the shoe. She had so many children she did not know what to do – and she was so sleepy she hardly knew how to keep her little Bo-peeps open" (October 26, 1879). In other booths participation of young people looked different. As, for example, in the Japanese booth, the waiters were not female like in the Swiss Cottage, but young boys[34] (*DAC*, October 25, 1879). The inclusion of all ages underlined the moral and educational character of the event and accordingly increased the number of interested visitors.



Sketch of waiter in Japanese Booth.
Authors' Carnival Sketch Book 1879, n. p.

The Authors' Carnival was meant to be an entertainment based on a wide societal spectrum. It was an event for everyone, every social group, every age, and also both sexes. The importance of women in the executive framework was already pointed out. But women were important on more than just one level. As visitors, women and their knowledge had to be considered. Thus, it was thought that a "battalion drill and dress parade" would be a good opportunity to give women an insight into a world that was

[34] Such elements combined with the organizers' eagerness to be as authentic as possible, raise questions about traditions and rituals in other nations, in this case Japanese. Was it common in nineteenth-century to have boys rather than men or women waiting on tables in public space? However, such questions are not directly concerned with US cultural practices and are thus not part of the present dissertation.

regarded as "something new to the fair sex" (*DAC*, October 28, 1879). As participants, women received special attention and were under permanent surveillance. Such surveillance then led to a detailed description of their dramatic talent and outer appearance (*DAC*, October 31, 1879). Furthermore, women were allowed to take male parts. Whether such 'changes of sex' were due to artistic interpretation, better looks, or simply a lack of male participants, was not mentioned. One example for a lady taking a male part was Aladdin in the Arabian Nights Booth (*DAC*, October 26, 1879).[35]

Although the major part of the participants were amateurs, the group may nevertheless be considered rather mixed. As it is explained in the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, "[s]ome of the best professional, as well as amateur talent [sic] in the city will take part" (September 20, 1879). For many participants representing a literary character in the Authors' Carnival was an opportunity to present their dramatic talent, to display their literary taste, and to be seen by a large audience. So, playing a character was a responsible position which needed a lot of thought. One woman describes her transformation from a real person into a fictive character as follows:

> But what a thing it is to take a character of any importance. For instance, I am Miss Becky Sharp, from 'Vanity Fair.' First and foremost, my dress; second, to look like her, according to my idea; third, read and study; fourth, get up a scene, dialogue, tableau; fifth, drill continually; first, last and all the time, be smart, get up a tongue for repartee, and be sure and not disgrace myself. (*SDU*, September 13, 1879)

The quote also shows how much influence the participants still had on their presentations and how much consideration such acting took especially from women. It was important for the actors, no matter whether amateur or professional, to be as close to the literary ideal as possible and to keep up the masquerade for more than one performance.

The actual carnival-like atmosphere was established when the characters having finished their performances joined the visitors and "circulated among the spectators"

[35] This interpretation of Aladdin will be analyzed in more detail in chapter 2.4.

enjoying their leisure (*DEB*, October 24, 1879). This was the time for the visitors to show their knowledge of popular literature and they "spoke aloud in delight as they recognized this or that character" (*SDU*, October 28, 1879). When the actors mingled with the spectators and with other literary figures,

> the scene was indeed unique. Lalla Rookh might be seen in gorgeous costume sipping cider with a real Indian of the American forest. Little Red Riding Hood followed after King Arthur. On one side was a mermaid, and perhaps Helen MacGregor on the other. Jeannie Deans discussing bon-bons with Don Quixote and Cleopatra busy at ice-cream with some modern society gentleman, clothed in the plain black to which unfortunates of the present day are restricted. (*DEB*, October 24, 1879)

In the end, the Authors' Carnival was a huge literary festival where visitors and participants had the chance to interact and thus leave their mind to the illusion that an actual contact to literary figures or ideals seemed real, at least for the duration of nine nights.

1.6 The Aftermath of the Authors' Carnival

The major aim and publicly mostly emphasized aspect of the Authors' Carnival was charity. The most prominent description of the carnival was that it was an event "in which everybody did everythin [sic.] for nothing, because the receipts were for sweet Charity's sake" (*IDA*, December 27, 1879). Charity was directly followed by the cultivating and instructive character of the event. During the event, a banner above the Shakespeare Booth displayed the major aim of the carnival, namely, "Not for a day, but for all times" (*DAC*, October 24, 1879). It was the motto of the entertainment to remind participants and visitors of the great popular authors and their contribution to society. People should not forget but always remember how literature influenced their lives. Most of the represented pieces were familiar and their "excellent effect on the community" was praised with the Authors' Carnival (*DEB*, October 25 and 31, 1879). The focus was not only to entertain San Francisco's citizens but also to 'educate' them. An Authors'

Carnival was regarded the perfect entertainment having the quality of being amusing and instructive at the same time (*DAC*, October 23, 1879). Being a "pleasure-loving people," San Franciscans, nevertheless, "prefer[red] intellectual to mere sensual pastimes and amusements" (*DAC*, October 25, 1879).

Besides the carnival's success for the cause of charity, it also had a positive effect on the publishing industry as people began to reread and purchase the works of the represented authors. Although the charitable ideal of Authors' Carnivals was entirely doubted at times, it was still admitted that the event

> may have been an elevating and refining and educating scheme. It may have had great didactic uses. We are informed that it did actually lead a number of people who had never read Shakespeare or Scott or Cervantes, to purchase the works of those authors, and herein it doubtless stimulated literature to a certain extent, and did the booksellers some positive good. (November 8, 1879)

To deny the effect the Authors' Carnival had on San Francisco's society, would be neglecting the citizens' excitement which occupied them for several weeks before, during, and even after the event.[36]

In addition to the effect on the consumption of literature, the Authors' Carnival was an inspiration for further events and entertainments. In the aftermath, San Francisco's newspapers were sure that "[t]he late Authors' Carnival will no doubt be followed by others, at which the faults of the former will be corrected" (*DEB*, November 3, 1879). The "faults" of the first carnival in 1879, at least according to the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, were limited to aspects like the height of the booths and the number of spectators. To shorten the start-up time in the forerun of future carnivals, "[t]he Executive Committee have formed themselves into The Authors' Carnival Association, and the idea is to repeat the Carnival at frequent intervals, if feasible, annually. The Association will have charge of all the properties and accessories of the recent Carnival" (*DAC*, November 4, 1879).

[36] The research in several San Franciscan archives has shown that people were engaged with the event on several levels, e.g. by keeping invitations and programs or by arranging scrapbooks as memorabilia. Invitations, programs, tickets etc. were often thematically adjusted for the occasion (Gordon 1998, 25).

The entertainment was an overall success and the plans and ideas for the following event along the same paradigm were already discussed a few days after the closing of the carnival. The Grand Carnival Ball was not yet over and in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* talk about future carnivals already started. "In future Carnivals, new authors and new scenes will probably be in order. These entertainments are worthy of every encouragement, for in addition to cultivating a literary taste and an acquaintance with the best authors, they afford an easy way of assisting worthy charitable institutions" (*DEB*, November 3, 1879). Like in other cities throughout the country, the first Authors' Carnival implemented in San Francisco had an impact on San Franciscan society and cultural life and led to subsequent events in the style of this first carnival.

Due to the carnival's charitable character criticism during and after the event was rare. "It is all very well to say that it is for charity, and therefore the public should give cheerfully without being critical" (*SDU*, October 14, 1882). Still, reactions to the entertainment as it was held in San Francisco were not entirely positive. Even if critical voices were rarely heard, some aspects of the Authors' Carnival were met with criticism and disaffirmation. Although "[t]he daily press has sedulously avoided all criticism, and has named but to praise[,]" some journalists discussed the negative aspects and effects of the carnival (*SDU*, November 4, 1879). However, criticism only came up after the event was over. There were few journalists who expressed their disapproval with the Authors' Carnival. Criticism was focused on the ambiguous role of women working for charity. Some complaints were based on "[h]ow some of the women . . . undressed in public" and how only the decently dressed "ladies" really worked for charity's sake (*SDU*, November 4, 1879). One theme "[v]anity reignth here" was a comment overheard in a discussion of an elderly couple. It was stated that, whether good looking or not, women were eager to show their bodies just to be mentioned in the newspapers and to later on keep those papers "as a treasured relic" (*SDU*, November 4, 1879). Further, the characters were "[n]ot

content with being observed in their booths . . . [so] they constantly strayed from their appointed places[,]" which shows that not all spectators enjoyed the mingling of the participants with the visitors (*SDU*, November 4, 1879). Besides being a display of vanity, the carnival was also interpreted as a disguise for unmoral amusement. "Charity covereth a multitude of sins" (*SDU*, November 4, 1879). The charitable pretension of the event, according to some journalists, was an opportunity to hide vicious behavior. The reigning element of the Authors' Carnival was rather "pleasure" than benevolence and it was not so much for the benefit of the charitable societies but "for the benefit of the persons who act as managers" (*SDU*, November 8, 1879). The only positive aspect, which was still upheld despite the criticism, was the instructive character of the carnival.

> If it was desirable to have an Authors' Carnival for the sake of its educational opportunities, then the recent affair was a success from that point of view. But if it was desirable to raise money for the aid of certain deserving charities, then it must be admitted that the means adopted proved unfit. (*SDU*, November 8, 1879)

Controversial discussions on San Francisco's first Authors' Carnival were scarce but existent. Nevertheless, the whole affair was considered a success as it had constructive effects on society and culture and at the same time showed that San Francisco was no longer a "dangerous place of residence" (*ArA*, Vol. 1 No. 5., 1879: 97). The development of the event finds a conclusion in a statement by the *Daily Inter Ocean* published in Chicago, "the Carnival went slowly out from the high tide into the stillness of the past" (November 13, 1879). This description underlines San Francisco's Authors' Carnival as being paradigmatic because by the beginning of the twentieth century the carnivals in general vanished "into the stillness of the past".

2. Female Agency: Women's Role in Authors' Carnivals

Applying Faye Dudden's statement on women in theater to Authors' Carnivals, women "became agents and metaphors of changing gender relations" (1994, 3). The organization and execution of Authors' Carnivals is an example for more recent research on male and female roles in the closing nineteenth century. Female managed nineteenth-century fairs and fetes are neither completely private nor really public (Gordon 1998, 1). Authors' Carnivals allow a closer examination of separate spheres as they were propagated in the nineteenth century. The Carnivals are an example of a sphere which is located in-between the public and the private. In this chapter I investigate in how far Authors' Carnivals were a 'neutral zone' where the two spheres overlapped and created an intersection within which gender roles were dissolved and re-configured.

"In no country has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace one with the other, but in two pathways that are always different."[37] This separation of two spheres as perceived by de Tocqueville may explain why the private vs. public metaphor was especially useful in nineteenth-century America. Nineteenth and twentieth-century historians made use of it, "when they described women's part in American culture" and the metaphor "helped [them] select what to study and how to report what they found" (Kerber 1988, 10+11). Most nineteenth-century American women "preferred to retain membership in a separate female sphere, one which they did not believe to be inferior to men's sphere and one in which women could be free to create their own forms of personal, social, and political relationships" (Freedman 1979, 514). This quote by Estelle Freedman underlines the effort to keep up the distinction between two roles. Taking Authors'

[37] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1840. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/816/816-h/816-h.htm (14.07.2016)

Carnivals into account, Freedman's statement can be doubted because the female organizers of the carnivals wanted to act in a public setting.

The concept of separate spheres allowed researchers "to move the history of women out of the realm of the trivial and anecdotal into the realm of analytic social history" (Kerber 1988, 37). Defining spheres allowed researchers to gain new insights into and new perspectives on social and cultural reality, especially until the nineteenth century. Feminist researchers began to question the concept of separate spheres in the last decades of the twentieth century. One reason for this revision, which was again given by Linda Kerber, was the idea that the concept "impose[d] a static model on dynamic relationships" (Kerber 1988, 38). Kerber initiated a discussion which drew many supporters who considered the separation of spheres as overcome. On the other hand, is it useful to disregard such a separation entirely?

During the nineteenth century the strict separation of spheres began to crumble. Influencing factors were numerous and included social and political upheavals and changes like Abolition, the Civil War, and the Women's Rights movement. For middle-class women, especially, "social activism was becoming a major way . . . to participate in the public sphere and civil society[,]" as Gary Kelly puts it (2008, 17). Along with a higher interest in the education of women, women now had the opportunity to transfer their skills as "educators, nurturers, healers, and conciliators" into a wider communal environment (Kelly 2008, 14). Taking advantage of those changes, women carried out the boundary-crossing via so called "organized womanhood" (Scott 1992, 111). This term describes how women organized female clubs, unions or movements to gain influence in and on the public sphere, while at the same time nevertheless sticking to so-called female virtues or values. Before the Civil War, philanthropy and benevolence[38] were considered

[38] Being aware of the differences, I use the terms benevolence and charity as synonyms. In the context of Authors' Carnivals such a distinction is neither necessary nor made in the primary sources.

to be private activities, but in the period following the war, such activities became public concern (Easton 2010, 133). In growing cities, especially the numbers of poor and dependent people rose and women felt responsible to intervene. Being part of benevolent and philanthropist organizations women created "an alternative political culture" (Peiss 1991, 819), based on female virtues and skills. The public interest in charitable and benevolent associations offered female activists an until then unknown political power and meaning (Bergman and Bernardi 2005, 14).

There were numerous ways for women to be politically active within an organization. Female activism was led by themes of education, Christian mission, temperance, or abolition and subsequently helped to develop a wide range of voluntary organizations. Women were even asked to leave their own domestic sphere defined by class distinctions and to form female bonds. Reverend Stephen Humphreys Gurteen, for example, prompted women "from the educated and well-to-do classes" to help the poorer or less educated of their cities (1882, 116). The consequence is given by Kathleen Waters Sander: "The myriad voluntary organizations that women formed throughout the nineteenth century were perhaps the greatest tool they could employ to wield power and push beyond limited societal boundaries" (1998, 3). Community work was woman's task and by following this task, she was responsible and exerted her power on the local level, "operating through social practices, cultural values, and economic relations" (Kelly 2008, 34). Most of the aforementioned ways in which women eventually entered the public sphere have already been explored.[39] However, there are still forms of female activism

[39] Just to mention some examples, a lot of work has already been done on the issues of female writers or abolitionist and/or temperance activists. The following list contains examples and thus should not be regarded as being a full record on the research of US female activism in the nineteenth century: Jill Bergman and Debra Bernardi, eds. *Our Sisters' Keepers: Nineteenth-Century Benevolence Literature by American Women*, Tuscaloosa: Alabama University Press, 2005; Anne M. Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797 – 1840*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002; Helen K. Chinoy and Linda Walsh Jenkins**,** *Women in American Theatre: Careers, Images, Movements; an Illustrated Anthology and Sourcebook*, New York: Crown Publishing, 1981; Faye E. Dudden, *Women in the American Theatre: Actresses & Audiences; 1790 – 1870*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politic, and*

that have not been researched yet. Authors' Carnivals offered women special opportunities to participate in public life and have not been taken into any account so far.

Most Authors' Carnivals were charity events, which, as was mentioned before, meant that many women worked there on a voluntary basis for the benefit of social organizations or institutions. Voluntary work often evoked a positive feeling and certain self-confidence in the benevolent 'ladies' (Gordon 1998, 34). In her novel *The House of Mirth* Edith Wharton describes the emotional effect a charitable deed had on her protagonist, Lily Bart:

> The satisfaction derived from this act was all the most ardent moralist could have desired. Lily felt a new interest in herself as a person of charitable instincts: she had never before thought of doing good with the wealth she had so often dreamed of possessing, but now her horizon was enlarged by the vision of a prodigal philanthropy. . . . Miss Farish's surprise and gratitude confirmed this feeling, and Lily parted from her with a sense of self-esteem . . . . (Wharton 1962, 130)[40]

Being engaged in charitable work did not change Lily's personality. She was still dreaming of becoming a rich society lady. Her motifs were still egoistic. But despite her self-indulgence, Lily realizes a positive feeling from "doing good" and this experience is a motivator to continue her benevolence. Those positive emotional experiences reinforced philanthropic efforts.

Women working within benevolent organizations were eager to improve their charitable work, for example, by raising funds in the context of entertainment. This aim also shows how women did not only try to gain political influence but also proved their

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Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990; Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000; Beverly Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998; Nancy A. Hewitt (ed.), *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992; Kathleen W. Sander, *The Business of Charity: The Woman's Exchange Movement, 1832 – 1900*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998; Anne F. Scott, *Natural: Women's Association in American History*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

[40] Later in the novel Miss Lily Bart becomes dependent on charity herself. At this point she also realizes that it is not only money but friendship which really helps the poor. Such is also the appeal of Stephen Humphreys Villiers Gurteen: "What they [the poor] need is not so much material help as honest *friendship* [emphasis by Gurteen]" (112).

economical skills. Compared to female political activism, as for example in the abolitionist movement, women's ambitions and skills in an economic sphere were less researched. Economy in this context, however, does not mean actual national and international business but rather skills and performances on a communal and more informal level. Talking about events like the Authors' Carnivals, economic aspects cannot be disregarded as they were economically successful.

Parallels may be drawn between the organization of the carnivals and Sander's analysis of the Woman's Exchange Movement. Authors' Carnivals likewise "blurred the lines between the commercial and voluntary sectors" (Sander 1998, 3). However, the economic aspect is only one possibility to locate the Authors' Carnivals as an 'in-between-sphere'. Another aspect is the carnivals' organizational framework, which allowed a cooperation of both genders.

Though public entertainments, Authors' Carnivals gave men and women an opportunity for interaction among the sexes, which would have been impossible or at least difficult in another context. Authors' Carnivals can be regarded as metaphors for a dissolution of boundaries, which display how women began to participate in public and thereby changed the status quo. But what exactly are the private and the public aspects about the Carnivals? And how do they argue for their own deconstruction?

In her article "The Cult of True Womanhood (1966)" Barbara Welter describes a woman's life in the nineteenth century as influenced by the concepts of "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" (Welter 1999, 44). All of these virtues listed by Welter are in some way present or discussed in the context of the Authors' Carnivals. A total lack of display of those virtues in the carnivals probably would have led to their prohibition, since a woman was not regarded a 'lady' if she did not internalize those socially prescribed character traits. Women were expected to 'perform' the degree to which they adopted the principles of a "true woman" in every context, no matter whether

play or reality. Besides knowing how a true woman should be, women in the late nineteenth century also had to know their role as "Republican Mothers". In her essay "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment – An American Perspective" Linda Kerber states that the concept of the "Republican Mother" was regarded as an opportunity or path allowing women to become part of the political system (1976, 203). "The model republican woman was to be self-reliant (within limits); literate, untempted by the frivolities of fashion. . . . [She] was a mother . . . dedicated to the service of civic virtue; she educated her sons for it; she condemned and corrected her husband's lapses from it" (1976, 202). Female participation in the public and political field was possible and even welcomed in the late nineteenth century as long as women stayed in the accepted path and role prescribed to her by society.

The initiation of the carnivals was, at least by some people, assumed to be a woman's idea although the first Authors' Carnival was organized by Frank P. Pease from Buffalo, New York: "We owe the bright wits of the bright woman who thought first of this new departure in amusements, much gratitude for a genuine sensation. It must have been a woman of course who else would have the spirit to conceive and the courage to utilize so aesthetic an idea?" (*BOJ*, February 1, 1879). While anxious to keep up the prescribed female virtues, women involved in the organization and exertion of the Authors' Carnivals stepped into the roles of managers, educators, entertainers, and artists. As managers they were always "energetic" and the experiences they gained in the organization of fairs and festivals "proved invaluable" for the management of Authors' Carnivals (*NAUSG*, February 23, 1876; *LAH*, April 13, 1891). Women were responsible for the education of their children and thus of society's future members and as charitable work was regarded as the extension of the private into the public, Authors' Carnivals were organized by society's educators. Accordingly, women were cherished and called for by the public to take advantage of their responsibility and to lead the events to success.

Besides educating the public, the management's task was entertainment so that the visitors might stay interested in the event as long as possible. As it was put in an article in the *Daily Cairo Bulletin*, "[i]t is a good thing, ladies, keep it up as long as the interest can be retained, and the profits fair. You are entitled to much consideration as an educator of the public, and every one [sic.], regardless of creed, should lend their influence in making it a success" (May 19, 1881). Women were considered skillful managers, entertainers, artists, and educators who took advantage of their opportunities to enter the public sphere and, thereby, enriched American cultural life.

A poem published in *The Carnival of Authors*, which was a newspaper designed for the Authors' Carnival in the forerun of Philadelphia's Centennial in 1876, gives an impression on an expected female self-consciousness and pride. Within this poem, here quoted at length, women are celebrated as patriotic heroes whose sole aim is the wellbeing of their society and country.

"Our Women"
What is the theme that now I sing,
With rattling bones and banjo's ring,
While tambourine aloft I fling?
Our Women!
Who is it, in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy and hard to please,
Through life's bright places men do squeeze?
Our Women!
Who smile when favorite china breaks?
Who take the topmost buckwheat cakes?
Who nurse the baby when it wakes?
Our Women!
Who drop the needle for the pen,
And make the echoes ring again,
To wake those stupid things, the men?
Our Women!
Who when the men, in blank dismay,
Sat wondering if the thing would pay,
Pinned back their skirts and led the way?
Our Women!
Who kindled the Centennial flame,
In distant States, where, dull and tame,
The men forgot their Country's fame?
Our Women!
Who stormed old Independence Hall,
And woke the Councils, one and all,
With Sixty-thousand-power call?
Our Women!
Who when Centennial stock was low,
Did bravely take their books and go,
And begged a share from every beau?
Our Women!
Who leave the cradle and the tub?
Who coax papa and wheedle hub,
Unheeding jest and gibe and snub?
Our Women!
Who worked all day and talked all night,
To build their house, and put to flight,
The fool who swore at Women's Right?
Our Women!
Who was it fogies old did warn
From Hall Memorial where upborne
Stands pointing down with lofties scorne?
Our Woman!
Who waked the days of Washington;
Contriving *fetes* and fair and fun,
While Polly puts the kettle on?
Our Women!
Who, in the loveliest array,
Turn work Centennial into play,
And gather money every day?
Our Women!
Who, when the days of toil were long;
When neath and burden bowed the strong,
Still cheered the faint with buoyant song?
Our Women!
And sang that lang that no man wrote:
"Forever shall our Banner float,
Our oriflamme, the Petticoat!"
Our Women!
Who, when Centennial days are o'er,
And Patriotism asks no more,
Will be the things we must adore?
Our Women!
AMAN.
(*The Carnival of Authors* No. 2, February 23, 1876: 9)[41]

The clearly expressed theme of the poem, mentioned in the heading and the first stanza, is the role of women. In the first stanza, the poem is rather a song accompanied by folklore music instruments. Using those instruments, women's role as society's cultural origin is highlighted. The second stanza is a description of how women give men comfort and support in uncertain or bright times. Stanzas three through five are a climactic description

[41] The feminist tone of the poem is due to female action that was needed to accomplish the task of guaranteeing a "Women's Pavilion" at Philadelphia's Centennial in 1876. The Authors' Carnival given in this context was a good example of female activism in raising funds for a female cause on a national, rather than on a local, level.

of women stepping from the private household into the political public space: starting with the concept of the "angel in the house," who is patient and caring. Continuing with a depiction of how women left their prescribed sphere to remind "those stupid things, the men" what their aims should be. Closing with female activism, when women began to actively work for the Centennial and for their own nation. Stanza six is a description of how women used their nationwide networks to include even "distant States" in the Centennial, while men had already "forgotten" their nation's 'greatness.' Female agency and activism is also the theme of stanza seven where women are depicted as influencing politically important men. The description of storming Independence Hall is a reference to Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, great grand-daughter of Benjamin Franklin, who convinced Congress to "appropriate money for the Centennial" (Paine 1975-76, 6). In contrast to stanza seven, stanza eight gives the proceedings of an already accomplished act, namely, a description of the organization of an Authors' Carnival. For the Authors' Carnival women took their books and used them as the basis for a charitable event to support the Centennial.[42] With stanza nine a description is given on how women already did influence men in gentle ways by "coax[ing]" and "wheedl[ing]," while not being taken seriously. Stepping into the public within the Centennial, women did no longer wait for men to provide them with public attention. Women worked for a Women's Pavilion themselves as it is stated in stanza ten. Furthermore, women did no longer accept male resistance and work against female participation. In stanza eleven a strong symbol is used to claim female lead in the nation. Columbia, standing on the top of Philadelphia's Memorial Hall, represented female superiority and leading skills. The ambiguity of the symbol becomes clear by looking at the building's history. Philadelphia's Memorial Hall was especially erected for the Centennial and although the main building of the exposition was crowned

[42] Another interpretation, as it is given by Judith Paine, is that women sold books to raise funds for the Centennial (1975-76, 6).

with a female statue, women were not considered part of the Centennial. The male organizers of the Centennial asked for female help and promised women participation within the main building but after having raised a considerable amount for the Centennial Board of Finance, there was "no longer enough space" for those women in the building (Paine 1975-176, 6-7).

Female participation with a Women's Pavilion only became possible after female activists raised enough fund to erect such a pavilion (Paine 1975-76, 8). Besides using symbolic representatives of the female sex, the narrator of the poem also mentions actual 'heroines.' "Polly" in stanza twelve stands for Martha Washington, who was an exemplary female representative managing both her household and "fetes and fair[s]." Women working for the Centennial followed the example of Martha Washington and organized charitable fairs to raise money for their cause (scene described in stanza thirteen). In stanza fourteen the circle between the first days of the nation, represented by Martha Washington and Columbia, and the then present days of the first Centennial is completed by mentioning women who supported and "cheered" the troops during the Civil War.

One reason for The Centennial Board to include women was the female ability to organize successful fairs (Paine 1975-76, 6). Those women were also the ones to cherish female work so far as it is stated in stanza fifteen. However, in stanza sixteen the narrator of the poem insists that it is time to recognize female work for an American nation once and for all closing with a capitalized "AMAN," which is normally used at the end of a Christian prayer. The end of the poem highlights the fact that female contributions to their nation had not yet been cherished or recognized, but politically active women still hoped and prayed for such recognition.

In general, the poem is a subjective description of how women perceived their sphere and searched for their part in the public. Although they had to leave their houses

at some point, they still were supposed not to neglect their household duties as the example of Martha Washington shows. On the contrary, they were not only "angels in the house" as Coventry Patmore describes them (qtd. in Hellerstein, Hume and Offen 1981, 134), but they were also the caretakers of the nation. The list of female roles the poem concedes is extensive and underlines how by organizing Philadelphia's Authors' Carnival women perceived themselves. According to the poem, women combined several virtues in one person. Many of those roles and functions were necessary for a successful course of an Authors' Carnival. Therefore, the poem is both a summary of what is desired in a woman if she is to participate in a benevolent cause and a list of traits the participating "ladies" should be rewarded for.

2.1 The Female Body in the Public Realm

"In every age and clime, that virtue, sweet Charity [sic.], has been exceptionably prominent in the gentle and fair sex in every pathway of life" (*Authors' Carnival Album* 1880, n.p.). Women were experienced organizers in charity matters. Social and communal work fitted female self-understanding as the caretakers of society and especially of society's less fortunate members. This branch of female work, as it is described in *Bazaars and Fair Ladies*, was under scrutiny because men were not in charge and, at the same time, accepted because it was regarded as part of the female realm (Gordon 1998, 4+6). Benevolent fairs and festivals, accordingly, were under the auspices of ladies who knew 'the business of charity.' Due to their experiences, those women, even if they were not always entirely responsible for the financial aspects of charitable events, had a major influence on public entertainment and, mostly, men were glad to pass some responsibility to their female contemporaries. Describing charity events, newspaper reporters often highlighted the importance of female management, as the following example of a Charity

Fair[43] in Abilene, Kansas, shows: "The ladies . . . held the fort faithfully, from the opening to the close, and worked as only women can when their interest is enlisted 'for sweet charity's sake.' . . . If [the male organizers] failed in any particular it was because the poor fellows didn't know how to manage Fairs as the ladies do" (*ABR*, April 1, 1886). Although the quote is subjective and has an ironic undertone, it states an appreciation of female success in the management of charitable entertainment.

Perceived as improving human character, charity and benevolent work was, furthermore, interpreted as an enrichment to every society. "[Charity] appeals to every woman in the community, as its object is to benefit her sex, and it demands a godspeed from every man, for the reason that in proportion as woman is elevated man is made better" (*NAR*, April 22, 1876). So, engaging in charitable activities women seeked to improve their collective identity and at the same time to increase morality and social consciousness within their communities. An improvement, however, is deemed possible with a direct and indirect influence on the male members within their society. Opportunities for such influence were given, whenever men and women interacted within the same realm, which means that the strict separation of the two spheres had to be weakened. Explaining the interaction and communication between the male and female organizers at the carnival in San Francisco, a description was delivered of how the decisions concerning the event were executed. "Out in the wicked world the weak are promptly crushed and the superfluous elbowed out of the way; but in the Pavilion the twelve of the Executive Committee and the fifty of the General Board and the twenty-four special booth managers, all have equal rights, none are weak, none superfluous. . ."

[43] The example of the Charity Fair is a rather general statement on women's work for 'charity's sake.' The fair consisted of meals and donated articles for sale. Further, the hall was decorated with flags and a stage was erected for "various entertainments" (*ABR*, April 1, 1886).

(*SDU*, October 21, 1882).[44] Nevertheless, those "equal rights" were limited to the organization of events "for sweet charity's sake." As individuals women were bound to their private sphere. Only "as organizations they could ask and gain, where as women they received no attention" (Scott 1992, 2). Female political or public power consisted in their collective character. Even if they wanted "to achieve personal . . . goals," they needed to be a member of an association to be heard (Boylan 2002, 211). Taking a closer look at this assumption, it should be kept in mind that politically active women were often of the opinion that their goals were not personal at all because they also affected their peers (Floyd et al. 2010, 6). Thus, women focused on the group and on the wellbeing of the poorer members of their communities and achieved their equal rights on an informal level, where they were regarded skilled members of society.

Beside the opportunity of taking an active part in public life, charity, as a means of overcoming the separation of spheres, offered women further advantages and/or disadvantages. With participating in charitable activities, women could elevate their social status. "If a woman desires to become a shining light in society charity is made the ladder for such an ambition" (*DYJ*, May 17, 1888). However, in general the connection between charity and the 'social ladder' has to be differentiated from public reputation. The 'social ladder,' as it is described in the quote, explains female opportunity to 'rise' in the private sphere and gain credit among her peers. A reputation in the public realm needed the combination of charity and public display, which means that a woman's benevolent deeds were publicly acknowledged, when she had an audience consisting of both sexes to certify her strains. Authors' Carnivals, being events with a paratheatrical[45]

[44] *The Carnival Echo* only lists eleven members of the Executive Committee (No. 8, October 31, 1879:4). Most of the managing members were female. A detailed list or distinction between male and female members is not given.

[45] During the Authors' Carnival the floor was open to both artistic literature-based and societal enactment of female roles. Paratheatricality in this case stands for the blurring of the separation between play and reality.

character, offered women the kind of setting that was necessary to be acknowledged as a charitable 'lady' in society and public. Furthermore, women were able to demonstrate their benevolence in a variety of ways, for example, as managers, as participants, and even as spectators. No matter how they showed their charitable nature, it would be perceived in a public realm. According to Lori Ginzberg, benevolence was only a pretense for actual public perception and influence (1990, 7-8). Still, the actual step of the physical female body into the public sphere, whether for charity's sake or not, often left a sour taste for some members of nineteenth-century US society (Gordon 1998, 1).

Regarding the role of women as benevolent human beings who had the potential to 'elevate' their society, was one way to treat female public appearance. To raise a considerable amount of funds for charity, especially in the context of public entertainment, was mostly connected to a physical display of young and pretty "girls." Such sexist instrumentalized usage of the female body was a logical consequence of female managed fairs in the late nineteenth century because money was mostly with the male sex and women had few chances to support charity financially. It was necessary to attract men without questioning the method of doing so. "To conduct a fair well, or any public charity, the presence of women young and pretty seems indispensable" (Sherwood 1900, 978).[46] Criticism and discussions on such a controversial topic were inevitable. Attraction and provocation go hand in hand when it comes to spending money and "coercing men to buy things" was often regarded worse than female "sensuality" (Gordon 1998, 12). Although young women in "short dresses" were attractive lures for male donators, people, especially women,[47] sensed an abuse of the benevolent cause (*CDT*,

[46] The article "Women's Work in Charity" was published by Mrs. John Sherwood. The use of her husband's first name seems to be an indication for the author's "submissiveness" under a male guardianship in public. Such guardianship was still necessary in 1900, when the article appeared in *Harper's Bazaar*. This also means that the article, although written at a time when the popularity of Authors' Carnivals was declining, can still be regarded as representative for the predominant societal mindset concerning charity and the sexes.

[47] Being members of the same sex, women were more critical with regard to female behavior during the events.

April 16, 1879). Charity was a distinguished moral motive and in its context "[w]omen should never put men, young or old, in the disagreeable position of having to spend money" (Sherwood 1900, 978). The Authors' Carnivals were no exception within this controversy. The characters taken from literature might have been moral ideals but the actresses and participants chosen were mostly attractive and pretty young "ladies," which is not astonishing as the major aim was to raise funds as high as possible. Throughout the news coverage there was the talk about "the glorious scene of youth and beauty" (*DAC*, October 31, 1879). Female 'transgressions' like leaving their homes and wearing "short dresses" were tolerated during their participation in the carnivals and the events' success was not derogated.

"[T]he mantle of charity" helped female organizers and participants to keep up their prescribed virtues (Sherwood 1900, 978). In this view, women's piety, purity, and domesticity were not disturbed by taking active parts in the Authors' Carnivals. Charity was considered to be located in woman's sphere and responsibility. Only the virtue of submissiveness was transgressed as women, not men, were responsible for the execution of those public events. Philadelphia's Authors' Carnival is a good example for this lack of submissiveness. To be able to participate in the Centennial, women did not ask for permission and they raised the money needed for the participation themselves, without male assistance. Stepping into the public realm and executing an entertainment for both sexes, collided with female submissiveness. With the organization and management of the carnivals women had to sustain their position as skilled entertainers, educators, artists, and actresses. The charitable character of those events was also the most emphasized aspect of the Authors' Carnivals. Charity was important and other facets, which were more controversial, were less often mentioned. Nevertheless, criticism existed and women as the carnivals' managers were in the spotlight of such negative headlines, which will be the focus of chapter 2.5.

2.2 Cultural and Economic Agency: Creating Popular Entertainment

The aspect of collaboration in female work was already mentioned before. The focus of the present chapter is on how the organization and management of Authors' Carnivals provided women with the opportunity to create a popular entertainment through collaborative work. As Beverly Gordon states, women had the "ability to work with whatever would be most efficacious in any given situation[,]" which "is testimony to their agency and innovativeness" (1998, 47).

Women organizing Authors' Carnivals fulfilled several aspects of "collaborative authorship" (Bennett 2005, 94). They were authors in the sense that they created and defined the carnivals' storylines. Women decided what should be told in what manner and thereby shaped the event. Some of the aspects of "collaborative authorship" are the idea of co-laborers working together to create something, and the disruption of isolation and individualism. Collaborative aspects of Authors' Carnivals are constructed by the collaboration of several charitable organizations and the interaction between the actors and the participants. But within all of those interactions women were the driving forces.

Women as the "authors" of the carnivals used this popular platform to present their ideas not just concerning their individual or shared interpretations of literature, but also with respect to the formation of a unified cultural, and implicitly also political, American identity. One suitable example to demonstrate this phenomenon is the Authors' Carnival which took place in the forerun of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. As already mentioned, the purpose of the carnival was to raise funds for a Women's Pavilion. The managers of the Women's Pavilion wanted to create "a sphere for woman's action and space for her work" (Freedman 1979, 520) and restricted the thematic emphasis on women's work and sphere. The aim was to display women's "achievements in journalism, medicine, science, art, literature, invention, teaching, business, and social

work" (Freedman 1979, 520). Some of those achievements were indirectly already part of the Authors' Carnival. With the organization of the carnival Philadelphia's women proved that they were able to manage an event which demanded a wide array of skills. The tasks they had to perform ranged from the arrangement of the booths and the stage to the calculation of the project, including the publication of a Carnival Newspaper and the didactic composition of the dramatic performances.

Although being officially excluded from the world of politics and economy, there were nineteenth-century American women who were self-confident enough to see themselves as crucial elements of their society and nation. In spite of the all-pervasive separate sphere-rhetoric, they found ways to influence the public by "pretending" to be widening the private sphere. As they knew about their power as a collective, Philadelphia's female organizers tried to unite women from several states and, thus, made clear that they wished to create a "national womanhood" to heighten their public influence. "North, South, East, and West, the fire is spreading. Thirty States are now numbered in our organization" (*The Carnival of Authors* No. 2, February 23, 1876: 11). Within this frame of female union women also saw their chance for political action or already regarded themselves as political stakeholders. The construction of the Women's Pavilion displayed female public activism in two ways. First, by contributing to the national character of the exposition and second, by creating a public sphere for American women who also saw themselves instrumental in this 'national character.'

Philadelphia's "ladies" exerted business methods to achieve their goal of a Women's Pavilion, methods usually applied by men. However, in the context of charitable work women's usage of entrepreneurial methods was common (Sander 1998, 4). Female organizers longed to be financially independent from men, especially within the framework of the Centennial. As explained in *The Carnival of Authors*: "It is the

purpose of the ladies to pay all expenses connected with their Department, provided the generous public gives them sufficient encouragement" (No. 2, February 23, 1876: 10).

Pathways between the public and the private spheres helped women to prepare for economy and politics (Scott 1992, 2). The women at Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition also realized this opportunity, especially for working women, and even tried to proclaim female political activism:

> May [the organization] never be broken. After the Centennial year is over, may the women of our country continue banded together to advance the cause of women's work. If one woman in the year 1876 is led from the needle to seek her means of living in some higher walk in life, the Women's Centennial Committees will not have organized in vain. (*The Carnival of Authors* No. 2, February 23, 1876: 11)

The general aim of the Women's Centennial Committees was to tighten the bonds between female benevolent organizations and, thus, between nineteenth-century American women.

Especially "Northern women" were experienced workers in the course of charity and their networks were an important basis for the organization of huge entertainments (Gordon 1998, 104). With the organization of the Authors' Carnival in Philadelphia women created one of the first examples of female activism by improving their organizational scope from local to nationwide communities. The Centennial Committees were organized in states like Massachusetts, Florida, Kansas, and Idaho (*The Carnival of Authors* No. 2, February 23, 1876: 11), showing that the organizing women wanted to spread their concept of a united womanhood all over the country. The women of the several committees built a nationwide female network. This network was one basis for female political activism within which women could begin with their "clean[ing] up society and politics" (Ryan 1992, 13).

Each of the Centennial Committees involved in the organization of the carnival chose an author for representation (*The Carnival of Authors* No. 2, February 23, 1876: 10). The choice of a certain author was an important decision for the participating women

because "each [committee] had prepared a booth to represent the location from which they came" (*NAUSG*, February 23, 1876). The display of their identity as Americans was important to the Centennial's women. They wanted to show the development of the American nation to interested foreigners and compatriots (*The Carnival of Authors* No. 2, February 23, 1876: 12). Philadelphia's women even went so far as to explain that the American nation was dependent on its women to keep it alive, not in a biological but in an ideological sense.

2.3 The Role of "Fame" in Authors' Carnivals

Another aspect not forming the character of the carnivals but often mentioned by the visitors was "vanity."[48] The word "vanity" was regularly referred to in the context of the carnivals. Again the negative undertone of vanity was mostly associated with female managers and participants. Authors' Carnivals were perceived as spectacles focusing on seeing and being seen. Although charity was the major aim, some people were of the opinion that vanity was the actual driving force of those entertainments. The low number of critics who saw vanity "reigning" the carnivals were often the same persons stating that charity was a mantle to cover "a multitude of sins" (*SDU*, November 4, 1879). Vanity, according to this logic, was the first progression of the charitable idea under whose auspices Authors' Carnivals were arranged.

As Beverly Gordon already stated, the participants of charitable fairs wanted to be admired and the newspapers supported such desires by writing about those participants (Gordon 1998, 133). The outer appearance of participants and visitors played a major role and was the theme of discussions in almost every report on the carnivals. Props and especially costumes were often described in detail and again the focus was on women and their representations. "The ladies, as, of course, of more interest to the spectator must be

[48] "Vanity" in this context is related to pride. It is not about volatileness but about haughtiness.

described at length" (*DAC*, October 31, 1879). Following such introductions, detailed descriptions of the costumes and materials of the dresses worn were continually given. Talking about costumes and their rich materials was essential for many reporters and participants as the following scene underlines:

> [A] reporter was beside me one evening interviewing a young lady with regard to her costume. Now it does seem as though a great deal of assurance were necessary before one can step up to a strange lady, inquire her name, her dress, and the character she assumes, but one and all the interviewed respond so gladly and so readily that it gets to be nothing at all to do. 'This is real lace I presume?' said the reporter to the vail [sic.] lady wore. 'No, not exactly real,' she answered, wrestling with her conscience and looking at him yearningly. 'Ah, well,' he returned generously, 'I'll put it down real any how [sic.], and it'll be all the same.' Her cheek flushed with gratitude. 'Thank you, oh! thank you [sic.],' she said. (*SDU*, November 4, 1879)

The vanity concerning material luxury and the display of richly embroidered costumes was accordingly supported by both reporters and participants. It was important that a costume seemed really expensive. Furthermore, the quote shows that basing an interview on rather vain aspects made conversations between men and women in a public sphere easier. So, by being an obvious and rather visual common ground to start from, the outer appearance of the participants indirectly supported interaction.

While the costumes themselves were part of the artistic performance, the actors' attitude of wearing the costume evoked the labeling of being vain. Vanity was not only represented in the display of costumes but also in the performances and presentations. Participating in a charitable fair was a matter of "prestige" (Gordon 1998, 13). Some participants wanted to be mentioned in the newspapers at any costs. It was important to be perceived and whether the perception was based on costume, general beauty, good performance, or any other reason, played a minor role for them. If participants who were eager to appear in the news were actually mentioned, they kept those newspapers as memorabilia and used them to make an impression on their families and friends. Again the focus of the coverage of the carnivals lies on women who tried to gain attention.

> ‘Why how do you do? Why haven’t you been to see me? How long it has been since I met you!’ The speaker was a young lady with snapping eyes, who was habited in some sort of historics which required a very becoming pink silk jacket trimmed with silver bullion, and a cap with a tassel. She was speaking to me. She grasped me cordially by the hand and drew me towards her. ‘What paper is it you represent?’ she inquired sweetly. ‘When you write about our booth please let me see it;’ and then she favored me with a closing movement of her left eyelid and another smile, both of which meant, ‘We both know very well that I want you to write something about me[.]’ (*SDU*, November 4, 1879)

In this quote the accusation of being vain is connected to a female participant and her ambition to move into the public realm and gain admiration for her performance. A young woman showing such kind of eagerness in the context of charity was called “society girl”, someone who “plays in public ‘for sweet charity’s sake,’ and gets complimentary notices in the papers, and enjoys all the footlight excitement of a professional without forfeiting her social position, which is a very important thing” (*CL* No. 2, June 1893: 199). As long as young females worked for a benevolent task, their vanity was preponderantly tolerated. Society girls, in contrast to professional actresses, were appreciated as performers in the public realm and their participation in Authors’ Carnivals was welcomed, such as the appearance of “some pretty ‘society girls’” in the Japanese Tea House in San Francisco in 1882 (*SDU*, October 14, 1882). But even the prettiest and most talented “society girl” was at risk to lose her virtuous female character by showing off in public, which underlines the social pressure and hypocritical expectations of society towards women in general. ‘Immorality’ lurked everywhere. With leaving the private domestic surrounding women were in danger of losing or diminishing their virtuousness. Vanity and the display of the female body ‘threatened’ a woman’s pure character.

2.4 Women Appearing in Male Roles

The Authors’ Carnivals opened the stage for female display on several levels. Like other kinds of fairs, as they are described by Beverly Gordon, such events were “a place to play” and, eventually, “the games need to be carried into ‘real life’” (Gordon 1998,

37+46). In the context of the carnivals women were free to organize a public entertainment where it was possible to cross certain societal boundaries. Women played 'male' roles in the organization of the events and in the performances on stage. Such a course of action lay on the verge of criticism as the presence and display of the female body was still bound by restrictions. Especially in the context of the carnivals those restrictions were followed because in contrast to public theater, Authors' Carnivals were still located in a rather private sphere. Still, even professional actresses were expected to stay in their socially determined roles. "[W]here a woman dressed, talked, and acted like a man, it hit the audience in the face" (Dudden 1994, 3). The statement draws a picture of actresses as provocateurs, however, the situation was less tense in the context of Authors' Carnivals. Here the provocation was rather detected in the choice of dress than in the choice of character to be represented.

For the representation of some literary characters the question of male or female was irrelevant. Such roles could be taken by either man or woman. For example, one of the magicians of the *Arabian Nights* was represented by both sexes taking turns.[49] In such cases the costume defines what the proper representation of the displayed character is and the sex of the acting person is negligible. "There is an implicit alternative persona that the costume permits its wearer to assume" (Shukla 2015, 5). As long as in proper costume, a woman was allowed to play male roles and vice versa.

A crossing of the boundary between male and female was thus accepted. The interpretation of female roles by men was already common in Shakespeare's days, a corresponding crossing in the other direction in the late nineteenth century still needs closer examination. Participating in the carnivals women were allowed to appear in downright male roles. "Miss Inez Felker is a South Italian shepherd boy and a remarkably

[49] Was already discussed in detail in chapter 1.3.

pretty one she makes. She wears brown velvet pants, fur coat, blue stockings and sandals, red satin sash and soft felt hat; horn and crook" (*DAC*, November 1, 1879). The participation in an Authors' Carnival, gave women the opportunity to cross-dress and to 'turn male' for some time by putting on men's cloth. "Costume . . . is often described as the clothing of who we are not" (Shukla 2015, 3). Costuming was a tool women could use to escape their restricted realm.

"It is a strange fact, however, that a great deal of our identity seems to be mysteriously folded up in our clothes, and the complete change from Christian to barbaric costume transforms one, if not morally, at least mortally" (*The Carnival Times*, No. 6, October 26, 1874: 1). Costumes give their wearer the chance to slip into a role not permitted in reality. It is the opportunity to become the alter ego one maybe has dreamed of (Shukla 2015, 5). Due to exotic dresses and costumes the blurring of male and female characters was especially prominent in the Arabian Nights booth. In this context, for example, the part of Aladdin was played by a woman in an elaborate dress throughout. "Miss Tippetts, as Aladdin, looked the part admirably in a dress composed of green and red satin, heavily trimmed with gold and spangles" (*Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 7). Although the lay actors stayed mute, they communicated to the audience through their performance and the representation of a clearly male character by a woman must have had an impact on the viewers. Examples of comments on the outer appearance, as they were given in the previous chapters, show such impacts and the worries about women preferring "loose trousers" to dresses, which will be quoted at length in chapter 2.5, show that changes were perceived and sometimes feared (*DAC*, November 1, 1879).

An impact on the viewers was unavoidable, when the protagonists in a piece were all played by women and only the minor parts were represented by men. A carnivalesque twist becomes apparent when women are presented as the 'heroes' in a public realm usually belonging to male 'protagonists.' In the interpretation of Aladdin's story only the

slaves were played by men (*DAC*, October 26, 1879). To see men in those minor roles, however, did not evoke any criticism because it was accepted by the audience as fitting the interpretation.

The costumes made such an acceptance possible; wearing long, heavy robes paved women's way to the representation of major male characters, while short dresses were the target of extensive criticism (*CDT*, April 16, 1879). "Costume . . . is defined by the wearer's intentions and behaviors, and it is evaluated by the audience on the basis of garment construction, fabrics, ensemble, and accessoires as well as by its fitness for the occasion" (Shukla 2015, 5). Another aspect supporting the acceptance of females in male roles in the Arabian Nights booth in San Francisco is the fact that the director here was a man. Max Freeman[50] was the one who decided that women should appear as the 'superior' characters.

In the context of Authors' Carnivals women did not only "[feed] public taste for sensation" (Glenn 2000, 13).[51] By acting out male roles on the organizational and performance levels, they stepped into a public realm where their opportunities had so far been restricted. The female participants of the carnivals, in this way, disclosed ways for women to actively participate in a more public sphere of society. "Female performers explored, exaggerated, and exploited fears and fantasies about women's roles and identities. In doing so they inspired other women to dream and experiment" (Glenn 2000, 216).

[50] Max Freeman was already mentioned as the director of several booths in San Francisco's Authors' Carnival in 1879 (chapter 1).

[51] I used Glenn to make clear how women organized Authors' Carnivals to make them more entertaining and interesting for their communities. However, Susan Glenn does not mention the carnivals in her book. She rather focuses on theater.

2.5 Displaying the Female Body

Public female display and performance were, although sometimes disputed, accepted as long as women did not cross a certain line or pattern. In the context of the Authors' Carnivals, women were allowed to participate in various ways. Managing and organizing entertainments were accepted as located in the female realm, however, slipping into the role of a fictional character, could be regarded as threatening social stability by demoralizing the virtuous female character. Especially two types of performance within the course of an Authors' Carnival aroused public criticism; those two forms are the Fan drill and *tableaux vivants* or living pictures.

Brought up and described in the early eighteenth century by Joseph Addison, the Fan Drill was a still popular performative practice in the late nineteenth century. The drill mainly consisted of about twelve "young ladies" on stage using fans according to a special choreography. As the drill was both entertaining and adopted from a fictional model, it was often included as an introductory element. George B. Bartlett, writing the manual *The Carnival of Authors*, listed this type of performance among the first steps in the lineal conduct of an Authors' Carnival and gave a description of how the Fan Drill should be performed in detail.

> This Drill, set to galop [sic.] time, may be performed by any number of ladies, in any costume preferred. Before the occasion for which it was composed there were six blondes and six brunettes, in the dress of the eighteenth century, who drilled to the music of the 'Attack Galop [sic.],' as being more marked in time. There may be a drill master who calls the names of the movements for the benefit of the audience, but the ladies must be trained to move the bars of the music. An addition to the dress is a small fan in the coiffure; they may also be uniformed. . . . (Bartlett, 14)

With his description Bartlett shows that the Fan Drill had military character as the participants at least wore unifying applications. Furthermore, calling the performance "drill" reveals the intention of a female soldiery group acting out the commands of a visible or invisible 'master.' The connection to military was Addison's clearly stated intention and he explained that "[w]omen are armed with fans as men with swords, and

sometimes do more execution with them" (Addison 1711).[52] A woman's fan was thus a weapon she could execute her 'female power' with. In the public realm a fan, when used by a lady, was a "sword" to attack a gentleman while flirting and at the same time a fan was a "shield" to protect female virtues and to appear "modest" (*NYT*, June 26, 1882). So, the fan, similar to charity, was a tool giving women the opportunity to step into and even to perform in public without normally causing a stir.

"The fan of a belle is the scepter of the world" (Campbell 1877, 559). This quote suggests that, as long as a woman used a fan, her participation in and her influence on the public sphere were tolerated. However, this theory was only partly true for the Fan Drill during Authors' Carnivals, which was not only affected by the decrease in the usage of the fan in the nineteenth century. As the women performing the Fan Drill were attractive young "ladies," their fans were not interpreted as "shields" for modesty but rather as "swords" used for flirtation, which underlines Campbell's second interpretation of the fan as means of communicating emotions (*NYT*, June 26, 1882; Campbell 1877, 559). Although Charles Campbell gives a neutral definition, explaining that "the fan, by peculiar movements, can undoubtedly be made to express love, disdain, modesty, hope, fear, and countless other emotions" (1877, 559), some visitors of the carnivals "don't approve of putting young girls before the staring eye of the public in any way" (*SDU*, September 25, 1880). The Fan Drill was thus located on the verge of immorality.

On the one hand, the drill was highly entertaining and introducing the event with a performance by young attractive "ladies" was sensible and promising, especially as the ladies were appropriately dressed. On the other hand, the young women's public flirting was regarded as immoral, in the sense of not being modest and demure. The following

[52] The original essay was published in *The Spectator* No. 102 in 1711. I quoted from the following source: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/SV1/Spectator1.html#section102 (24.07.2016); *The Spectator* was published on a daily basis and it used satire to discuss and present contemporary political and societal issues (Hughes 2011, 189).

quote from *The Carnival Album* gives an impression of how the Fan Drill was perceived and summarizes the reasons why the drill could be interpreted as provocative.

> One of the main features of the grand stage illustrations was the Fan Brigade, whose evolutions drew from the audience loud plaudits and encores. It is generally regretted that this body of young ladies had not a place in one of the booths or a booth of their own . . . . The dresses were quaint and original, and very becoming to the wearers, who seemed to have been chosen expressly for their pretty, graceful figures and charming faces. . . . Listening to the music and not looking at the evolutions of the fan, the visitor was struck by the mournful cadence, and turned to the stage with a feeling of surprise to see there twelve brightly-dressed young ladies instead of the funeral march which one expected to see from the character of the music; but the paradox was soon explained when the stately courtesy, the flip of the fans, the coquettish expression that can be put into that otherwise harmless instrument of torture, were noted. (*The Carnival Album* 1880, 35-36)

According to the quote, the ladies chosen for the Fan Drill were young and especially pretty. The participating young women did not use the fan to hide their faces and to hold up a modest impression but rather utilized it for flirtatious purposes. Those young females did not hide their femininity; they expressed it on a public stage. The inclusion of military elements like drills in fairs supported an "interesting mix of male and female-identified values" (Gordon 1998, 124). Further, a Fan Drill was yet another female opportunity to experience a rather male performative practice. The Fan Drill made Authors' Carnivals more interesting for men and women at the same time although the motives were different.

The second type of performance, which evoked criticism in the context of Authors' Carnivals, was *tableau vivant*. Like the Fan Drill *tableaux* were not considered a provocative performative practice in general. "[T]hough given purely in the spirit of amusement, still lessons are unconsciously taught, for underlying the fun is a substratum of instruction that leaves its mark" (Everett 1894, 20). Such kind of acting was meant to support the informative and illuminating character of the carnivals. One reason for the 'misinterpretation' of *tableaux* as being harmful was the disregard or the loosening of distance that should be created between the audience and the performers. The

performance of a *tableau* was supposed to always be "hidden" behind gauze to establish the aforementioned distance. "This gauze is one of the most important features in tableaux, and should no sooner be disregarded than the arrangement of the stage" (Everett 1894, 20). If attaching gauze to the stage was impossible, another "great requisite in the representation is to allow sufficient space between the spectators and the stage" (*HB* 21, 44 (November 3, 1888): 735). Actual distance in the sense of space was hard to accomplish during an Authors' Carnival because the halls were filled with a large number of booths, participants, and visitors. So the main prop used for the creation of distance was gauze (*DEB*, October 29, 1879).

The lack of spoken lines was considered suiting the participation of people who are thought to be less comfortable with acting in public. "To the timid no entertainment appeals so strongly, for there are no lines to be earnestly studied and then forgotten in a moment of stage fright, just when you had hoped to distinguish yourself before your friends" (Everett 1894, 20). Taking this statement further, *tableaux vivants* were especially suiting for women as a raising of a female voice in public was not welcomed. Women should remain mute. To maintain female purity it was, moreover, suggested that women should be dressed in white when participating in *tableaux vivants* (*HB* 21, 44 (November 3, 1888): 735). However, this suggestion was less important for most Authors' Carnivals as the ladies and their extraordinary dresses were "of interest to the spectators" (*DAC*, October 31, 1879). A display of purity, thereby, was not the major goal of the carnivals. A great "number of pretty girls" always attracted the audience and made up for many inconveniences caused in the run of an entertainment (Humphreys 1890, 982). So, similarly to the Fan Drill *tableaux vivants* promised to be more successful and effective when the participating women had an appealing outer appearance. Describing a series of *tableaux* given during an event in New York, it was stated that "[t]he artistic success of the entertainment is well assured, for the women who are to pose in the pictures

are young and beautiful" (*CDT*, May 13, 1895). Such was also the general framework for Authors' Carnivals and the *tableaux* given during the entertainment.

Attracting a preferably large group of visitors with their performances was an important aim for most of the managers and participants. The organizers "reckon[ed] on the force of curiosity and the passions as the chief factor in drawing a crowd" as it is explained in the *New York Times* (May 29, 1894). The means to attract the visitors' curiosity were seldom limited and, thus, provoked controversial discussions of whether all presentations should be tolerated. Although nudity was a taboo in the late nineteenth century, as it is today in US society, interestingly *tableaux vivants* with almost nude participants were tolerated by some audiences. The more flesh was shown within a *tableau* the more public attention was focused on the performance. "The popularity of the public living pictures, however, is largely due to the fact that a number of them approach as closely as the law allows to representations of the nude" (*NYT*, May 29, 1894). Of course, not all spectators and journalists were ready to accept an 'immoral' facet like nudity in the public realm. They wanted "to banish the nude entirely on the plea that, whatever may have been the practice of Greeks and South Sea Islanders, the custom of modern men and women in cold climates like [that of the US] has been a pretty complete effacement of the body and limbs with clothes" (*NYT*, May 29, 1894). However, such banishment could not be achieved in its completeness and the participants of *tableaux vivants* continued to "exhibit their flesh as paint" (Zangwill 1894, 122). The immorality of living pictures was picked out as a central theme long before the first Authors' Carnival took place. Yet, criticism of such 'vicious' performances was constantly traded against the benefits accompanying these entertainments. It is not important whether one is "much acquainted with these old fossils [which are the represented pictures]" and still "we are greatly delighted with the tableaux, the drapery – the vestments, but more particularly the ladies[;]" and the author continues with the "remark . . . that [he] would rather have one

of those dear, delightful animated divinities, than all the bespattered canvas in christendom [sic.]" (*DMN*, March 19, 1852). Authors' Carnivals as charity events, often organized by religious institutions, were also affected by the controversial and provocative character of *tableaux vivants*. As social institutions they had a moral responsibility but the financial success of the carnivals appeared to be higher-valued.

As mentioned before, typical aspects like the use of gauze, glass, and light were part of *tableaux vivants* performed during the carnivals and beside creating distance between performer and spectator, such props made the *tableaux* seem more dreamlike and fictional (*DAC,* October 26, 1879). While the blurring effect of the displayed performance was important for the organizers and the performers, the aim was to obstruct the view to increase the spectators' interest and attention. As it is explained in the description of the Arabian Nights booth in San Francisco, "its gauze curtain concealing nothing, yet tantalizing the looker-on as something which debars his senses from realizing that he is in the Pavilion, but is looking on some fancy, recalling the childish days when the Bulbul's singing was something real, and could be heard only in the land of the Arabian Nights" (*Carnival Echo* No. 8, October 31, 1879: 7). So, the distance between spectator and performer should not distract the viewer from the displayed literary scene, but it should help to connect the spectator's memories and emotions with the represented piece. However, such aiming at emotions was hazardous. Depending on the *tableau*'s content, the evoked emotions and memories did not overlap but contradict the representation. Many contradictions in this context were based on the costumes and the performances of female participants. In the choice of costumes, especially, a variety of options and interpretations was possible.

> Each [booth] sparkles with gems of female beauty who are dressed in costumes suited to the character which they represent. Occasionally a character is assumed which conceals, rather than brings out, the beauty of the lady, but such rare instances are interesting from a literary and historic point of view. The natural tastes of the gentles sex in the majority of cases, however, led to a selection of

> characters and costumes which add to bring out nature's gifts. (*The Carnival Herald* No. 6, April 21, 1879: 45)

The quote underlines the fact that, although decent costumes for women were possible and correct from a historic point of view, the organizers of the Authors' Carnivals were eager to attract the visitors' attention, even if such attraction meant the display of female "flesh and blood" (*DMN*, March 19, 1852). One example for a *tableau vivant*, which had the potential of provoking controversy and criticism, was "The Birth of Venus" shown at the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco in 1880 (*SDU*, October 2, 1880). Given the fact that the original Venus in the painting was naked, it is all the more surprising that "[e]very one [thought] this tableau lovely" without any mentioning of criticism (*SDU*, October 2, 1880). Immorality and a loss of female virtues within the carnivals were mostly a question of the attending visitors' emotions and the appropriateness of the utilized costumes.

Normally, the participation of women in the carnivals, not as organizers or managers, but as literary characters, was accepted and supported as long as women hid themselves behind accepted costumes. Therefore, crossing the boundary between the private and the public sphere was not only possible in an economic sense, by organizing charity events, but also in a physical sense, by wearing a costume and taking the role of some character taken from literature. In general, costumes were considered to have a great impact on the wearers as performing a role was thereby underlined and altered the actual personality of a participant. "It is a strange fact, however, that a great deal of our identity seems to be mysteriously folded up in our clothes, and the complete change from Christian to barbaric costume transforms one, if not morally, at least mortally" (*Carnival Times* No. 6, October 26, 1874: 1). Though a distinct change in the personality of a participant was often given, it was not stated that such changes were permanent in every situation. Still, an underlying fear of a vicious change in female character or a loss of female virtues was accompanied with the transgression. The *Daily Alta California*

emphasizes the possible impact carnival costumes could have on women and the consequences within the public sphere following from the event:

> For days they have experienced a grateful relief from tight stays, troublesome skirts, and clinging pulltracks. Short dresses, loose Turkish trousers, and comfortable jackets have been a blessing to them. The effect is pleasing to them and their friends. Freer circulation, loosened limbs, and graceful action have been theirs in place of grievous oppressions resulting from the present absurd modes of dressing. It suggests itself that they should profit by the experience afforded them, and set about to modify their fashions. (*DAC*, November 1, 1879)

Costumes and roles within the Authors' Carnivals endangered the status quo by showing female participants and visitors that substituting the outer appearance and playing a part could help them to change their social status and give them opportunities to escape, or at least transgress, their destined and limited sphere. According to Susan Glenn, the only way for a woman to be admired for her transgression was playing act (2000, 7). Beverly Gordon interprets this transgression as "women's mission . . . to bring the positive values of the home into the public arena" (1998, 119). I, however, would go further and say that by the closing nineteenth century women strove to have more public influence and with organizing and executing public events they partly gained such influence. With Authors' Carnivals American women in the late nineteenth century influenced and educated their communities on an informal level.

3. From the Consumption of Literature to a National Canon: Authors' Carnivals as 'Performative Anthologies'

The organizers of Authors' Carnivals wanted the events to be an instructive type of mass entertainment based on popular performative practices. In many genteel circles of the late nineteenth century, theatricals still had a negative connotation and were regarded as entertainment for a vulgar audience (Bentley 2009, 25). Nevertheless, Authors' Carnivals are an example of how theatricals were transformed into morally and aesthetically acceptable mass entertainment. The performances were based on canonical literary pieces which had already proven their status as a morally instructive pastime.

Beside the use of generally approved textual material, some other features of Authors' Carnivals were conducive to an atmosphere of 'instruction.' Since the displayed theatricals were enacted simultaneously in several booths, they had a "gallery-like" appearance.[53] Such similarities with museums supported the higher cultural standing of the carnivals, as museums were already established sophisticated entertainment. "[I]n the later nineteenth century the museum is not just an institution or site but a resonant, organizing idea with a profound influence on cultural perception itself" (Bentley 2009, 22). Authors' Carnivals were, thus, a combination of 'lower' mass entertainment based on 'higher' literary culture, an exhibition within what I call a 'museum of literature', a place where entertaining elements are combined with valued literature and presented in a way, which allows visitors to walk through show rooms and experience pieces of art.

The carnivals' entertaining character served as diversion and driving force in the reception and development of so-called "cultural texts."[54] The performative receptions of

[53] The original name for Authors' Carnivals was "Gallery of Authors' Entertainment." This name underlines the idea of making the events appear like a museum exhibition.

[54] I use the term as it is defined by Aleida Assmann. In her opinion, cultural texts are a substitute for identity based on genetics. Cultural texts "stiften durch Schrift vermittelte Identitäten: religiöse, nationale, persönliche" (Assmann 1995, 238). In context with the Carnivals, the focus lies on national identity.

in many cases already known literary pieces evoked an emotional response in the viewers. With the performance of a familiar text both performers and spectators change their 'individual' interpretation of the enacted piece (Lamerichs 2011). The emotional reaction to the performed pieces then facilitated the memorizing processes, and memory is essential if a literary piece was becoming a "cultural text."[55] Visitors who were already familiar with the pieces remembered or even reinterpreted the enacted texts, and those who were not yet acquainted with the piece had the opportunity to memorize what they saw (*DEB*, November 3, 1879).

> It can readily be supposed that . . . authors represented have been read by more people since this delightful diversion has been prepared for the public than ever before, and many who never bothered themselves with the standards, can trace their delight in exploring and feasting upon these good things (*DCB*, May 19, 1881).

In such a way, the represented literary text became, or at least gradually developed into, a "cultural text." The texts, thus transferred, later on created the basis for a literary canon. Due to the fact that it was popular entertainment within the boundaries of the United States, certainly to some extent within the boundaries of US society,[56] and often also associated with American values and republican ideals, this canon can also be labeled 'national.' As Nancy Bentley argues, forms of mass entertainment are the link between cultural development and social condition, in the sense that Authors' Carnivals were not merely entertaining but brought people together. "[N]ew forms of mass culture permitted disparate social groups to enter zones of shared perception and sensory experience, further reordering inherited patterns of cultural reception" (Bentley 2009, 27) and I argue that Authors' Carnivals were one of those new forms. All people were invited to enjoy

[55] Along the lines of Sianne Ngai, analyzing those emotional reactions then leads to an insight into "a real social experience and a certain kind of historical truth" (2007, 5). Ngai's limitation to "ugly feelings," however, is not necessary in the context of Authors' Carnivals. Further, such an analysis, though interesting on its own standing, won't be part of the present thesis.

[56] There was one Authors' Carnival given in Dresden in 1884, which was already mentioned in the Introduction.

the events no matter what social group they belonged to. The carnivals supported a national canon and a national identity.

3.1 Female Readers and Their Cultural Work

Reading books was an important aspect of nineteenth-century American society and for women, especially, reading was of great significance. Candy Gunther Brown's depiction of literature's role in nineteenth-century America is similar to the use of literature in Authors' Carnivals. Though Brown focuses on Evangelical literature and communities, her ideas and interpretations are also true for the more general communal concept of the carnivals. Literature became an influential part of everyone's life (Brown 2004, 116-117). It was used in two ways: first, literature was a tool to improve one's character, leading to a more virtuous life. Second, sharing a similar corpus of literary texts meant belonging to the same cultural community (Brown 2004, 133). An aspect also mentioned by Anne Douglas who writes that the reading of literature helped to define a 'class' based on its consumption (1977, 10). With regard to the selection of texts Brown's "Evangelical community" had the same intellectual aims as the organizers of Authors' Carnivals. The chosen literature had to define a common literary ground and "limited . . . interpretive options" (Brown 2004, 8-9). The nineteenth century in the US was "a time of rapidly expanding education" and, thus, gave women new "opportunities for self-improvement" (Sicherman 1989, 201). As shown in the previous chapter, Authors' Carnivals were one way for women to become culturally and socially active members of their communities.

This chapter will continue with the analysis of female influence upon American nation-building on the level of reading and perceiving literary works. Like the organization of entertaining events, reading allowed women to feel a certain "freedom," which, however, was not based on concrete economic and political participation, but was

rather a "freedom of imagination [which] . . . encouraged new self-definitions and, ultimately, [an] innovative behavior" (Sicherman 1989, 202).

With the organization of events like Authors' Carnivals women combined their opportunities of reading popular books and of working within charitable organizations in a semi-public sphere and thereby, knowingly or unknowingly, established the outlines of a national culture. Following Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation as "imagined community," the notion of 'freedom of imagination' directly implies the possibility for active creation and productive influence (1991, 6).

Using literature as an educating tool to improve American cultural life, women stayed within the parameters of their socially defined functions as mothers and educators, as education was regarded as part of women's sphere (Gordon 1998, 104). "Women looked upon fiction as a medium for bringing culture to the family" and, I would further argue, to their community (Hart 1963, 89). According to social convention, women were the part of society which was responsible for society's intellectual development (Douglas 1977, 398). They exerted an enormous influence on the chief male purveyors of that culture, the liberal, literate ministers and popular writers who were being read . . ." (Douglas 1977, 7). So, women had a great influence on the formation of an American literary canon in the close of the nineteenth century. Authors who today are valued as the American geniuses of the nineteenth century were seldom read during their lifetimes and "those who . . . were highly esteemed are hardly studied today" (Douglas 1977, 4). But what were the reasons for the neglect of authors like Thoreau and Melville? Why did "British fiction dominat[e] the American literary scene until the 1890s[?]" (Sicherman 1989, 205). Based on familiarity and popular entertainment, the analysis of Authors' Carnivals explains some of the reasons for such a preference in the American literary scene.

According to Barbara Sicherman, literary works were more than a diversion and private activity for women. "[I]t was the women who extended reading from a private pleasure to an occasion for community service" (Sicherman 1989, 203). Certain books were regarded as representative for certain communities, which means that literature had a uniting function and created a basis for a national American culture (Sicherman 1989, 216). Zboray and Zboray describe how "authors became like old friends" to nineteenth-century American readers (2006, xviii). Even before Authors' Carnivals came up, books were like manuals which helped to understand and to 'transform' nineteenth-century American culture.

"[B]y the late nineteenth century reading had become a private rather than public activity" (Sicherman 1989, 206).[57] While, on the one hand, the sole act of reading became more private, performative practices based on literary texts, on the other hand, became more popular. So the focus of analysis should not be fixed to the texts that were read but on literature-based performances. In connection with the functions of reading, Barbara Sicherman explains that "[i]n the context of late-Victorian[58] American life . . . the impact of reading was more likely to be liberating than confining" (1989, 217). However, I would rather argue that such an assumption is only true for the private, while reading in public actually had a confining function. Public 'consumption' of literature supported unifying processes. The question of how literary texts were consumed and interpreted leads the researcher to a more extensive answer and allows a view of the actual literary culture of a people. In this respect, I still agree with Sicherman, who, focusing on reading habits, draws a similar conclusion stating "studying reading as behavior rather than as textual analysis, historians can peel back later layers of interpretation and come nearer to the

[57] "Reading" in this context is meant as actual reading and not the interpretation or discussion of literary pieces.
[58] "Late-Victorian" refers to the closing nineteenth century, the last decades of Queen Victoria's reign, which lasted from 1837 to 1901.

contemporary meaning of a work" (1989, 216).[59] But I suggest to go beyond Sicherman's reconceptualization of reading as a passive activity and use the versions of literature as performed in Authors' Carnivals as one focus of research. The analysis of a performance rather than a text enables the researcher to get a different insight into cultural developments at a certain point in the cultural history of a nation. However, the comparative perspective is still necessary and cannot and should not be traded for a performance analysis.

Performative practices are mediators of interaction between literature and culture. An assumption which may also be drawn with performative practices like Authors Carnivals, which are one medium through which we get a better understanding of how culture and literature are connected.[60] By analyzing how literature is performed and perceived in a certain context, one gets a view on how literature becomes lived and living culture.

A literary text changes when it is performed rather than read in solitude as it gains a new dimension through performance. This change happens in a twofold way. First, the interpretation of a text through a performer may change the 'original' meaning of a text. Second, the viewer's perception of a text may change through performance. Michele Moylan continues this train of thought and states that a text only gains meaning, when it is performed, as "it takes that meaning on the road and tries to sell it to others as well. It reenters, in other words, the world of culture as an agent of change" (Moylan 1996, 224). However, such meaning taken from a literary text is not automatically the idea the author of the text had in mind. The performance is the interpretation of a reader, who may, knowingly or unknowingly, have altered the original meaning of the text being influenced by personal connotations. In the context of the carnivals the interpretations were

[59] I would rather add that this is not exclusively true for historians but also for literary and cultural studies' researchers.

60 Talking about Authors' Carnivals, such help of understanding is limited to a US context.

knowingly presented in a certain way because the organizers wanted to achieve preassigned goals. As Moylan sums up for all performances of literature: "Literary performance, then, seeks to persuade others to read as the original interpreter has read, and thus it not only represents the cultural values of the original reader but also promotes an 'ideal' reader for the text" (1996, 225). In this way, literature was not only a communicative medium to create an interaction between an author and a reader, but was also an educative tool used by nineteenth-century American women for the 'improvement' of society.

Authors had a valued reputation among the organizers of the carnivals. As it is stated in Boston's *Carnival Transcript*, "[t]he chief glory of a people arises from its authors" (No. 1, January 22, 1879: 1). This quote illustrates the fact that authors played a major role not only in the self-understanding of the organizers of Authors' Carnivals but also in the minds of the American people. The fondness with which authors, no matter whether American or European, were treated and represented within the carnivals reveals how Americans regarded literary figures and their creators as role models or idols. Reading a book by a 'capable' author was considered useful education and helped improving one's character.

In the aftermath of the Civil War there was a strongly-felt need for a uniting national culture during Reconstruction (McAfee 1998, 5).[61] Education was one major aspect of the process of nation building. Without education the creation of culture would hardly have been achieved and without culture a nation can hardly exist (McAfee 1998, 18). So, the goal was to educate future generations. The interest in education increased as "social, economic, and governmental changes" took place (Nash 2005, 2). The youth needed stabilization, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the youth meant

[61] Although most Authors' Carnivals took place in the post-Reconstruction era, they still represent the struggle for a unified US culture. Furthermore, they are descendants of Sanitary Fairs, described in Beverly Gordon's *Bazaars and Fair Ladies*.

stabilization for the nation. Education, in the sense used before, does not only mean the increase of knowledge but also the improvement of one's personality. The idea was that "[t]he American public school would *morally* uplift the nation" (original emphasis; McAfee 1998, 3). Being 'virtuous' and 'morally superior,' women were 'destined' to be educators. Teaching should thus be a female profession (Nash 2005, 3). The fact that women assumed the 'hands-on' tasks in the organization and execution of the Authors' Carnivals corresponds to the development of teaching as a female profession. Those events gave women the opportunity to educate their community members on a local and cultural level. As a performative type of literary education executed by women, the carnivals supported the creation of an American culture and an American people.

Using *tableaux vivants* the female educators at the carnivals found an effective method to teach literature and morality. In a time span of thirty seconds, "the *tableau* depicts a single instant yet implies a complete narrative" (original emphasis; Chapman 1996, 26). A *tableau vivant* or "living picture" combines the real or physical body of a person with the ideal or imagined literary model. The virtuous ideal within the picture could be recognized by the attending audiences (Chapman 1996, 24+27). By watching *tableaux vivants*, the visitors of the carnival saw the ideal literary model and were thus able to apply this model to their own lives. At this point the ambiguity of theatricals and of *tableaux vivants* becomes clear because, as it was discussed in chapter 2.5, those types of performances and enactments were often criticized to be immoral.

3.2 Authors' Carnivals as Cultural Texts, Canon, and Anthologies

Applying literary models to one's own world is part of and possible with traditions (Assmann 1995: 243). Those traditions set the frame for reception and collection of literary texts. The literary texts presented at the Authors' Carnivals were especially 'alive' as they were based on "living pictures" and, as Aleida Assmann describes it, "cultural

texts" are supposed to be an all-pervasive tradition, which should appear to be living (1995: 237). The literary pieces which were part of the carnivals are, according to Assmann's definition, "cultural texts." Literature within the Authors' Carnivals was not simply presented for reasons of entertainment, but to be included into and to be part of everyday life. Like Assmann's "cultural texts," the represented pieces within Authors' Carnivals were meant for identification and not for mere consumption (Assmann 1995, 242). With the performances of *tableaux vivants*, drama, and music Authors' Carnivals were the mediating sphere helping literary texts to become "cultural texts."

Beside the performative aspect, the glorification of authors and their literary characters also supported the transition of the presented pieces into "cultural texts." The glorification had the dimension of a religious belief. Like religious texts, "cultural texts" have a guiding function (Assmann 1995: 238). Literature was a source containing 'rules' for correct and virtuous behavior and the authors of such literature were 'higher beings' who were, just like divinities, wiser than ordinary people. The glorification and devotion of those 'divinities,' which were already mentioned in the context of the carnivals as rituals in the introduction, should finally 'transform' the visitors and participants into more virtuous human beings. This corresponds to a quasi-religious experience, as, for example, in an awakening or a conversion experience. Authors' Carnivals' space was similar to the pulpit. The relevant context was, however, not only that of mainstream Protestantism, but of cultural education. As ritual, religion encompassed also other, for example, "heathen" forms.[62] A transformation could start within and extend to the outer appearance, as it is described in Socrates's prayer: "O beloved Pan, and all ye Gods of this place, grant me to become beautiful in the inner man and that whatever outward things that may I have, may be at peace with those within" (*The Carnival Times* No. 4,

[62] This aspect was mentioned in the *Carnival Times* in Buffalo, when the "heathen" aspects of "Why Carnival?" were listed and commented upon.

October 22, 1874: 2). The prayer does not only underline the metaphor of literary characters as ancient divinities but also the demand to learn from those characters how to become a good person 'on the inner side.' The aim was to improve the visitors' characters and to teach them a virtuous way of life. During an Authors' Carnival the "spirits" of authors and literary characters were "all-pervasive" (*The Carnival Times* No. 3+4, October 22+23, 1874: 3). By visiting such a carnival visitors had the chance to interact with "authors" (represented by lay actors in costumes) and their pieces as well as to learn from literature. Such an 'interaction' then helped individuals to identify themselves with certain "cultural texts" and with a certain group.

It is a collection of "cultural texts" which leads to the development of a nation's literary canon. With regard to culture the canon functions as an important heuristic tool for the definition of intercultural communication. The 'national canon' defines what is familiar, and thus part of one's own culture, and what is foreign, and therefore part of another culture. The national canon is the framework which helps to categorize or to distinguish, for example, between the known and the unknown (Poltermann 1995, 4-5). Further, a canon does not only support the categorization of familiar and foreign cultures but also establishes or maintains the identity building process of a nation.

Such conclusions about the importance of a national literary canon can also be drawn for the US in the closing nineteenth century. Entertaining events like the Authors' Carnivals were based upon "cultural texts" which should further be regarded as the national American canon of the closing nineteenth century. This canon was meant to be the frame for the American nation to distinguish itself from other cultures and to define an American identity.

Aside from creating a ground for distinction from other nations, a canon has a stabilizing function for a nation. One explanation for the stabilizing function is the ideological nature of the canon. Similar ideologies lead to a similar literary canon and to

a common national basis or to say it in Charles Altieri's words: "[c]anons are simply ideological banners for social groups" (1984, 43). To participate in or to be part of a nation, one has to be familiar with those "ideological banners" because although there are nations who share one language, there are differences between their ideologies. This means there is a "knowledge required for national literacy. . ." (Hirsch 1987, 17).

There is no absolute 'dependency' of a society on a canon. But a canon is of interest when it comes to the understanding and acceptance of one's own culture and society. Holding "cultural texts," a canon always offers a range of cultural values on the basis of which an individual may decide whether he or she wants to identify with a certain nation or not. However, this does not mean that those values are immediately to be found as an explicit list within a canon. The list is rather implicit and the knowledge of the literary texts leads to the knowledge of the implicated values. Hirsch defines "cultural literacy" as "the network of information that all competent readers possess" (Hirsch 1987, 2). A canon gives individuals the opportunity to gain the "cultural literacy" which is essential for the participation within a society or culture. In order to understand one's own culture and society and to be able to communicate within that society, one is obliged to be culturally literate (Hirsch 1987, 14).

The ideological content of a canon is first of all influenced by institutions and entrepreneurs interested in the distribution of literature (Anz 1998, 7). At this point, the reciprocity of a canon comes to light. While the canon is affected by institutions, the same canon in turn has influence on what is canonized. In the context of the Authors' Carnivals this dichotomy matches the genre.[63] There is a connection between what is chosen for performance and what the visitors expect to be performed. Further, interpretations of literary pieces are determined by the context they are presented in (Eibl 1998, 69). Such

[63] On the one hand, social institutions decided on the presented literary pieces and their ideological value. On the other hand, the ideological representations influenced, or at least should have influenced, the ideology or identity of the visitors, which then had yet again the chance to change the canon.

interpretations, at least to some extent, have an impact on the viewers or receivers and their everyday life. Canonized literary texts are, according to Karl Eibl, like a "thesaurus" for the society who determined the canon (1998, 61). In this sense, a nation's canon is not only important for identity and ideology matters but also for a people's communication and understanding of the world.

Further, the medium which is used for the presentation of literature supports the formation of a certain canon. The content and the focus of an interpretation are determined by the medium that is used for presentation (Poltermann 1995, 7). Regarding Authors' Carnivals as an audiovisual medium, with a special emphasis on the visual aspect, the carnivals promoted the canonization of those texts which were entertaining, well known, and relatively easy to be transformed into a performance. Examples of performed pieces are given in chapter 1. As a medium they were enrichment for the interpretation of literary texts. Along the lines of Marshall McLuhan's "The Medium is the Message," the medium has influence on the perception of a content and the perceiving person is not even aware of this influence (1968, 24f.). Authors' Carnivals as a medium influenced the viewer's perception of certain literary contents. The medium for literary reception has yet another meaning for cultural development besides supporting canonization and determining interpretations. The medium gives researchers more information on the culture of a nation. As Poltermann puts it:

> Kulturen, die ein bestimmtes Medium anderen vorziehen, können sich in diesem Medium – durch die Art, wie es tradiert, und durch das, was es tradiert – repräsentieren. Auf diese Weise fungieren Medien als symbolische Formen, durch die Kulturen sich voneinander unterscheiden, miteinander Beziehungen eingehen und kulturelle Wissensbestände übersetzen können. (1995, 8)

In this way literary canon of a nation is the product of medial reproduction and reception (Poltermann 1995, 39).

There are periods in the history of a nation when the formation of a canon is supported or facilitated. "Certain historical moments, those of consolidation, such as after

a war, say, when a nation is given to patriotism and appeals to shared traditions, seem especially propitious to canon-formation" (Hallberg 1984, 3). The period after the Civil War definitely was a "historical moment" when the wish for reconciliation, unity and a canon was high, especially in the Northern states. Authors' Carnivals are not canons in the sense of written texts, which were meant to be read. But if we widen the definition of the canon and allow the inclusion of performance as a common means of expression, we see that while US people struggled to build an American nation, they also created something close to an "American canon".

By choosing the pieces for representation, the organizers of the carnivals defined what their canon contained and as many of the events displayed similar pieces, a nationwide canon was elaborated. The literary texts collected for the entertainment were considered to be important for several reasons. One reason was the positive influence those pieces were supposed to have on the visitors and participants. Another reason was the fact that the represented literary works were regarded as being worth memorizing because of their moral and aesthetical value. This leads to the assumption that the values detected within the interpreted literary pieces supported the canonization of the texts and of their authors, following the definition by Frank Kelleter: "Kanonisieren heißt, Vergangenes zu sammeln und aufzuheben, um es vor dem Vergessen zu bewahren, und zwar nicht nur für den individuellen Gebrauch, sondern für Erinnerungsakte, die sich als verbindlich ausgeben, also kollektive Geltung einfordern" (2010, 55). With performative entertainments like Authors' Carnivals American society influenced and established a canon and 'cultural heritage', a canon based on literary texts many people were acquainted with. Conducting Authors' Carnivals, the organizers proved what Kelleter calls an especially American asset, namely using a popular medium to stabilize a society which is characterized by multi-ethnicity and multilingualism (2010, 62).

The following poem by Frank Soule, which was written for an Authors' Carnival, gives an impression of how Authors' Carnivals were supposed to help to establish a collection of literary pieces every American should be acquainted with:

"The Authors' Carnival"
by Hon. Frank Soule

Come to the Carnival, come!
Where beautiful figures and faces
Shall charm every soul, like the spell
That fell from the Nymphs and the Graces.

Come where the authors of old
Will greet you again in their story,
While every bright dream of their brain
Shall here reappear in full glory.

For here, as from out the dead dust,
Old authors in cerement lying,
Will bid you a welcome that says,
For beautiful thoughts their's [sic.] no dying.

You'll stand in the presence of him
Who stand all alone in his glory,
Unequalled in figures of speech,
Unrivalled in marvelous story.

The "Wizard," the pride of the North,
Will show you old Scotia's invaders,
While Saladin meets on the plain
Bold Richard, the Prince of Crusaders.

Here Bulwer shall chant you a song
of fancy and ideal History,
Or draw down his heroes a veil
Half hiding their wonderful mystery.

Here Dickens' most prolific brain,
With pen ready, potent and facile,
Will draw you a picture of life
From garret to cottage or castle.

And here, like the vision that rose
And waked cruel "Dick" from his dreaming,
The creatures of fancy shall pass,
And challenge your faith by their seeming.

Here what was but fancy or fun,
Shall take on the forms of the real,
And Beauty and Manhood present
Their sense of the author's ideal.

For authors, or living or dead,
Will find here a new resurrection,
And fanciful whims of the brain
Shall flourish in human perfection.

Here's Venus, from foam of the sea;
And springing from Jupiter's brain
Minerva shall come fully armed
As Vulcan's axe rends it in twain.

And mortals, as well as the gods
Shall find representatives here,
And creatures born only in thought,
As humans shall live and appear.

The Grecian, with tunic and shield,
The Roman, with toga and sword;
The Gaul, with wild gallanting full;
The Briton, with pockets well stored.

And here, too, the Yankee, as keen
As a brier, and shrewd at finesse,
As simple in speech as a child
Yet knowing what's what! 'well, I guess.'

So, come the Carnival, come!
Here fancy is waiting to meet you;
And Beauty and Intellect wait
As ushers to welcome and great you.

Fling trouble and toil to the air,
Forget every care and employment;
Give sorrow and grief to the winds;
Crown Carnival King of Enjoyment.

(*Carnival Record* Vol. 1, No. 1 (September 20, 1880) 4.

The poem was part of the *Carnival Record*, written for the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco on September 20, 1880. The main statements given in the poem are similar to some elements of the definition of a canon. In the first stanza the represented literary figures are described as heavenly sent supernatural creatures, which have the power to bewitch the carnival's visitors. In the second and third stanzas a "reappearance" of authors and their literary pieces is announced. A clear appeal is to remember and never to forget the 'heroes' of literature. One reason for the remembrance, which is the aesthetic quality of the written pieces, is mentioned in the fourth stanza. The mentioned content so far elicits a red thread that runs through the entire poem. This thread describes a canonization process or, rather, an already existent literary canon that should be upheld. By connecting the authors' ideal with reality, by including literary figures and gods into everyday human life, the canon becomes part of a national identity. Such an inclusion of literary ideals is 'glorified' in stanzas five to seven. In the last stanza the reader gets an impression of how an ideal canonization process should end, namely, with an extensive knowledge of 'valuable' literature, no matter whether you are a representative of an upper class or "simple in speech as a child." Whether the canonization is still a process or reality isn't answered comprehensively and as was explained in the preceding chapters, such a definite answer can never be given because a canon is canon and canonization at the same time.

Although a poem like that by Frank Soule is a textual rather than a performative example, the poem gives descriptions and interpretations of performances during Authors' Carnivals. The first two quoted stanzas create an impression on how, in the beginning of a carnival, participants dressed as famous authors mounted the grand stage and presented their literary characters. The fourth stanza is a description of how visitors and actors mingled and interacted. The transformation of literary character becoming

actual living beings wandering within the hall and becoming part of reality is the theme of stanzas five to seven. The visitors did not simply watch the performances but they were persuaded to thik about what they saw and they tried to figure out who the represented characters and authors were as it is stated in stanza eight. The importance of memorizing the represented literature becomes apparent through the poem.

The presence of literature in everyday and everyone's life was already mentioned. But if some visitors still were not acquainted with the performed pieces, they had the chance to re-read the literary models in many of the carnival newspapers. *The Carnival Transcript*, written and published for the Authors' Carnival in Boston, contained full quotations of the original texts for almost every one of the presented scenes (*The Carnival Transcript*, No. 1-4, January 22-25, 1879).[64] It was important for the organizers to familiarize the visitors with the presented literatures. Through the connection of the literary texts to reality, to everyday life, a complete inclusion of certain pieces and authors into American society was sought. Some of the literary characters (and their authors) accompanied, or at least should accompany, every American. "You will find there one who has helped you through the trials of early life, Mother Goose; Aladdin, who has been your delight after many an irksome grammar lesson; Irving whose tales have brought pleasure to your riper years; Moore, with his delightful melody, and Goethe, whom, perhaps, you do not understand, but *will after this*" (original emphasis; *The Carnival of Authors*, February 23, 1876: 10). Visitors, besides being entertained, should remember joy of reading 'good' literature, even if one did not understand every single one of those pieces. Accordingly, the assumption was that literature would function as a driving force in the creation of culture.

[64] The visitors of the carnival were able to compare the original excerpt taken from the represented piece and the performance on the stage or within the booth.

With Authors' Carnivals a change or improvement in the reading skills of the visitors and participants was hoped for. "A culture and an education will thus be received, perhaps a literary taste which otherwise would never have been acquired" (*SDU*, September 25, 1880). The educational aspect mentioned in the quote is a recurring element in the description of Authors' Carnivals and their effects on society. Teachers were called upon to advertise the entertainments within their classes (*The Carnival Herald*, April 21, 1879: 45). The reason was to support literature lessons with performative and maybe more catchy elements. Underlining such an assumption, it is said in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*: "[t]he motive of the entertainment was to stimulate a desire for reading good literature" (November 12, 1890: 3). A sole stimulation seemed to be not far reaching enough for some organizers; they wanted to achieve a general improvement in the reading habits (*The Carnival Echo*, October 31, 1879: 4).[65] However, the change was not only meant for what should be read but also for how it should be read, to achieve a better understanding of literature. "It is therefore probable that wider acquaintance with many good and wholesome authors has been reached through the Carnival, and that many people have thus been led to acquire knowledge which they perhaps never have gained in any other way" (*SDU*, October 4, 1880). Visiting an Authors' Carnival everyone could renew his or her "acquaintance with favorite authors" (*NAR*, April 22, 1876).

Summing up the reactions to Authors' Carnivals, the 'mission' to deepen an interest in literature in US society was accomplished. Childhood thoughts were stirred and ended up in a re-reading of the presented literary pieces.

> What visions of childhood's fairy love, of school-day reading and study, thoughts and memories of scenes and places visited and long forgotten, were awakened and roused to action in the minds of the throng of pleasure-seekers who gazed upon the motely crowd representing mythological ancient, medieval, and modern personages! (*Authors' Carnival Album* 1880, 11)

[65] This desire for a change of the existing reading habits can be interpreted as an act against the popularity of novels, especially as the favorite type of literature for young women.

The *Chicago Daily Tribune* describes how the visitors re-read Whittier's "Snow-Bound:" "there had been a good deal re-reading since the first evening, and more than one copy of the book has found its way from the booksellers' shelves into the hands of fresh purchasers" (*CDT*, February 2, 1879: 10). Authors' Carnivals "reinforced" the acquaintance with certain literary pieces by both encouraging visitors and participants to re-read and re-watch or re-view the performances.

Although the managers of Authors' Carnivals and especially those of the individual booths, were eager to attract as many visitors as possible, the attention dedicated to the booths was not equally distributed. Depending on the execution, the audience, and the theme of the booths, some were perceived as being more attractive than others. In the following I will give a short list of reactions to certain booths, while I am not claiming to depict the overall perceptions. The intention at this point is to show how the 'author-cult' was realized and what role was assigned to authors in general. Some of the most popular authors were Dickens, Longfellow, and Whittier (*CDT*, April 16, 1879: 4; *CDT*, February 2, 1879: 10). Among the authors not all visitors were acquainted with were Goethe and Schiller. The resurrection depicted in the poem "The Authors' Carnival" was taken seriously as some Authors' Carnivals featured not only literary characters but also the authors themselves, for example, at the carnival in San Francisco where Shakespeare "himself" introduced his characters (*Scrapbook*: 41). The presence of living authors was rare but, nevertheless, possible, either indirectly with Longfellow signing autographs to be sold or Whittier corresponding with the organizers and writing a poem for the Carnival paper, or directly with Louisa May Alcott and Mark Twain, who both participated as lay actors.[66]

[66] *The National Republican*, April 24, 1876; *Boston Daily Advertiser* (February 9, 1881); *The Carnival Transcript* (January 24, 1879, Vol 1 No. 3): 6; *Chicago Daily Tribune* (February 2, 1879): 10; "December 4, 1883," "According to the *Hartford Daily Courant*, December 5, 1883, p. 2 in an article titled 'The Authors' Carnival' -- The second event of the evening was the presentation on the large stage of a scene from Charles Dickens's 'Leo Hunter.' It introduced a number of clever ladies and gentlemen [sic.] who

Comparing Authors' Carnivals to written forms of author-centered 'entertainment,' Authors' Carnivals are similar to anthologies, in particular, if one considers that some managers aimed at including "modern authors with old ones" in future carnivals (*Carnival Echo*, No. 8, October 31, 1879: 4). Authors' Carnivals were a performative type of anthology, following the written type which were already compelled from the 1840s onward (Kete 2011, 30). In addition, the term "anthology" should be attributed by the term "regional" as Authors' Carnivals differed depending on the region they were performed in. So, consisting of various "cultural texts," the overall 'national canon,' which was the basis for Authors' Carnivals, resembled what I call 'performative anthologies' on a local level.

The concept of anthology contains several prescribed restrictions and conditions, which are mainly determined by the editor. "The anthologist as author of the book supplants the author . . . in choosing how [a text] should be presented, with interpretive consequences . . ." (Ferry 2001, 2).[67] Besides the presentation and interpretation, the editor or compiler of an anthology also decides on the length of a cited text and the type of anthology, whether "retrospective" or "prospective." While a "retrospective" anthology comprises pieces and authors already known, a "prospective" anthology gives a list of new contemporary authors and texts (Göske 2005, 10). Reconsidering the concept of Authors' Carnivals, those entertainments are located in-between the two types of anthologies, as they mainly presented known authors, but also claimed to include modern or contemporary artists. Although written anthologies are compiled with pieces from either different or similar genres, they can nevertheless be interpreted as an independent

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not only acted their parts, but lent to it the dialogue. The principals, Miss Hamersley and Mr. Prentice, were roundly applauded, and when Mark Twain came on the stage as a character in the scene, plaudits rang from one end of the enormous hall to the other. This scene alone was enough to compensate one for the expense of the entire evening's entertainment." http://www.twainquotes.com/SpeechIndex.html (24.07.2016)

[67] The term anthology originally was connected with the publication of poetry, however, this restricted idea of anthologies has changed and, more recently, includes the compilation of various genres.

genre (Ferry 2001, 13). In this regard, anthologies and Authors' Carnivals share the appreciation of being a self-contained medium of presenting literature.

Like a canon, an anthology is promoter and creator of value in a literary piece (Göske 2005, 8; Olsson 2000, 29). Discussing US literature and anthologies, Anders Olsson describes "anthologization" as "a process where the definition of 'American Literature' is established and reestablished, maintained and developed" (2000, 11). Anthologies have, thus, the 'power' to define and redefine what is to be considered not only good or bad literature but literature at all. While Olsson emphasizes anthologies' 'power' over literature, Göske focuses on the "great audience" who reads anthologies. He claims that those anthology readers stay in the literary past and neglect the modern (Göske 2005, 201). However, this does not mean that there is no progress within anthologies. As mentioned before, there are two types of anthologies and those belonging to the "prospective" include "modern," or at least lesser known, pieces. Due to the concept of anthologies, i.e. written compilations of literature, a certain inaction is evident. "The anthologization therefore includes both continuity and change, and there is a continuous tension between the two" (Olsson 2000, 12). Accordingly, anthologies are comparable to culture as a whole. "An anthology, after all, is like a culture itself, a work always in progress" (Lauter 2004, 29). On the one hand, anthologies have similar structures and functions no matter whether they are prospective or retrospective. On the other hand, the contents of anthologies change with their compilers and with their audiences. Even though, anthologies are products of anthologists and editors, society's influence on the final product cannot be dismissed. In the end, anthologies are like all popular products "derive[d] from general public attitudes . . ." (Bradford 1986, 54).

Changing the point of view and regarding anthologies as paradigms for culture, what is called 'society's influence' should rather be called 'reciprocity' between society and anthologies. Anthologies are "both a physical embodiment and a figurative

representation" of a canon (Ferry 2001, 6). Due to the fact that anthologies represent parts of a canon, they are a useful tool for the analysis of a canon (Göske 2005, 433). Furthermore, anthologies tell the reader about the "literary tradition" and, thus, about the "cultural texts" of a nation (Olsson 2000, 11+31). With the analysis of anthologies assumptions on everyday life are possible and even sensible. As we already know from the descriptions of the canon and "cultural texts," literature and literary characters, especially, were all-pervasive in many people's lives. Anthologies tell us something about the role of literature within a certain society or a certain timeframe. "Anthologische Sammelwerke können . . . in besonderer Weise dazu dienen, die literar- und kulturhistorischen Gemengelagen bestimmter Zeiträume zu erforschen" (Göske 2005, 435). But the researcher is not the only one benefiting from anthologies. As Olsson explains, "anthologies provide cultural literacy, and the readers consume them for acculturation" (Olsson 2000, 15-16). So, an anthology helps people, directly or indirectly, to identify themselves as individual or to be part of a group. Cultural literacy is achieved effectively when texts are 'recontextualized' and repeated. Anthologies support the "immortal[ity]" and "universal[ity]" of literary texts (Olsson 2000, 15). To explain this relation in Addison Hibbard's words: "The good anthology is more than terminal reading. It tempts the reader to new and wider fields" (Hibbard 1942, 649).

In the closing nineteenth century, anthologies played a special role in the American society. After the Civil War, the American nation was deeply divided and heterogeneous, but a longing for national identity was ardent. Anthologies were one of the elements supporting the creation of such an American nation (Göske 2005, 437). The compellers of anthologies realized the need for a united nation, especially on a cultural level. They wanted to present the US as a "Kulturnation" (Göske 2005, 4). In the era following the Civil War, Americans did need a unifying culture, a consistent identity. The determination of this identity was also facilitated by anthologists (Göske 2005, 10). All

in all, anthologies were one essential aspect in the formation of a united American nation in the nineteenth century.

What could not be achieved was a cultural independence of the US in the nineteenth century. Although the ambitions for an American "cultural nation" were strong, the US still were dependent on their transatlantic roots. Recent anthologies, however, draw a more differentiating picture and seemingly claim an independent American culture that already existed in the nineteenth century. Daniel Göske explains this 'false' image as follows:

> In den meisten Gesamtdarstellungen der letzten Jahrzehnte geht also mit der Privilegierung weniger 'zentraler' Autoren, die in der Retrospektive zu überlebensgroßen Giganten 'der' amerikanischen Tradition emporwachsen, eine nicht sachgemäße Beschränkung auf die heimische Szene einher. Dadurch entsteht der Eindruck einer literarischen Selbstgenügsamkeit, der die utopischen Vorstellungen von der kulturellen Autonomie Amerikas aus der Zeit der jungen Republik wachruft und die transatlantische Prägung der amerikanischen Literatur auszuklammern droht. (Göske 2005, 16)

The disregard of US cultural roots endangers a realistic and factual analysis of America's culture and history. Anthologies written in the late nineteenth century still emphasize the connection between the US and its transatlantic or European ancestors (Göske 2005, 195). One reason for the American 'lack' of cultural independence was the multiethnic social structure of the nation (Göske 2005, 17).

Although Ralph Waldo Emerson called for an American literature in his essay "The American Scholar" in 1837,[68] forty years later such a literary tradition in his opinion was not yet achieved in classical literary genres and popular culture. In his anthology *Parnassus*, Emerson underlines this lack by telling his readers that "[t]he selections of American writers [within the anthology] are necessarily confined to the . . . [nineteenth] century . . ." (Emerson 1874, x). So, by 1874, an American literature was hardly existent in Emerson's opinion and he had to compile a list which was dominated by non-American

[68] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar," *Nature; Addresses, and Lectures*, Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1849: 83.

writers. With *Parnassus* Emerson confirms a transatlantic literary tradition (Göske 2005, 199). Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who was considered to be the most important American writer by his contemporaries, came closer to Emerson's call and published an anthology called *Poems of America* in 1882. However, Longfellow's aim was not to create a compilation representing the most important American writers, but the presentation of New England's history and country.[69] *Poems of America* is an example of the nation-building process within written media. As the reception of written anthologies was the subject of several research projects, my aim is to widen the definition of anthologies. A more inclusive definition of anthology contains a wider range of media that can be regarded as being anthological. In this sense Authors' Carnivals are 'performative anthologies,' to use the aforementioned term, as they share many facets with anthologies.

Due to their popularity Authors' Carnivals are a useful source to analyze which authors and pieces were actually read. The list of represented authors was similar across the decades and there were few regional variations throughout the country: the most popular and most often represented author was Charles Dickens, the pieces of William Shakespeare were presented at many carnivals, the most important American authors were Longfellow and Whittier. The organizers of the carnivals did not distinguish between American and foreign authors for their events, they chose the most familiar writers. So, the focus was not the presentation of national literature, but of national culture. The chosen pieces represented the American people, their values and ideals. In this context, the origin of the piece was no of no importance, as long as its content was significant for the audience.

[69] The index and structure of the anthology are a display of the chronological development of New England.

Yet, the meaning of some authors and pieces was 'restricted' to certain regions and decades. One example for such a regional restriction was the presentation of works by Bret Harte. Although some of Harte's pieces were already part of the first Authors' Carnival in Buffalo in 1874, Harte's "peculiarly Californian" pieces and figures were only represented in Californian carnivals later on (*Authors' Carnival Album* 1880, 18). Another example, focusing on the epochal restriction, was the presentation of the "Arabian Nights." They were often interpreted in the 1870s but were abandoned in later carnivals.

3.3 Adaptations and Representations of Popular Authors

Whether an author was included or not in the performances of an Authors' Carnival depended on the author's popularity. The organizers of the carnivals were well acquainted with the aesthetic taste of their communities, as it was mentioned before. The focus was to include and represent "popular authors" (*DEB*, August 27, 1879). The adjective "popular" is complex and implies several meanings. In his book *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* Raymond Williams gives a list of the different meanings for the word after stating that "[p]opular was being seen from the point of view of the people rather than from those seeking favor or power from them[,]" which was a shift of perspective undergone in the eighteenth century (1983, 237). The first meaning is based on the assumption that what is "popular" is liked by a large number of people (Williams 1983, 237). The performances during an Authors' Carnival were based on the "works of well known [sic.] authors" (*CA*, March 2, 1876: 65). The second sense of "popular" includes works which are regarded as being "inferior" (Williams 1983, 237). Although the pieces by authors represented in the context of Authors' Carnivals were not "inferior," the types of performance, namely theatricals, were considered "low" culture in the nineteenth century (Bentley 2009, 25). Williams's third listed meaning of "popular"

includes works which aimed at the taste of the people and which gained interest by many members of a community (Williams 1983, 237). The aim of the organizers and managers of Authors' Carnivals was clearly to attract and entertain a large audience. "The fair will be attractive in all details, and those of our people who wish to enjoy a pleasant time should improve the opportunity of attending" (*LDC*, November 12, 1877: 2). Finally, Williams states that "popular culture" is created by members of a society for the same society (1983, 237). Again Authors' Carnivals do fit into this definition. The carnivals were organized by people, mainly women, who wanted to attract their community members. "[T]he ladies, ever alert for something new, have drifted into another channel in their efforts to entertain the people" (*DCB*, May 19, 1881). Furthermore, Authors' Carnivals were designed for all classes, ages, and gender. Thus, Authors' Carnivals were part of nineteenth-century popular culture.

Authors' Carnivals were a typically American type of entertainment; however, the majority of the represented authors were non-American. The reason here was the fact that the organizers and managers of the carnivals did not base their decision on the inclusion or exclusion on the authors' nationality, but on their popularity. Shakespeare was a prominent example for a popular author "in nineteenth-century America" (Levine 1988, 4). Focusing on quantity, Shakespeare was the most popular author. His pieces were enacted at more than twenty-five carnivals in total. What made Shakespeare so popular in the US in the closing nineteenth century? Levine gives an answer to this question: "Nineteenth-century Americans were able to fit Shakespeare into their culture so easily because he *seemed* to fit – because so many values and rates were, or at least appeared to be, close to their own, and were presented through figures that seemed real and came to matter to the audience" (original emphasis; 1988, 36). So, Shakespeare was included because people were acquainted with his pieces and they were regarded as 'wholesome literature.' Another reason for the popularity of non-American authors was the fact that

copyright laws for foreign literature were not yet existent and it was, thus, cheaper for American publishers to publish non-American authors (Hughes 2011, 12).

Looking at American authors represented at the carnivals, reveals that nationality did play a role at times. While non-American authors were praised for their moral value, American authors were often praised for their "Americanness" and their depiction of 'American types.' A statement was given that an "American Carnival of Authors" should always include a "Longfellow booth" (*SDU*, October 14, 1882). Another example for 'Americanness' was Whittier's "snow-bound cottage" under the motto of "American Homes, the Safeguard of American Liberties" (*DP*, June 29, 1894: 3). Further, poetry was popular in late nineteenth century. People read poems out loud. Those poems were the basis for literary performance within families and communities (Rubin 2007, 4; Hughes 2011, 129). Such ambiguous selection criteria support the above mentioned thesis that popularity was the driving force in the decision-making process.

The popularity of texts gives insights on the values and the taste of a society within an era. The adaptation of such a popular text then goes one step further and does not only give insights on the value of a text but also on the reception of the text. Through adaptation literary texts reenter the cultural stage in a new vesture. In such a way "adaptations prove complicit in activating and in some cases reactivating the profile and popularity of certain texts, participating in canon formation in some respect" as it was already discussed earlier in the chapter (Sanders 2006, 29). Deborah Cartmell even extents her description of adaptation and claims that, especially in the context of literature, adaptations have democratizing effects. "[I]t brings literature to the masses but it also brings the masses to literature, diluting, simplifying, and therefore appealing to the many rather than the few" (Cartmell 2014, 3). With this statement it becomes clearer what Sanders meant when she explained that adaptations always include "editorial practice" (2006, 22). The editors of the adaptations in the context of Authors' Carnivals were the booth managers. Analog to

Desmond's description of the adaptation of classic literature into film, the managers of the Carnival chose classic literary texts to attract the middle class, even if they were claiming to address all classes; and choosing theatrical performance aimed at attracting a wide audience (Desmond 2006, 15). Like film in Desmond's analysis, Authors' Carnivals were a "pedagogical medium" to introduce classics to the masses (Desmond 2006, 15).

Some literary texts are more likely to be adapted than others (Hutcheon 2013, 15). The reasons for this imbalance are numerous. Within the context of Authors' Carnivals one reason was the quality of a text as "word picture"[70] because it was easier to transfer those images into *tableaux vivants*. The Carnivals represented a "list of poets and authors who have presented sufficiently brilliant pictures in their writings to favor illustration" in a *tableau vivant* (*CDT*, January 26, 1879). Another reason for the inclusion or the exclusion of a literary piece was its financial success (Hutcheon 2013, 29). A literary text which already proved to be financially successful was more likely to be adapted within a popular entertainment like an Authors' Carnival. In addition to the already listed reasons, adaptations always include memory and a certain desire of the audience and the editor, who wants either "to pay tribute" to the literary work and its author or to erase or alter the existent memory of the piece (Hutcheon 2013, 7). The major aim of the organizers of the Authors' Carnivals was explicitly the tribute to "great minds" who created the represented pieces. But at the same time, the enacted *tableaux vivants* stood for the "correct" reading and interpretation of the literary source-text.

Adaptations are necessarily interpretations and thus always different from the original. They can never be exact "transpositions" because then adaptation and source would be the same thing (Albrecht-Crane and Cutchins 2013, 16-17). An adaptation can be a "transformation" as it transfers a text from one medium into another, for example

[70] "Word pictures" are detailed descriptions of a literary scene (Peterfy 2015, 98). They were already mentioned in chapter 1.2.

from book to film (Desmond 2006, 1-2). The performances enacted during Authors' Carnivals were such "transformations" turning literary texts into *tableaux vivants*. Linda Hutcheon defines adaptation not only as interpretations but also as creations (2013, 20). Such a definition allows us to analyze adaptations as more or less self-contained pieces. But what makes those pieces especially interesting for the audience, according to Hutcheon, is the fact that they are repetitions with hidden surprises (2013, 4).

Adaptations can be many things, which means they do not only present a wide range of 'products' to the consumers but they also include a variety of theories for researchers. Analyzing these texts the researcher has to decide on which theoretical grounds he or she wants to approach the pieces, choosing from intertextuality, intermediality, or cultural studies (Emig 2012, 15-20). To make a decision in this context means to consider how the term *adaptation* should be defined and which aspects of the adaptation should be analyzed.

According to Julie Sanders there are three categories of adaptation which are transition, commentary, and analogue. An adaptation of the first category transfers a text from one genre into another with the aim to reach new audiences (Sanders 2006, 25). In the context of Authors' Carnivals nearly all adaptations are transitions from written texts into performances. Adaptations of the second category give comments on the original text and its political and social contexts (Sanders 2006, 27). This second category played a minor role in the context of Authors' Carnivals, if any at all. Newspapers mentioned controversies and criticism but only based on the role of women as participants and organizers of the Carnivals which was already part of my analysis in chapters 1.6 and 2.5. The recognition or discussion of certain pieces as politically relevant whether in the era of the first publication of the literary source text or in the era of the Authors' Carnivals was not explicitly mentioned. Third category adaptations are also based on a source text but, in contrast to the other categories, they have the quality of "stand-alone works" and

are independent from the text (Sanders 2006, 29). This third category is irrelevant for Authors' Carnivals which aimed at being as close to the literary sources as possible.

John Desmond categorizes adaptations differently although also distinguishing three categories. Desmond calls his first category "close" (2006, 44). "Close" adaptations keep most narrative elements and only a few elements are dropped or added. "Loose" adaptations are subsumed in category two. Those adaptations keep only a few narrative elements and consider the "text as point of departure" (Desmond 2006, 44). Desmond's last category are "intermediate" adaptations consisting of a "fluid middle" where some narrative elements are kept while others are dropped (Desmond 2006, 44). Again, the performances during Authors' Carnivals are adaptations of the first category, at least according to the proclaimed aim of the organizers.

Both Sanders's and Desmond's definitions and categorizations of adaptation neglect the complexity of adaptation which lead me to Linda Hutcheon's definition of the term. Linda Hutcheon opens up the field of adaptation in a way that makes it nearly impossible to define "adaptation" at all. By treating adaptations as both product and process Hutcheon allows the inclusion of a wide range of theory (2013, 9). Such a vague definition gives the researcher a lot of space for interpretation and at the same time lurks him into endless analysis. So, based on Hutcheon's loose definition, I consider the adaptations in the context of Authors' Carnivals as 'close transitions'.

The organizers and managers of Authors' Carnivals relentlessly emphasized their eagerness to give exact and authentic representations of literary pieces. In the following I will give examples and examine in how far the organizers were successful in their envisioned goal. At this point, I would like to include the distinction between American and non-American authors as it was also often part of the reactions and discussions in the context of the carnivals. For my analysis I chose the enactments of Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* and Whittier's *Snowbound* as they were given in Boston and in Chicago

in 1879. Although the performances took place in different cities, they show many parallels a fact which supports my assumption that Authors' Carnivals were quite similar in their execution. I would then like to focus on the following questions: Were the performances 'close transitions' and if so, what effect did those adaptations have on the audience? My aim here is to show what popular entertainment looked like in the late nineteenth century and to give an explanation of its special character.

To present an impression of the detailed descriptions given of the representations at the carnivals, I quote the articles I focused on in length, beginning with Whittier's *Snowbound*.

> Yet nothing was more exquisite and real [than Whittier's Snow-Bound booth]. There was a perfect little New England cottage, a story and a half high, with the roof piled with snow, and icicles hanging from the eaves. From the interior we see an old-fashioned family room with a wide fireplace, in which great iron andirons support immense logs of wood. Over these swings a kettle from the crane, and apples are sputtering and hissing as they roast before the fire, while big jugs of cider stand by on the table. Old-fashioned braided mats are on the floor, and in the quaint, stiff chairs the family and their guests, as described by the poet, are clustered about. Here are the Quaker brothers and sisters, with the elder members, some knitting, others spinning, one making fishing-rods, and the brilliant
>
> Not unfeared, half-welcome guest,
> Rebuking with her cultured phrase
> Our homeliness of words and ways,
> Set bending forward, touched by the fire light,
> A woman tropical, intense
> In thought and act, in soul and sense,
> With
> The warm, dark, languish of her eyes
> And
> Her tapering hand and rounded wrist,
> With facile power to form a fist.
>
> Most people were sufficiently familiar with "Snow-Bound" to follow the personages with a good deal of accuracy, … (*CDT*, 2 February 1879, p. 10)

The description of Whittier's *Snowbound* representation in Chicago shows only slight variations.

> Noticeable among the booths for its accuracy of representation and its careful presenting was that portraying Whittier's "Snow-Bound." The cottage farmhouse, its eaves, roof, and porch covered with snow, well imitated with cotton-batting, the sitting-room with its rug-carpets, cushioned settees, ancient clock, and mirror, chairs 200 years old, the "hearth-fires' ruddy glow," "the apples sputtering in a row," the cider, the butternuts, the spinning-wheel, the general appearance of the

> booth. The characters too were well taken and well dressed. They were the father and mother, the aunt and uncle, the brothers and sisters, Whittier as a boy, the schoolmaster, and all engaged in the work and pastimes ascribed them by the poet." (*CDT*, 16 April, 1879, p. 4)

Both descriptions show a similar chronology beginning with the focus on the outer appearance of the booths, moving to the interior, and ending up with the list of the enacted characters. Simplicity is the main feature of the booths however the decorations are close to the given picture in the poem. The booth in Boston as well as the booth in Chicago were covered with "snow" consisting of cotton. But while it is described as a "cottage farm house" in Chicago, the booth in Boston shows a "New England cottage". It is not mentioned, what is special about the "New England cottage" compared to the "cottage farm house" but, considering the fact that Boston is located in New England, the attribute was regarded worth to be mentioned.

Comparing the statements concerning the interior the booths, more details are given for Boston's *Snowbound* booth. The fire, the apples, the cider, and the carpets mentioned by Whittier are listed in both Boston's and Chicago's descriptions. However, the age of the chairs, namely 200 years old, in Chicago's *Snowbound* booth is striking. The intention of the booth managers was certainly to underline the simplicity and old fashioned style of the represented house but the scene as it was depicted by Whittier took place in the earlier nineteenth century and not in the late seventeenth century.

After describing of the outer and inner appearance of the booth, both articles give lists of the enacted personages and the activities those characters were engaged with. It is only in the description of Boston's Whittier booth that the "not unfeared, half-welcome guest" is explicitly mentioned, which leads to the conclusion that this guest was either not represented in Chicago or rather that this guest did not make a striking appearance in Chicago's booth.

Excerpts and citations from the source text are given in both texts. In Boston's case the excerpt is used for the introduction of the guest visiting Whittier's family. In

Chicago's description the direct quotations are woven into the text. With those quotations the journalists describing the scenes heighten the assumed accuracy and authenticity of the representations and at the same time support the memorizing and remembering of the literary source.

The Majority of the visitors of the Authors' Carnivals in Boston and Chicago were familiar with Whittier's *Snowbound* and many of them knew the poem or at least parts of it by heart. The audience, thus, expected a detailed and close adaptation of Whittier's piece. The organizers were aware of those expectations and evoked memorizing and remembering by giving the spectators the longed for adaptations. So, what happened to the journalists describing the booths probably also happened to the visitors, namely, the remembering and, at least, inner recitation of the text in all its details.

The descriptions of Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop* show more variations in the adaptation of the source text. The booths are both described in general terms and there was one special performance which was striking within both representations of the literary model. Again, I will give the quotes at length, using the quotations as starting-points for my analysis.

The only information concerning the Dickens booth in Boston, is that "nearly every scene or incident in the Dickens tent admitted of an improvised and impromptu dialogue, following quite closely the words of the text" (*BDG*, January 23, 1879, p.2). The focus of the descriptions of the booth thus lay on the enactment of the characters rather than on the elaboration of the scenery. Which was different in Chicago where

> Dickens' "Old Curiosity Shop" attracted more visitors and observers than any booth in the carnival. The booth was in itself an old curiosity shop in truth. The furniture antedated the present century, and were as profuse […] ancient. The most marked fidelity to detail was everywhere visible. Among the curiosities was a counterpane under which Miles Standish rested his honored bones. (Dickens' connection with this circumstance is left unexplained.) There were chairs more than 250 years old, and other oddities too numerous to mention. The characters represented at the booth were not by any means all contained in the "Old Curiosity

> Shop." Nearly all of Dickens' works were impersonated. (*CDT*, April 16, 1879, p. 4)

The description of the booth contains details, which were important for the organizers as well as the visitors, as the mentioning of Miles Standish's counterpane shows. The booth was filled with "oddities" of all kinds not only in the sense of actual objects but also in the sense of personages who were not part of the literary source text.

In contrast to the Whittier adaptation, in Dickens' case the interior of the booth was not important for the audience. The focus of the Dickens' booth lay on the enactment of the characters. The performances were based on a novel where descriptions of characters are given in more detail than the background surrounding the fictitious person. The most interesting character taken from *The Old Curiosity Shop* in both Authors' Carnivals was Mrs. Jarley although the reason for the attraction differed. The focus in the description of Mrs. Jarley impersonated by Louisa May Alcott in Boston lay on the outer appearance and Mrs. Jarley's costume.

> Louisa May Alcott as Mrs. Jarley was a fine success. Miss Alcott is tall, and naturally determined-looking, - a sort of go-ahead expression on her face and in her carriage, - and her dress of smart green woolen stuff, with its narrow ruffle. Pink stockings, showing above laced slippers, the wide white collar, red shawl, and enormous bonnet of green silk lined with pink, with a feather standing on the defensive, was something to be seen and not described. The costume was copied as exactly as possible from the Cruikshank illustrations." (*CDT*, February 2, 1879, p. 10)

Also, the wax-works, which are essential to the performance of Mrs. Jarley, are not mentioned in the context of Boston's Carnival. It is unclear whether the wax-works were omitted because their enactment was less striking or whether they were left out in Boston's case. What is clear, however, is that Louisa May Alcott attracted the audience with her impersonation of the Dickens character. In Chicago the description of Mrs. Jarley and her wax-works is diffenrent.

> The additional feature last night was the exhibition known as Mrs. Jarley's wax-works in an adjoining room on the east of the building, the "figgers" being taken by living persons, who were normally stock still during the pronunciation of Mrs. Jarley's running commentary, and whose normal condition was varied when the

> old lady admonished "John" to "wind 'em up again" by the imaginary turning of a fictious crank which gave them their cue and made them responsive to their parts in the dumb show. The "figgers" were tolerably well gotten up. Mrs. Jarley herself had apparently taken notes of the prevailing rig adopted by the *Little Buttercups* of the day, and the resemblance would have been quite real had she carried around a basket and sung one of the ditties of "the rosiest and the roundest little woman in all Spithead." The wax-works were considerable of a success, and the audience was amused both with the evolutions of the "figgers" themselves and the running commentary of the mistress of ceremonies, Mrs. Jarley herself, which commentary was filled out by the interpolation of certain modern "gags" more or less apropos." (*CDT*, April 18, 1879, p. 5)

The exhibition of Mrs. Jarley's wax-works was not only part of the Carnival but also was a special feature given in a separate room. The description does include both the impressive performance of Mrs. Jarley as "mistress of ceremonies" and the performance of the wax-works impersonated by "living persons". It is interesting that Mrs. Jarley and her wax-works were part of both Carnivals although they are minor characters in Dickens' novel.

Authors' Carnivals were entertainments mostly organized and executed by women. This is also true for Mrs. Jarley, a female entertainer executing a show to attract her audience and even though she is part of the 'shady' entertainment business she cares about 'poor' Nell. Although entertainment was considered a shady business, Mrs. Jarley was perceived a woman who cares for the poor. She was an exemplary and significant character for the organizers of Authors' Carnivals because, on the one hand, she was an independent public woman and, on the other hand, she was still a virtuous female character. Mrs. Jarley stood for the way many organizers of Authors' Carnivals saw themselves. They were entertaining their peers but, at the same time, they cared for the 'less fortunate' in their society. Even if this is not stated explicitly by the organizers, the choice of Mrs. Jarley as a character worth adapting speaks for itself. The audience accepted and enjoyed this choice without criticizing the performances of Mrs. Jarley.

The adaptations were based on texts taken from different literary genres and focusing on different aspects. While Dickens describes his characters in many facets,

Whittier gives a picture and its atmosphere. Thus, the visitors of Authors' Carnivals expected and also got adaptations with different focuses and levels of detail in props and performance.

Both adaptions of *Snowbound* and *The Old Curiosity Shop* in the two cities were 'close transitions' of a poem and a novel into theatrical performances. The aim of the adaptations was to evoke memories and emotions connected with the literary source texts. These texts were a common ground for visitors and participants and united them as one society. They were further a common ground where women were safe to act as experts in public. With the execution of the mixed genre of Authors' Carnivals female managers and organizers proved their skills as entertainers and cultural entrepreneurs in nineteenth-century popular culture. By including popular authors they used known "cultural texts" in the context of 'local performative anthologies' and thereby created an 'informal national' yet transatlantic canon.

Conclusion

> I must confess that before the programmes appeared my ideas respecting what a 'Carnival of Authors' would naturally consist of, were very vague and hazy I think, perhaps, I expected to find Thackeray's towering form wearing the dress of kindly cynic Diogenes, and Dickens hiding under a suit of Motley – the spoiled child Goldsmith in the garb of age, and Mother Goose ruffling in bravely in the mantle of Carlisle. (*BOJ*, February 1, 1879: 4)

Speaking in terms of category the quote is a description given by a person interested in Authors' Carnivals. The author reveals an impression on his first ideas of what an Authors' Carnival could look like as the name gives no details. The ideas include the image of actual authors dressed in costume. The aim of this dissertation was to describe Authors' Carnivals in detail to avoid the above mentioned 'misinterpretation.' Being familiar with Authors' Carnivals and their role in nineteenth-century America new opportunities for further research, for example, on performative practices, society, culture, and literature are given. Based on the Carnivals' complexity considering genre and execution, they invite researchers to interdisciplinary approaches.

I regard Authors' Carnivals as the actual state of late nineteenth-century US culture. Analyzing certain aspects of Authors' Carnivals, we are allowed an insight on how those aspects were perceived during that era. Authors' Carnivals reflect how Americans defined their culture in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Those events are based on and in turn influence the social an aesthetic values of the time within the time. They help to rethink and also rewrite American culture of the nineteenth century leaving behind evaluations and concepts based on a retrospective view. The Carnivals depict the role and execution of popular performative practices, highlight the role of women as educators and entertainers of their communities, and delineate the status of literature in the culture and lives of the American people. At the same time, Authors' Carnivals demonstrate the controversies, and ambiguities American society had to deal with and how those tensions were accepted or disregarded.

Authors' Carnivals: Representatives of Late Nineteenth-Century Performance Culture

The first managers of all kinds of fairs were women. This seemingly changed by the end of the nineteenth century (Gordon 1998, 120). On the surface men began to gain 'control' over fairs and were often the official managers of those events. However, this change only appeared on the surface while women still controlled the actual execution of the events (Gordon 126). The Authors' Carnival in San Francisco was one example for this 'change.' The 'most important' parts of the management were taken by men, while women were the 'ground personnel' executing the details.

The preparations and organization of San Francisco's Authors' Carnival were subject to long and detailed decision-making processes. Such processes were mainly based on the experiences of former carnivals undertaken in Eastern cities. The Executive Committee consisted of three men and eight women. A separation of male and female tasks or spheres played a minor role. The publicly most important parts within the committee, though, namely General Manager, President, and Treasurer, were taken by men, while women were mainly responsible for the single booths. Twenty-four booths in total were constructed for the event; four booths for each of the six charitable institutions. More than 1000 volunteers participated. The net proceeds were equally divided between the six participating societies and the general manager. That means, men and women worked as a team but still a certain hierachy was existent.

Newspapers supported the carnival on every level from publishing detailed programs to rehearsal dates. In general they were the most important promotion tool for the event. Local newspapers were used for all kinds of advertisements and announcements while the special carnival papers were used as memorabilia e.g. commemorating the event and serving as a reminder by giving detailed descriptions of the entertainments.

The costumes and decorations were expected to be authentic and as close to the literary ideal as possible. By authenticity participants and visitors meant historical correctness but also a detailed reproduction of the literary model. To achieve such material correctness, the carnival's management was dependent on several channels of supply to get a hold on those materials. Costumes, decorations, and props were loaned, imported, or manufactured for the Carnival. To create a foreign literary space the organizers used paintings, busts, and gauzes and they were eager in the production of a perfect illusion. Only few details were given on the actual knick-knacks offered for purchase during the Carnival, but when it came to the connection of a purchasable good to a performance, descriptions became more detailed.

The booth managers were not only responsible for the appearance of the booths but also for the actual performances within the booths and on the main stage. Besides using different materials for the representation of literary models, those managers also used different types of performance. Depending on the effect the booth managers wanted to achieve, they used *tableaux vivants*, drama or music and songs to attract their audience. However, the most popular and most applied type was the *tableaux vivants*.

The Authors' Carnival in San Francisco was a success and attracted thousands of visitors every night. Facing such a mass, the event was fascinating and frightening at once. The managers of the Carnival aimed at the inclusion of as many community members as possible by allowing visitors to buy cheaper admission tickets and arranging matinees for children. A carnival-like atmosphere emerged when participants and visitors mingled on the main floor among the booths.

Participants and directors worked together to make the performances attractive. The final success of the first Authors' Carnival in San Francisco became visible through the thousands of visitors attending the entertainment every evening, through people

rereading the represented pieces, and through the annual repetition of the events in the subsequent years.

The 'two spheres rhetoric' which was helpful and sensible for the research on women and their roles in nineteenth-century America lost its significance in more contemporary feminist research. Analyzing Authors' Carnivals reasons for this loss of significance become visible. Authors' Carnivals were located in a 'sphere' where men and women cooperated for a charitable cause. A blurring of the spheres was caused by political and social upheavals. Women realized their opportunities and influence as a collective working within their communities. Being "true women" and "Republican Mothers" they still managed successful entertainments and educated their family and community members.

First of all, women used the theme of charity to become visible agents in the public. Working for charity was not only a female task but also helped women to increase their social standing. Women were agents not in the sense of single celebrities, but collective agents of social and communal work. With the organization of Authors' Carnivals women did not only work on a communal level; they rather extended their networks on a nationwide level. Women involved in Authors' Carnivals were interested in a concept of 'nationwide womanhood,' thus creating a public sphere for American women within their society. Women used this newly invented female public sphere to present themselves and their femininity draped in rich and attractive costumes. By dressing up for Authors' Carnivals they also got the chance to change their identity. Within the realm of the carnivals women were able to enact male parts and, thus, step into a sphere where gender roles were transcended. Such transgressions of clearly distinct gender roles were regarded as a threat to female virtues. A loss of virtues was detected in both 'inappropriate' costumes and ambiguous performances. Therefore the most criticized female performances were the Fan Drill and *tableaux vivants*. Yet, with

Authors' Carnivals women created a new realm of transition where they were allowed to challenge their society's rules and structures.

The most often proclaimed aim of the female Carnival managers was the education of their community members. Being based on a collection of familiar literary pieces or "cultural texts", Authors' Carnivals are a reflection of a common cultural ground in late nineteenth-century US society. Reading was an important activity during leisure and it was considered to be wholesome. By conducting Authors' Carnivals women, as the educators of their communities, extended their reading experiences into the public. The Carnivals were a type of public literary consumption and they give an insight into how literature became lived and living culture in the US. Throughout the process of becoming lived culture women had the power to teach their communities their own interpretations and readings of the enacted pieces. Authors' Carnivals represented popular literature in a popular medium.

They were what I call 'performative anthologies' based on a canon which was itself made of "cultural texts". Further, Authors' Carnivals show that the adjectives 'American' and 'foreign' were not yet important in the context of popular literature. The organizers based their decisions for or against a certain author or literary piece on other categories. One category was the pieces quality of being a "word picture" because those pieces were easier to be transformed into *tableaux vivants*. Another aspect considered in the decision making process was the financial profit of a literary piece. The question was whether or not an author or his or her literature has already proven to be a success in financial terms. The organizers and managers of the events wanted to either pay tribute to, in their opinion, 'great authors' or to give a 'correct' reading and interpretation of the performed pieces.

With the examples of Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop* and Whittier's *Snowbound* as they were enacted in Boston and Chicago in 1879, I was able to show that the

performances in the context of the Carnivals were ‘close transitions’ of the written pieces. The aim of those detailed adaptations was to support the memorizing process of the pieces and to evoke an emotional response from the visitors.

Authors’ Carnivals and Contemporary Popular Culture

Authors’ Carnivals are ancestors of recent types of popular culture. They show many parallels with “cosplay”. “The term describes a performative action in which one dons a costume and/or accessories and manipulates his or her posture, gesture, and language in order to generate meaningful correspondences and contrasts between a given body and a set of texts from which it is modeled and made to relate” (Hale 2014, 8). Hale’s definition of cosplay is a description of what participants did during an Authors’ Carnival; an amateur actor put on a costume and enacted some fictional character taken from a literary text with the aim to correspond with spectators and to tell the story of the represented character. In the context of an Authors’ Carnival the participants had the chance to show “episodes in the lives” of the characters they enacted (Blake-Alverson 1913, 138). According to Theresa Winge there are researchers in popular culture who are of the opinion that cosplay originated in the US in the 1960s (2006, 66). The term, however, was only coined in the 1980s by a Japanese game-designer called Takahashi Nobuyuki (Lamerichs 2011). Looking back at Authors’ Carnivals and their parallels with the definition of cosplay, I argue that the origins of cosplay definitely go farther back than the 1960s.

There are two types of cosplay, which are “generic” and “discrete.” The “generic” cosplay “engages a general character typology,” which means that a character representation is not based on a specific fictional character but on a fictional type of being (Hale 2014, 12). In the context of Authors’ Carnivals generic representations are given with the enactment of national or historical “[stereo]types” like the Japanese, the Italian,

or the Swiss. “Discrete” cosplay “involves the material and performative reproduction or replication of a distinct and recognizable subject from a particular body of texts” (Hale 2014, 10). The enactments of specific literary characters during Authors’ Carnivals were such discrete cosplay performances.

Essential aspects to distinguish cosplay from other costumed performances are its setting and its audience. Cosplayers wear their costumes in specific settings like conventions, which means they only dress up for special occasions (Lamerichs 2011). Similarly, participants of Authors’ Carnivals did only wear their costumes during the events; there were special dressing rooms for the participants at the carnivals (*NA*, April 22, 1879:1). An audience is essential for cosplayers because their costumes and enactments are made to be seen (Winge 2006, 69). The same was true for the performances and enactments during Authors’ Carnivals that were especially composed to attract their audiences (*LDC*, November 12, 1877: 2).

Cosplayers “study” their characters in every detail and try to be as close to the original as possible in their performances (Winge 2006, 68). Like cosplayers Authors’ Carnivals’ participants spent a lot of time reading and preparing their characters’ parts (*CU*, July 27, 1881: 75). In another step, cosplay performance is the product of a close-reading of text combined with own interpretations thus creating new narratives (Lamerichs 2011). In the context of the Authors’ Carnivals such extrapolations of the enacted pieces were rare but still existent. For example, in San Francisco in 1879 the Longfellow booth enacted a minuet basing on “The Hanging of the Crane,” such a minuet is not mentioned in the original text but the organizers of the Carnival included this extrapolation of the written piece to make the performance more live-like and more attractive (*DAC*, October 29, 1879).

Cosplay’s relation to fiction, however, is not only based on its narrative character but also on the fact that it is explicitly an enactment of fictional character (Lamerichs

2011). Reconsidering Authors' Carnivals on such grounds, the carnivals were cosplay in the sense that fictional characters were enacted. Theresa Winge even describes cosplay as a "carnivalesque" realm where reality and fiction merge and thus gives individuals the chance to become "someone or something" else (2006, 75). The carnivalseque character of Authors' Carnivals was highlighted in several chapters of this dissertation.

Through cosplay fictional texts become real life. The same is true for Authors' Carnivals, where "the creations of masterminds started into life and being" (*DC*, February 24, 1877: 4). Cosplay is the mediating system for transformation and adaptation (Hale 2014, 27) like Authors' Carnivals are the medium for literary adaptations. The transformation from fiction to reality also leads to an individual's identification with a fictional character (Lamerichs 2011). People participating in an Authors' Carnival "fell into the spirit of their character, and walked, talked, looked it" (*SDU*, September 13, 1879). The performing person is affected by the performance, an affection both wanted and feared by the organizers of the Carnivals.

Besides the psychic interaction of the performer and the fictional character, cosplay gives spectators the opportunity for physical interaction with a fictional character (Lamerichs 2011). This was the case with Authors' Carnivals when a visitor joined the crowd walking between the booths.

> Where else could the brilliant chance come to you of being punched in the ribs by the genial elbows of the jolly Pickwick, or catching a wink from Sam Weller – he certainly winked, or stepping on the trailing whiteness of fair Rosamond, or receiving an apology from the Spanish student. Where else could you breathe the atmosphere of enchantment as the golden wand of Comus touched you in passing, or follow Oliver Twist and the Artful Dodger as they deftly sped through the surging crowds. (*BOJ*, February 1, 1879: 4)

Cosplayers do not only interact with their audience but also with other cosplayers (Winge 2006, 65). To give an example from an Authors' Carnival, "Jeannie Deans [was] discussing bon-bons with Don Quixote" (*DEB*, October 24, 1879)

The most important aspect of cosplay is a performer's dress enabling the person to 'become' someone else (Winge 2006, 72). Such transformations through dress become interesting when spectators experience the familiar text and remember and recognize the fictional character (Hale 2014, 14). Those emotional responses were also aimed for at the Authors' Carnivals, when "[s]pectators spoke aloud in delight as they recognized this or that character" (*SDU*, October 28, 1879). To make such recognition easier, a dress has to be 'authentic,' which means that not only the material has to be close to the original text but also the performance itself. Cosplayers spend a lot of time "sewing [their] costumes" to ensure the authenticity of their dress (Lamerichs 2011). Several participants of Authors' Carnivals also had to sew their own costumes to gain their level of authenticity (*DEB*, October 29, 1879). Great effort is reasonable as audiences of cosplayers judge on the accuracy of both costume and performance and the performers are eager to receive positive feedback (Hale 2014, 17+18). Still, spectators may react negatively to a performance, when a character is enacted 'incorrectly' (Lamerichs 2011). This was the case for some performances at the carnivals, which are described in negative terms, especially when participants "seemed to throw on some costume" without giving a correct interpretation of the enacted character (*CDT*, May 1, 1879: 12).

Cosplayers spend hours of work and high amounts of money to become a fictional character (Winge 2006, 65). Similarly, the organizers and participants of Authors' Carnivals spent hours and fortunes to present perfect performances (*SDU*, November 8, 1879). A perfect performance is mostly based on "practical considerations," which influence the choice to enact a certain fictional character (Lamerichs 2011). Examples for such considerations are also existent within the realm of the carnivals, e.g. when children enacted children (*DAC*, October 23, 1879). However, those considerations are not and were not entirely restrictive. As Theresa Winge explains, "age, gender and ethnicity" play no role within cosplay (2006, 68). So, on the one hand, cosplayers may make practical

reasons the basis for their choice of character, but on the other hand, they are not bound to such reasoning and have the freedom to overcome "practical consideration." During Authors' Carnivals that kind of freedom was exerted when Little Nell was impersonated by a woman, Aladdin was enacted by a woman, or Uncle Tom represented by a white person.

Today print media documents cosplay with published photographs and comments (Winge 2006, 69; Lamerichs 2011). This was already true for Authors' Carnivals which were documented with newspaper articles, sketches, and photographs as for example in the *Authors' Carnival Album*. Being mentioned in a magazine or newspaper was and still is a driving force for cosplayers who want to attract their spectators. The best compliment, however, a cosplayer and Authors' Carnival participant can receive, is given when friends or family members do not recognize their peers and siblings (*SDU*, October 28, 1879; Lamerichs 2011). For a more visual impression on cosplay during an Authors' Carnival, I attached photographs and sketches taken during the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco in 1879. The images are a selection and the complete compilations are located in the Library of Congress (*Authors' Carnival. Album*) and the California State Library (*The Authors' Carnival Sketchbook*).

With the upcoming of new and more attractive types of popular entertainment like film in the closing nineteenth and the early twentieth century, Authors' Carnivals lost their fame and attraction.

> At midnight the dancers began to gather wraps and overcoats and quietly steal away. By 2 the floor began to look deserted. The spectators were gone, the characters had stolen back to the pages of the books and the tombs of the dead authors whence they emanated, the costly dresses, of which there were many, had disappeared like autumn leaves pursued by the north wind. There were now and then faint signs of revival, but they were weak and intermittent. And so with ebb and flow, like tide receding against winds and cross-currents, but still receding, the Carnival went slowly out from the high tide into the stillness and darkness of the past. (*DIO*, November 13, 1879: 7)

Authors' Carnivals 'faded' away and today are a forgotten type of entertainment. However, they share features with today's popular practices.

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List of Illustrations

Appendix

ArA: *The Art Amateur: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Art in the Household* (JSTOR)

ABR: *Abilene Reflector* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

AWJ: *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (19th Century British Library Newspapers)

BDA: *Boston Daily Advertiser* (19th Century US Newspapers)

BOJ: *Boston Journal* (America's Historical Newspapers)

CA: *Christian Advocate* (American Periodical Series Online)

CDT: *Chicago Daily Tribune* (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

CH: *The Cleveland Herald* (19th Century US Newspapers)

CU: *Christian Union* (American Periodicals Series Online)

DAC: *Daily Alta California* (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

DC: *The Daily Critic* (America's Historical Newspapers)

DCB: *Daily Cairo Bulletin* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

DEB: *Daily Evening Bulletin* (19th Century US Newspapers)

DG: *Daily Globe* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

DIO: *Daily Inter Ocean* (19th Century US Newspapers)

DMN: *Daily Morning News* (19th Century US Newspapers)

DP: *The Daily Picayune* (19th Century US Newspapers)

DYJ: *Daily Yellowstone Journal* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

EC: *The Evening Critic* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

LAH: *Los Angeles Herald* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

LDC: *Lowell Daily Citizen* (America's Historical Newspapers)

MF: *Maine Farmer* (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

NA: *The North American* (America's Historical Newspapers)

NAR: *National Republican* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

NAUSG: *North American and United States Gazette* (19th Century US Newspapers)

NYT: *New York Times* (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

ODT: *Otago Daily Times* (Papers Past)

SDU: *Sacramento Daily Union* (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

SFC: *The San Francisco Call* (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

TC: *The Churchman* (Google)

WAM: *The Weekly Arizona Miner* (19th Century US Newspapers)

List of Cities With Authors' Carnivals

Akron, Ohio (1880)

Baltimore, Maryland (1877, 1894)

Bangor, Maine (1878)

Boston, Massachusetts (1879)

Buffalo, New York (1874)

Cairo, Illinois (1881)

Canton, Ohio (1882)

Chicago, Illinois (1879)

(Cincinnati, Ohio (1879))

Cleveland, Ohio (1881)

Concord, Massachusetts (1881)

Denver, Colorado (1887)

Emporia, Kansas (1878)

Hartford, Connecticut (1883)

Henderson, North Carolina (1894)

(Honolulu, Hawaii (1885))

Los Angeles, California (1879, 1891)

Lowell, Massachusetts (1877)

Macon, Georgia (1889)

Miami, Florida (1920)

Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1898)

New Orleans, Louisiana (1894)

Newton, Massachusetts (1878)

Oakland, California (1897)

Ottawa, Illinois (1879)

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1876, 1879)

Salina, Kansas (1879)

Salt Lake City, Utah (1887)

San Francisco, California (1879, 1880, 1882, 1897)

Springfield, Massachusetts (1890)

St. Louis, Missouri (1875)

Washington D.C. (1876, 1877, 1881)

Worcester, Massachusetts (1878)

Table of Sources

1874

Buffalo, New York

- source (database): The Easton Gazette (America's Historical Newspapers)
  title/date: "One of Maryland's Outcasts"; 11/28/1874, p. 2
  general: about a book by a clergyman sold during the carnival;

1875

St. Louis, Missouri

- source (database): St. Louis Globe-Democrat (19th Century US Newspapers)
  title/date: "The Coming Event"; 11/6/1875, p. 8
  occasion/location: Women's Christian Home
  participating organizations: Skating Rink; Union Methodist Episcopal Church
  male/female roles: "ladies" in charge; Mrs. E. D. Lowe (General Committee of all the Protestant Churches);
  authors/pieces: Longfellow; Cooper;
  technicalities: Longfellow with "genuine wigwam";
  general: committees: solicitation, tableaux and literary, decoration, ornamental needle-work;

1876

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

- source (database): Saturday Evening Post (American Periodicals Series Online)
  title/date: "Centennial News"; 12/4/1875, p. 4
  occasion/location: Centennial Fund
  general: "crowning entertainment"; "most unique affair of the kind ever given in this country";

- source (database): The Daily Critic (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Latest News"; 2/22/1876, p. 1

  occasion/location: Academy of Music

  participating organizations: Woman's Centennial Committee

- source (database): North American and United States Gazette (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival of Authors"; 2/23/1876

  occasion/location: Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall

  participating organizations: Women's Centennial Executive Committee

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Molière, Cooper; Dickens; Longfellow; Scott; Tennyson; Hawthorne; Schiller; Irving; Moore; Whittier; Arabian Nights

  audience: 5000 people; "best citizens patronized the entertainment";

  children's program: maypole dance;

  nations/races: booths to represent location of management;

  music/dance: dancing and music by orchestra;

  general: iron bridge between the two buildings;

- source (database): The Philadelphia Inquirer (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival of Authors"; 2/23/1876, p. 3

  occasion/location: Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall

  male/female roles: "in every ward of Philadelphia" ladies formed committees; there was a Marie Antoinette booth; "prominent" women representing several states (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Washington, Maine and Florida);

  authors/pieces: Molière; Cooper; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop; Longfellow: Hiawatha; Tennyson: Maud, The Lady of Shalot; Hawthorne; Scott: Waverly; Whittier: Maud Muller; Schiller; Thomson; Muhlbach (German historical novelist; booth in rustic style); Arabian Nights (cave): Aladdin, Sindbad the Sailor; Irving; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Mother Goose;

  audience: "elite of the city";

  children's program: dancing children around the may-pole were dressed in white;

  nations/races: wigwam as part of Cooper and Longfellow booth;

  music/dance: music by Carl Sentz's Orchestra;

  number of characters: over 1000 participants;

  admission: over 5000 tickets were sold;

general: “display of beauty and poetry”; preparations lasted long and were finished on last minute; beside Executive Committee also Shakespeare’s house was part of grand stage;

- source (database): The Philadelphia Inquirer (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Carnival of Authors”; 2/24/1876, p. 2

  occasion/location: Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall

  male/female roles: managed by women only;

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights grotto;

  audience: huge attendance;

  children’s program: may-pole dance omitted;

  nations/races: Marie Antoinette Dairy;

  music/dance: dancing until after midnight;

  technicalities: pendant clusters of globes;

  general: program as before; stage “thronged with moving, living embodiment of hundreds of characters, which, in the ideal form, have delighted the readers of what is best in English literature”;

- source (database): The North American (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 2/24/1876, p. 2

  occasion/location: Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall

  general: “realms of fairy land”; “ideal world of favorite literature”; “dual identity”: living person and page in book;

- source (database): Christian Advocate (American Periodicals Series Online)

  title/date: “Philadelphia Letter”; 3/2/1876, p. 65

  occasion/location: Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Shakespeare; Mother Goose;

  technicalities: two halls were temporarily united by iron bridge;

- source (database): Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Philadelphia, Pa.”; 3/11/1876

  general: Image of May-pole dance;

Washington, D.C.

- source (database): National Republican (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Carnival”; 4/26/1876

  occasion/location: Masonic Temple

  participating organizations: Woman’s Christian Association

  authors/pieces: Burns; Shakespeare: Macbeth; Longfellow; Scott: Kenilworth; Irving; Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop;

  general: letter by woman: Arthur’s Karnival; two articles; “living characters”;

1877

Washington, D.C.

- source (database): The Daily Critic (America’s Historical Newspaper)

  title/date: “Social Gossip”; 2/24/1877, p. 4

  occasion/location: Masonic Temple

  male/female roles: first thing to attract was a woman;

  authors/pieces: Hawthorne: Marble Faun; Irving: Alhambra; Burns: Highland Mary; Whittier: Snow-bound, Amy Wentworth, Maud Muller; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women, Idylls of the King, Elaine; Goethe: Faust; Dickens: David Copperfield, The Old Curiosity Shop; Robert Southey: Well of St. Keyne; Shakespeare: As You Like It, The Taming of the Shrew; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Victor Hugo: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea;

  audience: adults compared to children in their amazement;

  general: “most successful affair”; “creations of masterminds”; literary characters “started into life and being”; “Artful Dodger” was a “real” pickpocket;

- source (database): Zion’s Herald (American Periodical Series Online)

  title/date: “Letter from Washington”; 3/1/1877

  occasion/location: Masonic Temple

  participating organizations: Woman’s Christian Association

  general: “These festivals are amusing, instructive, and profitable.”

Lowell, Massachusetts

- source (database): Lowell Daily Citizen (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "City and Vicinity"; 11/12/1877, p. 2

  authors/pieces: Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabin; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Longfellow: The Courtship of Miles Standish; Whittier: Snow Bound; Scott: Guy Mannering; "Artist's Studio" (probably a painting); "Toy Makers"

  children's program: A grab-bag is installed for the children

  music/dance: Dancing from ten to twelve, to music by Brooks, Owen & Carlton's orchestra

  general: Promise to "be attractive in all details"

- source (database): Lowell Daily Citizen (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Young Women's Fair – 'Carnival of Authors' – A Large Attendance"; 11/14/1877

  occasion/location: Huntington Hall; in aid of Home for Young Women and Children

  male/female roles: Idea of a woman visiting an AC in Washington;

  authors/pieces: Whittier: Snow Bound, Maud Muller; Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabin; Scott: Guy Mannering; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Longfellow: Courtship of Miles Standish

  nations/races: German: "The Toymaker of Nuremburg", English, Swiss

  music/dance: Music in neighboring hall;

  general: Costumes were "rich, quaint and antique"; after event everything was donated

- source (database): Lowell Daily Citizen (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "City and Vicinity"; 11/16/1877, p. 2

  occasion/location: Huntington Hall

  authors/pieces: Same as before; "Topsey drew an admiring crowd around Uncle Tom's Cabin"

  music/dance: Dancing in Jackson Hall

  general: "fair attendance";

1878

Worcester, Massachusetts

- source (database): Worcester Daily Spy (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival of Authors"; 1/1/1878, p. 4

  occasion/location: Mechanics Hall

  participating organizations: First Unitarian, Church of Unity, Plymouth, Salem Street and Friends, First Baptist, Second Baptist, Third Baptist, Union Church and Mission Chapel, Old South, Grace and Trinity Churches, All Saints

  male/female roles: Executing the round of entertainments: Col. Hopkins; Music by Mr. B. D. Allen

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop; Tennyson: Enoch Arden; Whittier: Snowbound; Scott: Heart of Mid Lothian (sig.), The Abbott, Woodstock, Kenilworth, Guy Mannering; Longfellow: Evangeline, Golden Legend, Keramos; Irving: Bracebridge Hall, Rip Van Winkle, Legend of Sleepy Hollow; Cooper; Addison

  music/dance: 20 or more singers

  number of characters: 200

  admission: Free for participants, 50 cents adults, 25 cents children

Bangor, Maine

- source (database): Zion's Herald (American Periodicals Series Online)

  title/date: "East Maine"; 1/31/1878, p. 37

  occasion/location: Norombega Hall; Old Ladies' Home

  participating organizations: "all the churches in the city"

  male/female roles: Originated by Miss Mary F. Prentiss

  number of characters: More than 147

  general: $ 1166.87 raised, expenses $ 400; instructive literary entertainment

Newton, Massachusetts

- source (database): Boston Daily Adviser (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 5/2/1878

  occasion/location: Eliot Hall

  authors/pieces: Mother Goose; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop; Addison: Fan Drill; Schiller: Mary Stuart; Scott: The Lay of the Last Minstrel; Goethe: Faust (in seven tableaux); Irving Rip Van Winkle; Whittier: Barbara Frietchie; Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice, Henry VIII;

children's program: Special May Day Festival for children; May pole was erected in the center; Queen of May was chosen; Mrs. Jarley's wax works were given

music/dance: "Villikins and his Dinah" (burlesque) sung by a child; minuet was danced

technicalities: Calcium lights everywhere

general: "fair girl . . . may have said to herself: 'I, too, have played my part in rendering honor to the glorious old apostle.'"

- source (database): Boston Daily Advertiser (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "A Carnival of Authors in Newton"; 4/29/1878

  occasion/location: Eliot hall; Eliot Memorial Association

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Scott; Goethe; Schiller; Dickens; Addison; Irving; Burns; Mother Goose

  children's program: May-day entertainment one afternoon with tableaux from Mother Goose and Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works and May-pole dance

  music/dance: Music by Boston Cadet band;

  general: "suitable quotations . . . will be interpolated"; refreshments for sale;

Emporia, Kansas

- source (database): The Emporia News (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "Entertainment"; 5/31/1878

  occasion/location: Bancroft Hall

  participating organizations: Congregational Church

  authors/pieces: Dickens

  general: Popular at the east; make fiction real; "let us read Dickens up again, and go and see our old friends";

1879

Boston, Massachusetts

- source (database): Boston Daily Advertiser (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival of Authors"; 12/14/1878

  occasion/location: Music hall; "in aid of Old South fund"

male/female roles: Executive Committee consists of six men and nine women;

authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Addison; Southey; Moore; Burns; Scott; Goldsmith; Goethe; Irving; Dickens; Tennyson; Longfellow; Whittier; Mother Goose; Arabian Nights

general: "suburban towns" taking part: Cambridge, Brookline, Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, Newton and Milton;

- source (database): Boston Evening Journal (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival of Authors"; 1/23/1879, p. 4

  occasion/location: For the "Old South Preservation Fund"

  male/female roles: Men directing the carnival (list of names given); Louisa M. Alcott was Mrs. Jarley;

  authors/pieces: Goethe and Schiller: Faust; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Dickens (received his characters on the main stage): Old Curiosity Shop, David Copperfield; Scott and Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Arabian Nights (Eastern Mosque); Longfellow: The Courtship of Miles Standish; Whittier: Snow Bound; Mother Goose: Simple Simon, Little Boy Blue

  audience: Comments on the visitors' dresses

  nations/races: "Eastern Mosque" was surrounded by Longfellow and Whittier

  music/dance: Cadet Band Orchestra; detailed program of music;

  technicalities: Stage with curtains; many lights;

  general: Though there was a "throng", everyone was able to see "something enjoyable"; reports on progress of preparations heightened interest in the event; participants were eager to stay in their roles ; visitors "surrounded" by literary characters

- source (database): Boston Daily Globe (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival"; 1/24/1879, p.4

  occasion/location: Music Hall

  authors/pieces: Mother Goose: Little Bo Peep (in four tableaux), Old King Cole; Dickens; Whittier: Snow Bound; Arabian Nights: The Fair Persian (in five tableau); Longfellow: Evangeline (in five scenes); Moore: Paradise and the Peri (in four scenes); Scott: A Legend of Montrose (in three scenes), Kenilworth (three scenes); Goethe: Hermann and Dorothea (series of tableaux); Tennyson (four tableaux): Maud, The Sisters; Dickens: David Copperfield (seven tableaux listed); Addison: Fan Drill

  general: Governor Talbot attended; all scenes are given in detail

- source (database): The Philadelphia Inquirer (America's Historical Newspapers)

title/date: “Letter from Boston”; 1/27/1879, p. 3

occasion/location: Music Hall; “Old South” fund

participating organizations: Ladies of the Old South Church

authors/pieces: Arabian Nights; Tennyson: The Dream of Fair Women; Whittier: Snow bound

audience: “high social grade” in white opera costumes

technicalities: Booths underneath the galleries

- source (database): Boston Evening Journal (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “Rambling Talks”; 2/!/1879, p. 4

  occasion/location: Old South

  male/female roles: Idea of AC must be of female descent;

  authors/pieces: Milton: Comus; Dickens: Nicholas Nickleby, Pickwick Papers, Oliver Twist; Schiller: Mary Stuart; Arabian Nights: Scheherazade; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Longfellow: Spanish Student

  audience: A lot interaction between audience and participants

  critical remarks: Women are not paid enough thankfulness for their hard and artistic work in public and at home

  general: “who wasn’t?” at the Carnival of Authors; no idea what AC was before; Old South is a national relic

- source (database): Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture (American Periodicals Series Online)

  title/date: “A Carnival of Authors”; 2/1/1879, p. 2

  occasion/location: Music Hall; Old South preservation fund

  authors/pieces: Dickens; Addison; Mother Goose; Longfellow

  general: Success, gained $ 3000; “Old Abe, the war eagle, headed the procession”; repetition in New York with New England Society planned

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “Boston”; 2/2/1879, p. 10

  occasion/location: Music Hall

  authors/pieces: Schiller and Goethe booth: Faust, Hermann and Dorothea; Milton: Masque of Comus (detailed description of tableau and original excerpt); Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop (detailed description of Louisa May Alcott as Mrs. Jarley); Longfellow: Tales of a Wayside Inn, Courtship of Miles Standish, Evangeline; Tennyson: Dora, Dream of Fair Women (detailed description with

excerpt); Whittier: Snow Bound(detailed description and excerpt); Arabian Nights; Scott: Waverly, A Legend of Montrose, Kenilworth; Addison: Fan Drill

nations/races: Goethe and Schiller booth managed by German scholar

music/dance: Singing of carols by a male quartette at the intervals; minuet in French costume

technicalities: Booth had curtains and footlights

admission: For following event prices were high: $1, $ 1.50, $ 2 (opera region)

general: Trying to "present a pen photograph"; Wayside Inn and Snow Bound were the favorites and best remembered; "a good deal of re-reading" good for book sellers, which should join the societies, new style of wearing fans in one's hair

- source (database): Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture (American Periodicals Series Online)

  title/date: "Carnival of Authors"; 4/26/1879, p. 3

  authors/pieces: Longfellow: Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Moore: Lalla Rookh (four scenes); Addison: The Fan Drill

  music/dance: Longfellow's hymn was sung "by twenty voices of the Cecilia Club";

  general: After great success two further performances on May 3rd; only on stage; seats throughout the hall

- source (database): The New England Farmer, and Horticultural Register (American Periodicals Online)

  title/date: "Carnival of Authors"; 5/3/1879, p. 2

  occasion/location: Music Hall, Old South

  authors/pieces: Longfellow: Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Moore: Lalla Rookh (four scenes); Addison: The Fan Drill; two scenes from Elaine and two from Dora (probably Goodale Sisters)

  general: After great success two further performances on May 3rd; only on stage; seats throughout the hall (same as Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture (American Periodicals Series Online), "Carnival of Authors"; 4/26/1879, p. 3

Chicago, Illinois

- source (database): Inter Ocean (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Carnival of Authors"; 12/4/1878, p. 6

participating organizations: St. Luke's Hospital is out; Old People's Home has to stay;

male/female roles: Carnival newspaper shall be edited by Mrs. Frances E. Willard; committees are all led by women;

authors/pieces:

- source (database): Inter Ocean (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Proposed Carnival of Authors"; 12/9/1878, p. 3

  occasion/location: Exposition Building

  participating organizations: Women's and Children's Hospital, Industrial School for Girls, Half-Orphan Asylum, Foundlings' Home, St. Luke's Hospital, Woman's Christian Association, Old People's Home, Woman's Temperance Union

  male/female roles: Lady Washington as special theme

  authors/pieces: Dickens; Irving; Tennyson; Longfellow; Arabian Nights; DeFoe; Burns; Shakespeare; Scott; Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabin; Moore; Whittier; Verne

  nations/races: "Gypsey"; Egypt; Oriental; Dr. Holland

  general: Representatives met and discussed details like heating, lighting etc.; further special themes: Centennial, Colonial, Military, Scripture and Song;

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival of Authors"; 3/3/1879, p. 5

  occasion/location: Exposition Building; six leading charities

  participating organizations: Half Orphan Asylum, Woman's and Children's Hospital, Women's Christian Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Foundling's Aid Society, Illinois Industrial School for Girls

  male/female roles: Manager: Frank Pease; entire management and organization done by women

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Goethe: Faust; Goldsmith: She Stoops to Conquer; Hugo; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Thackeray: Vanity Fair; Dumas: Cave [sic.] of Monte Cristo; Cervantes: "Spanish Bazaar"; Whittier: Snow Bound; Taylor: "Japan"; Verne: 20 000 Leaugues Under the Sea; Aldrich: "Turkish"; Sala: "Epyt"; Longfellow: Hiawatha; Shakespeare: "Garden Scene"; Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop; Irving: Alhambra; Scott: Baronial Hall;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage, Egypt, Japan, Vienna Bakery

  number of characters: 25 authors to be represented

  general: Promise of success; two matinees a week; Continental and military booth; Temple of Flora

- source (database): Ottawa Free Trader (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: 3/22/1879, p. 4

  occasion/location: Exposition Building

  authors/pieces: Dickens; Shakespeare;

  number of characters: Over 1000 “society ladies” and “several hundred gentlemen, children” etc.

  general: “whole of Chicago femininity appears to be in a bustle of preparations”; “great authors”

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “Carnival of Authors”; 4/3/1879, p. 8

  participating organizations:

  male/female roles: Executive Board consists of women only

  authors/pieces: Goldsmith; Tennyson; Goethe

  children’s program: Children dressed and “used” as chess figures; between 200 and 300 children take part in “levee”;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage; Castle of Killarney (Irish);

  music/dance: Music by military company

  general: Special evening for military display; special offers by railroad company during the event; archery ranche; fishing pond;

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “Carnival of Authors”; 4/16/1879, p. 4

  occasion/location: Exposition Building

  participating organizations: Young Women’s Christian Temperance Union; military regiment took part

  male/female roles: “beautiful girls”; “pretty girls” in “low-necked, short-skirted, bare-armed, or tinseled and tucked costume”; “handsome girls” (either ironic or meant positive); “demure Quakeress to an almost nude female”; Martha Washington represented, George Washington is not; thin dresses and fat arms at Floral booth; Mrs. Arthur Smith is responsible for two booths(Floral and Irving); women managing booths

  authors/pieces: Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop (most visited booth); Thackeray: Vanity Fair; Goldsmith: She Stoops to Conquer; Scott: The Lady of the Lake, Ivanhoe, Rob Roy, Kenilworth, Guy Mannering (100 chaacters); Moore: Lalla Rookh; Jules Verne; Shakespeare: Hamlet, Othello, Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, The Merchant of Venice, The Taming of the Shrew, King Lear, Henry VIII, Richard III, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet (175 characters); Cervantes:

Don Quixote (125 characters); Irving: Alhambra (60 characters); Arabian Nights: Aladdin (40 characters); Dumas: The Count of Monte Cristo [sic.] (50 characters); Whittier: Snow-Bound (by Temperance Union); Victor Hugo: Fêtes de village en plein air

audience: "mingle with the fantastically costumed people"

nations/races: Indians, Turks, Infidels and Jews, Greeks, Romans, Yankee Doodles and Hindoos; Swiss Cottage; American history displayed with Martha Washington; Vienna Bakery

music/dance: Four pipers at Scott booth all evening, their music collided with reading of Shakespeare; list of musical entertainment given;

technicalities: "Aunt Sally": game with "three throws for ten cents"; sold: autographs, fruits, drinks, Chinese and Japanese curiosities, honey; calcium lights

number of characters: 1000

general: "World's greatest authors"; "straight from the pages of history, and romance, and fiction, and poetry"; "a gorgeous pageant of beauty and instruction"; should be continued; pleasing the eye; instructive; "savors of church-festival . . .make other than a 'life' painter blush"

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Amusements"; 4/20/1879, p. 9

  general: AC was reason for less visitors at other events

- source (database): Cincinnati Daily Gazette (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Theatrical News in Chicago"; 4/21/1879, p. 10

  critical remarks: Basic criticism on Frank Pease, tricked managing women; the costumes were "poor" and the booths "inartistic"

  general: Everyone was kept "in a great state of expectancy and excitement" during the preparations of the AC

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 5/1/1879, p. 12

  occasion/location: Exposition Building

  participating organizations: Six charities

  male/female roles: "Mephisto" Pease was manager

  authors/pieces: Whittier; Dickens; Thackeray; Scott;

  nations/races: Only Scots were realistic;

  number of characters: 1800 (men, women, and children)

critical remarks: journalists supported hype; most people just "threw on a costume"; after first night low necks were mentioned and some girls were no longer allowed to participate; "men-about-town" interested in AC; "sacrifice of dignity or/morality"; AC was worse than theatre

general: Description of how women got together for good cause; "some authors were far from standard"; many churches were involved; $ 1500 for each society

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 5/3/1879, p. 13

  male/female roles: Women cannot do business

  critical remarks: Mother tells story of her daughter participating in a rather appropriate dress, but family leaves after having seen enough, gave tickets to her servants as did others; "a catch-penny affair"

  general: Reader responses to the article from May 1, 1879

Ottawa, Illinois

- source (database): The Ottawa Free Trader (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)
  title/date: "Carnival of Authors"; 4/19/1879

  authors/pieces: Longfellow: The Courtship of Miles Standish (also dialogues performed), Hiawatha; Whittier: Snow Bound; Alcott: Little Women; Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabin; Moore: Lalla Rookh (parts were read out loud); Addison: Fan Drill (mentioning of source); Dickens: Nicholas Nickleby, Dombey and Son

  children's program: Little Women mainly watched by young visitors who knew the text by heart

  critical remarks: "'Carnival' is a naughty word."

  general: "moral, intellectual, high-toned entertainment…", not for simpletons; there was a "Poet's Corner" displaying a poet's studio;

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

- source (database): The North American (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 4/22/1879, p. 1

  occasion/location: Horticultural Hall

  participating organizations: Women's branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (S.P.C.A.)

  authors/pieces: Tennyson: Maud, Dream of Fair Women, The Lady of Shalott; Arabian Nights: Scheherazade, The Fair Persian; Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop, Tale of Two Cities, Nicholas Nickleby, Little Dorrit; Scott: Kenilworth; Longfellow: The Courtship of Miles Standish, The Spanish Student, Evangeline,

Hiawatha, The Village Blacksmith; Whittier: Mable Martin, Maud Muller, Snow Bound; Shakespeare: Othello, Macbeth, Hamlet, Antony and Cleopatra, King Lear; Addison: Fan Drill

nations/races: National (US) colors above Longfellow and Whittier, departure of Mayflower;

technicalities: Dressing rooms between booths;

general: Reading of poem especially written for the occasion; intellectual enjoyment;

- source (database): The Philadelphia Inquirer (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Carnival of Authors"; 4/23/1879, p. 3

  occasion/location: Horticultural Hall

  participating organizations: Women's branch of Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

  male/female roles: List of Executive and General Committee names 31 women and 13 men; booths managed by women

  authors/pieces: Dickens: Nicholas Nickleby, Little Dorrit, Tale of the Two Cities, Pickwick Papers, Old Curiosity Shop; Arabian Nights: Fair Persian, Story of Zobeide, Scheherazade; Tennyson: Elaine, Maud, Dream of Fair Women; Scott: Kenilworth, Lady of the Lake, Marmion; Longfellow and Whittier: The Spanish Student, Maud Muller; Shakespeare: Othello, Antony and Cleopatra, Queen Anne, King Lear, Cymbeline; Addison: Fan Drill

  audience: "great throng crowding the hall"

  general: Charitable undertakings need "youth and beauty"; "Charles Dickens" read an address; Mother Goose planned to be presented according to Bartlett's version

- source (database): The North American (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Dickens Night"; 4/23/1879, p. 1

  occasion/location: Horticultural hall

  participating organizations: Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

  authors/pieces: Dickens: Nicholas Nickleby, Pickwick Papers, Little Dorrit, Tale of the Two Cities, Old Curiosity Shop; Shakespeare; Tennyson; Arabian Nights; Scott; Longfellow and Whittier;

  audience: Crowd of "best class of citizens"

  music: Some tableaux presented with music (vocal quartettes); minuet by Philharmonic Club

  general: Opening evening dedicated to Dickens; main stage tableaux of Poetry and History; Bartlett's Mother Goose and more seats following

Salina, Kansas

- source (database): The Salina County Journal (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “A Miniature Temple of Fame”; 5/8/1879

  male/female roles: Discovery that women are badly represented in AC

  general: Temple of Fame rather than single booths erected for female authors

San Francisco, California

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: No title; 2/22/1879

  general: Pun on Authors’ Carnival

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Artists’ Carnival”; 8/27/1879

  participating organizations: Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society, Young Women’s Christian Association, Little Sisters’ Infant Shelter, Pacific Dispensary and Hospital for Women and Children, Old Ladies Home, Clay-Street Lying-In Hospital

  male/female roles: “ladies, interested in various charitable associations of this city”; list naming people from executive board

  general: Arrangements for carnival made; start October 13th; already done in “Eastern cities” before; should be most successful in the State.

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “An Authors’ Carnival”; 8/27/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  participating organizations: Young Women’s Christian Association, Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society, Clay Street Lying-in Hospital, Little Sisters’ Infant Shelter, Old Ladies’ Home, Pacific Dispensary, and Hospital for Women and Children

  male/female roles: C. E. Locke (manager of Bush-street Theatre) general manager; Irving M. Scott chairman of the committee; female Vice-Presidents (one from each society); Treasurer: Charles Crocker;

  number of characters: “600 ladies, 500 gentlemen and about 500 children”;

general: Meeting of societies to consider the idea of an AC; 10 days in October; guarantee fund ($ 3000 already); several booths under management of societies, representing popular authors; flowers, food and drinks to be sold;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 8/27/1879

  general: It took 15 instants to appoint a committee

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Appointment of Authors for the Carnival"; 8/29/1879

  male/female roles: Widow Bedott represented;

  authors/pieces: Dickens; Longfellow; Cervantes; Scott; Tennyson; Irving; Arabian Nights; Goethe; Bayard Taylor; Mother Goose; George Eliot; Shakespeare; Whittier; Thackeray; Hugo; Moore; Aldrich; Verne;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage;

  general: Meetings for preparations every day; first selection of authors to be represented by which society ("minor" changes possible);

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 9/5/1879

  male/female roles: Women tell artists what to do; Charles Crocker treasurer collected $ 2150; Widow Bedott represented;

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, The Old Curiosity Shop; Shakespeare; Whittier; Victor Hugo; Goethe; Arabian Nights; Bayard Taylor; Scott; Tennyson; Walter Crane; Irving; Moore; Jules Verne; Bret Harte; Bulwer; Longfellow; Cervantes;

  children's program: Royal Land of Funny Infants;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage; Egyptian; Japanese; Marie Antoinette;

  number of characters: Between 1000 and 1100 participants so far;

  general: Scottish Clubs would participate if wanted; First Regiment ready to participate; first divisions of authors; about 25 booths performing alternately to grand stage; Temple of Flora;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 9/9/1879

  male/female roles: Mrs. Hecht (Vicepresident); Max Freeman: Acting Manager;

authors/pieces: Goethe (over sixty men and women): Faust, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Hermann und Dorothea, Der Erlkönig;

audience: “fashionable circles”

music/dance: Gounod’s “Faust” by “members of different singing societies”;

general: Basically on Goethe performances; given in booth and on “monster stage”;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 9/13/1879

  male/female roles: Jules Tavernier to decorate the booths;

  authors/pieces: Dickens: PickwickPapers, The Cricket on the Hearth, The Old Curiosity Shop, Dombey and Son; Shakespeare; Cervantes;

  general: Meetings and rehearsals in Palace Hotel

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Golden Gate Gossip”; 9/13/1879

  male/female roles: Irving M. Scott is President; Charles Crocker is Treasurer;

  number of characters: About 1000 characters and still some are missing

  general: Entertainment comes from eastern cities and promises to be successful in San Francisco; description of how to become a literary character;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 9/15/1879

  authors/pieces: Cervantes; Shakespeare;

  general: AC should last 10 nights; opening date not yet fixed; again meetings at Palace Hotel;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 9/18/1879

  male/female roles: Executive Committee of Arabian Nights booth: 4 women and 2 men;

  authors/pieces: Cervantes: Don Quixote (represented by member of military division), all characters listed 75 or 80 in total ready for rehearsals; Arabian Nights (scenery designed by Jules Tavernier): Aladdin; Goethe and Schiller

general: “most elegant entertainment ever offered this side of the Rocky Mountains”; participants invited to discuss costumes etc.; meetings in different places

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 9/18/1879

  authors/pieces: Goethe and Schiller; Cervantes

  nations/races: Italian booth; Japanese booth

  general: Managers met artist responsible for booths; booths arranged like in military camp; announcement of meetings

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 9/20/1879

  authors/pieces: Moore: Lalla Rookh;

  general: Time for opening fixed; rehearsals are held “ever and anon”; amateurs and professional take parts; Tavernier sketched one half of the booths;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 9/22/1879

  authors/pieces: Cervantes; Shakespeare;

  children’s program: Participating children meet for rehearsals after school;

  general: Announcements for Executive Committee and booths’ rehearsals;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 9/26/1879

  participating organizations: Young Women’s Christian Association, Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society, Clay Street Hospital; Infant Shelter, Old Ladies’ Home, Pacific Dispensary and Hospital for Women and Children

  male/female roles: More than 30 women present to report on the booths; meeting lead by women; women responsible for materials;

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Goethe and Schiller; Bulwer; Cervantes; Longfellow: Evangeline, Hiawatha; Scott; Walter Crane; Tennyson; Irving; Moore; Bret Harte; Jules Verne; Whittier; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage; Italian booth; Egyptian booth; several booths with French themes;

admission: 5000 (transferrable) season tickets á $ 3; 500 tickets for each society

general: Discussion on raising of booths; detailed list and order of booths; list of which society has which booth with numbers of characters; list of refreshment selling booths;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 9/27/1879

  male/female roles: Charles E. Locke is general manager; Jules Tavernier is decorator-in-chief; "'fair women and brave men' have been selected from the beauty and chivalry of San Francisco society"; Max Freeman is director for grand stage;

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare (modern theater); Arabian Nights: Aladdin (mountain scene as background); Goethe and Schiller: Faust, Song of the Bell, Don Carlos, Herman and Dorothea, Erl King, Die Leiden des jungen Werther; Bulwer; Cervantes: Don Quixote ("read…in childhood…digested the deep merit and pure wit"); Longfellow: Evangeline, Hiawatha, Keramos; Scott (Elizabethan castle); Walter Crane ("fresconing of children's stories"); Tennyson (garden); Irving: Tales of the Alhambra, A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Moore: Lalla Rookh (Valley of Cashmere); Bret Harte (log cabin); Jules Verne: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; Whittier; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers;

  children's program: Royal Infants booth will be an amphitheater of seats;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage (Alpine scene in the background); Egyptian booth; several booths with French themes; Italian booth; Japanese garden (according to tea gardens of Tokio);

  music/dance: Music is part of Aladdin theme; "The Song of the Bell will be given with melodramatic music";

  technicalities: Floral Temple in Parian marble;

  admission: Each society gets 500 tickets;

  general: "emerg[ing] from its chaotic state"; all decisions on proceedings made; purchases will be voluntary; list and order of the booths; Italian booth and Mrs. Jarley's Wax works in the gallery;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival Notes"; 9/28/1879

  male/female roles: Funny Infants booth managed by Mrs. G. H. Ames;

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, David Copperfield; Shakespeare: Romeo and Juliet, Taming of the Shrew, Comedy of Errors, Measure for Measure;

nations/races: Italian booth wants to complete preparations;

general: Details on who runs Dickens sections; rehearsal announcements;

- source (database): The Art Amateur (American Periodical Series Online)

  title/date: “Art in San Francisco”; 10/1879, p. 97

  male/female roles: Booths presided over by women; Jules Tavernier finished a series of paintings for Mrs. Mark Hopkins;

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights (opening the Carnival): Aladdin; Dickens; Scott; Goethe; Byron; Moore;

  critical remarks: San Francisco has not yet an artistic heart as there is no leisure class, but it’s getting better;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/1/1879

  authors/pieces: Cervantes;

  nations/races: Italian booth: shows modern and ancient Italy, advice and material aid by Italian residents

  general: Executive Committee met;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/3/1879

  authors/pieces: Irving: A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Shakespeare;

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage;

  technicalities: Booths “lighted by gas placed overhead”;

  admission: 5000 tickets à $ 3 (10 transf. coupons); 50 cents single admission; participants free

  general: Executive Committee met with booth managers, reports from the booths; no alcohol sold or other “questionable practices” like ring-cakes; full attendance for rehearsals;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 10/3/1879

  authors/pieces: Scott: Kenilworth; Cervantes; Bulwer; Longfellow; Goethe and Schiller; Shakespeare;

  audience: “all classes”

nations/races: Goethe and Schiller rehearsals at San Francisco Verein; Italian booth

general: “the Carnival is anticipated as a unique and interesting entertainment by all classes of San Franciscans”; rehearsal announcements;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival – A Suggestion about Tickets”; 10/9/1879

  admission: Suggestion to sell date-wise “unfixed” tickets;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Around the City”; 10/14/1879

  male/female roles: Locke present earlier for consultations before the meeting

  authors/pieces: Cervantes; Dickens: David Copperfield, The Pickwick Papers; Mother Goose;

  general: Reminders for meetings and rehearsals for the AC;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Advertisements: Authors’ Carnival”; 10/14/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  participating organizations: Young Women’S Christian Association, Ladies’ Protective and Relief Society, S.F. Female Hospital, Infants’ Shelter, Old Ladies’ Home, Pacific Dispensary

  male/female roles: Booths built by John Torrence; effects and gardens by Sherman J. Beggs; decorations by Jules Tavernier; detailed list giving names of Executive Committee;

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, The Old Curiosity Shop; Longfellow: Hiawatha, Evangeline, Keramos; Cervantes; Bulwer; Scott: Waverly, The Lady of Shalott; Tennyson; Walter Crayne; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra, A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Goethe; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Shakespeare; Bret Harte; Whittier: Snow Bound; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Jules Verne: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; Mother Goose

  children’s program: Lower admission for children

  nations/races: Several French booths; Swiss Cottage; Italian: Old and New; Egyptian;

  music/dance: “Military Band and Orchestra in Attendance”;

  number of characters: Numbers of “Ladies”, Gentlemen”, “Masters” and “Misses”

admission: Details on admission and ticket stores; children 25 cents;

general: 9 evenings and 2 matinees; “Individual characterizations, groupings, dramatic sketches, tableaux vivant, in the booths and grand tableaux upon the grand stage”; net proceeds divided equally; opening hours; detailed program to be announced later;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/15/1879

  male/female roles: Mrs. W. C. Burnett is manager of Refreshment Committee; Fan Brigade rehearses;

  authors/pieces: Cervantes: Don Quixote; Arabian Nights; Bret Harte; Moore: Lalla Rookh;

  nations/races: Italian booth;

  technicalities: Calcium lights, where “particularly desirable to direct a flood of light”

  general: Meeting of booth managers apart from Executive Committee; guarantee fund of $ 2400 collected; rehearsals announced (“will occur almost every evening”); “fresh” donations will be picked up; booth programs have to be handed in to prevent performances in adjacent booths;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 10/15/1879

  authors/pieces: Jules Verne (singing “ladies” dressed as mermaids in “costumes made after drawings by one of our best amateur artists”);

  nations/races: Italian booth;

  music/dance: Singing in Jules Verne booth;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/18/1879

  male/female roles: Refreshment Committee consists of women only;

  general: List of donating merchants; call for more donations;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 10/18/1879

  male/female roles: Mrs. Tippett (“a well-known soprano”) plays character in Arabian Nights booth; Lewis Morris of Baldwin Theater supervises Cervantes performances

authors/pieces: Dickens: Our Mutual Friend; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Arabian Nights: Aladdin, The Fair Persian; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra; Longfellow; Whittier; Shakespeare;

audience: Uses different entrance;

general: Again call for refreshment donations; rehearsals held and announced; Fan Brigade rehearses in kindergarten; complete list of participants necessary for free tickets;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/20/1879

  male/female roles: "lady managers" arrange "decorations and embellishment"; Refreshment Committee all dressed in white;

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: Richard III, Measure for Measure, Taming of the Shrew, Comedy of Errors, Romeo and Juliet; Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, Bleak House; Walter Crayne; Bulwer: The Last Days of Pompeii; Goethe and Schiller; Bret Harte; Mother Goose; Moore: Lalla Rookh;

  nations/races: Egyptian booth; Japanese booth; Marie Antoinette; Italian with music;

  number of characters: 1300 participants

  general: Description of when and how the booths will be erected; rehearsals afterwards; rehearsals announced; wagon send for donations;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/21/1879

  male/female roles: Refreshment Committee dressed in white; Old Mother Hubbard played by man;

  authors/pieces: Irving (list of all participants): A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Dickens: Martin Chuzzlewit; Bret Harte (list of all participants): The Luck of Roaring Camp, The Idyl of Red Gulch, Miggles, The Outcasts of Pokerflat, Tennessee's Partner, Luke, The Princess Bob and Her Friends, The Heathen Chinee; Cervantes (list of all participants); Mother Goose (in Royal Land of Funny Infants);

  children's program: 12 boys and girls shall sell the Herald;

  nations/races: Italian booth; Swiss Cottage: list naming participants; Little Trianon (list of all participants);

  music/dance: Question of music discussed without result; singing in Italian booth; "vocal and instrumental music" in Swiss Cottage;

  technicalities: Private boxes;

number of characters: Exact numbers on participants in each booth;

general: Final meeting of Executive Committee; police and private watchmen will be present; grand march on first 3 evenings; "insurance on property used"; program will be given to daily newspapers, booth programs only to Herald; wagon for donations; list and order of booths; list of participants for Temple of Flora and Fan Brigade;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/21/1879

  male/female roles: Refreshment Committee still looks for "young ladies" to wait on the tables; Max Freeman directing Arabian Nights tableaux;

  authors/pieces: Irving: A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker, Tales of the Alhambra; Dickens: Bleak House, Martin Chuzzlewit, Our Mutual Friend; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Scott; Arabian Nights;

- source (database): Daily Los Angeles Herald (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 10/21/1879

  male/female roles: Refreshment Committee by women rather than caterers; B. C. Truman as representative of Charles Crocker (treasurer)

  nations/races: Waitresses in Swiss Cottage: white Swiss aprons and caps, blue, red or white ribbons in hair; First Infantry Regiment: battalion drill;

  general: Grand march on first 3 nights; each booth will carry a small banner giving their theme; general rehearsal announced;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/22/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  participating organizations: Pacific Dispensary and Children's Hospital

  male/female roles: Editor of the Echo: Mr. Albert Sutliffe; choir lead by man; Max freeman director of Arabian Nights;

  authors/pieces: Moore: Lalla Rookh (requiring more characters); Longfellow: Evangeline (list of tableaux and excerpts), Hiawatha, Hanging of the Crane (tableaux and excerpts); Jules Verne: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; Arabian Nights;

  nations/races: Italian booth (historical and modern);

  music/dance: singers

general: “brain usurps the place of muscle”; fiction in “flesh and blood”; list of participants and characters; famous artist paints the canvases of the booths; design of Echo completed;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/22/1879

  male/female roles: Large number of men constructing interior of Pavilion; “many ladies” wandered around talking about the event;

  nations/races: “wigwam of the noble aborigine” etc. mingling of cultural sites;

  technicalities: Erecting booths and stage, in detail;

  number of characters: Detailed list on numbers of participants in the various booths;

  general: Private boxes; some old decorations remain; costumes are ready; List and order of booths;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 10/22/1879

  male/female roles: Max Freeman directing Arabian Nights tableaux;

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights;

  nations/races: Italian booth;

  music/dance: Chorus under Professor Speranza in Italian booth;

  general: Announcements of meetings and rehearsals; tickets handed to participants in advance; general rehearsal;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/23/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  male/female roles: Locke superintending construction; Max Freeman directing Goethe and Schiller booth and enacting Goethe;

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, The Taming of the Shrew, Henry V, Much Ado about Nothing, The Tragedy of Cymbeline, Macbeth, Richard III, Measure for Measure, The Winter’s Tale, Comedy of Errors, Othello, As You Like It, The Merchant of Venice, The Tempest; Goethe and Schiller (“crowned by the Muse”): Faust, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Heidenroeslein, Die Wahlverwandtschaften, Wilhelm Tell; Cervantes: Don Quixote; Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, David Copperfield; Bulwer: The Last Days of Pompeii; Bret Harte;

children's program: Funny Infants performed by children;

nations/races: French booths; Italian booth not ready

music/dance: Schultz's orchestra played martial air for procession;

technicalities: Grand stage: 80x60 with a slope of 3 feet;

general: Pavilion "busy" for 6 weeks in a row; AC amusing and instructive; "great minds of every age and clime"; 150 workmen busy with construction; Fan Brigade in Queen Anne period costumes; several rehearsals simultaneously in the Pavilion; still chaotic and unfinished; list of performances and performers for several nights; instructions for grand march

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/23/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers; Cervantes; Longfellow: Keramos, Evangeline, Hiawatha; Bulwer; Scott; Tennyson; Walter Crayne; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra; Goethe; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Shakespeare; Bret Harte (log cabin with deer horns); Whittier; Moore: Lalla Rookh (in Persian style); Jules Verne (sub-marine grotto); Sala (probably Washington Irving with Alhambra);

  audience: Participants mingle with visitors;

  children's program: Royal Land of Funny Infants;

  nations/races: 4 booths with "national costumes and customs"; Japanese booth: surrounded by garden with river and rustic bridge, Japanese Consul supported; Egyptian; Swiss Cottage

  technicalities: 24 booths;

  number of characters: 2036 participants;

  general: Grand procession rehearsed, Executive Committee "collects" both participants, full tableau on grand stage afterwards; each society manages 4 booths; performances in 6 booths at a time; not all booths ready; changes in booth order;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 10/24/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  male/female roles: Manager Locke; artists led by Jules Tavernier, but also engaged were: Jules Godart, Messrs. Morelli, Seabury, J. D. Strong, Pelzolli, Wilkins, E. Narjot, Vollmer, Trezzini;

authors/pieces: Shakespeare (banner: “Not for a day, but for all times.”): Romeo and Juliet, The Taming of the Shrew; Scott (Holyrood Castle): list for future program, Rob Roy, Legend of Montrose, The Lady of the Lake; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers, David Copperfield; Goethe and Schiller (portraits): The Song of the Bell (and wine cellar); Jules Verne (coral caves with sea flowers): Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; Bret Harte: The Outcasts of Poker Flat; Longfellow (not yet ready): Hiawatha; Cervantes: Don Quixote; Bulwer: The Last Days of Pompeii; Tennyson; Sala (Washington Irving): Alhambra; Addison: Fan Drill (details and source given);

audience: “all classes can participate”; “thousands were turned away”; for visitors’ orientation list of booths is given; “thousands of visitors”; more visitors expected;

children’s program: Funny Infants: booth clad with English fairy book pictures, interpreted “The Dream of the Turkish Slave”;

nations/races: Italian Booth: panels presenting old and new Italy, background Bay of Naples; Japanese garden “raised” with electric light; Swiss Cottage: rustic abode in Alpine scenery; Little Trianon: old regal France; native Indians with Moore booth; Egyptian booth led by Anthony and Cleopatra;

music/dance: Grand procession with “Fatinitza”;

general: San Francisco has talent; participants couldn’t get in; women fainted due to throng; list of refreshment booths; list of booths and their decorations; General Grant will be present; police also part of procession; tableau of “The Authors’ Carnival” on grand stage; lists of participants and bric-a-brac for some booths; Sketchbook of the carnival will be sold after the event; call for refreshments; list of receipts;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Fire-Fighters”; 10/24/1879

  general: Mechanics’ Pavilion is “an immense structure of wood” and therefore many fear a fire could destroy it; for AC fire-extinguishers were bought; communication between Locke and Fire department given;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 10/24/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  male/female roles: Participating men were rude while getting into the Pavilion; rowdies often present on such occasions, thus police should be at hand; women were dressed up;

  authors/pieces: Longfellow: Evangeline, Hiawatha, Keramos (a cotter at his wheel all evening); Shakespeare; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Goethe and Schiller

(crowned by Muse): Faust; Mother Goose; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra (refreshm.), A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Jules Verne (refreshm.); Scott ("finest appearance of any"); Bret Harte (log cabin); Tennyson: The Dream of Fair Women; Walter Crayne: Jack and Jill"; Cervantes: Don Quixote (refreshm.); Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers;

audience: "from all parts of the city"; participants circulated among visitors (good quote);; for "educated classes" ("complimentary to the city"); 8000 to 9000 people in Pavilion

children's program: Mother Goose: Land of Funny Infants acted out by "clean and happy children";

nations/races: Italian booth (refreshm.); Swiss Cottage (refreshm.); Egyptian booth; Little Trianon (refreshm.); Japanese booth (refreshm.); Madame Recamier;

music/dance: Procession led by a band's air;

technicalities: Use of colored lights;

critical remarks: People got in without tickets because they were crowded in; rumor that woman lost her eye; visitors recognized participants but not all pieces

general: Comments by visitors; unnecessarily "immense crush"; details on costumes; Longfellow and Italian not ready yet; order of booths given; Bonbon booth (refreshm.); Temple of Flora (classic costumes, decorated with flowers) one of the largest, selling flowers; order of procession leading into tableau of "Authors' Carnival"; "monster exhibition"supported by "the aesthetic and refined residents of this city"; receipts listed; rehearsals announced;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/25/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  male/female roles: Police did great job; Fan Brigade knows "deadly warfare"; Japanese boys waiting the tables in Japanese booth; "attendants [in refreshment room] are so beautiful that the appetite is apt to be transferred to the eyes";

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop; Goethe and Schiller; Scott; Irving: A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Bret Harte (log cabin); Longfellow (Indian "tepes"): Evangeline, Hiawatha (Minnehaha' s dress "formerly worn by the wife of Chief Joseph"); Shakespeare (compliments for actors): Romeo and Juliet, The Taming of the Shrew, Richard III, Henry V, Much Ado About Nothing, Macbeth; Jules Verne ("strewn with shells", "submarine view, behind a screen of water-color gauze"); Walter Crane (details, piano): My Lady's Garden, Jack and Jill; My Face Is My Fortune, Buy a Broom, Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star; Bulwer (details): The Last Days of Pompeii;

audience: Second night more visitors;

children's program: Matinee especially for children; Funny Infants (over 100 children): Pinafore, The Crystal Island;

nations/races: Egyptian booth; Little Trianon (details); Swiss Cottage (details); Japanese garden (details): games and sword dances; Italian booth (most elaborate): California is second Italy; Recamier booth; Refreshment room "surmounted by the flags of all nations"

music/dance: Songs in Bulwer booth

technicalities: Fire-extinguishers everywhere; gauzes in Verne and Crane booths; grass grown with electricity

number of characters: About 2000 and were "better" than in Eastern cities; lists with names for several booths;

general: No crush; SF although young and small proved able for greatest AC; "translating into life the shadow thoughts of the authors"; plans for evacuation done; eyes can't perceive the beauty in its entirety (good description); Californians are perfect combination of all races; "unfettered by puritanical ideas, prefer intellectual . . ."; tableaux as on opening but in different order; call for refreshments; receipts;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/25/1879

  authors/pieces: Cervantes: Don Quixote; Bret Harte; Arabian Nights; Addison: Fan Drill (women compared to kittens); Moore: Lalla Rookh; Shakespeare (Globe Theatre): Richard III, Henry V, Measure for Measure, Comedy of Errors, Othello, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Merchant of Venice, Taming of the Shrew

  nations/races: Egypt

  technicalities: Booths not enough elevated

  general: Changes undertaken for entrance; tableau of Authors' Carnival after procession uniting past and present in one picture; attracting the eye; one night not enough to see all; education to the community; enhances reading; Shakespeare with his characters on grand stage

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "From San Francisco"; 10/25/1879

  participating organizations: Young Women's Christian Association, Ladies' Protection and Relief Society, Old Ladies' Home, Clay Street Hospital, Pacific Dispensary and Hospital for Women and Children, Little Sisters' Infant Shelter

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, Dombey and Son, Barnaby Rudge, Little Dorrit; Longfellow; Cervantes; Walter Crane; Scott; Irving: Tales

of the Alhambra, A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker (Dutch kitchen); Tennyson; Shakespeare; Hugo; Thackeray; Whittier; Bayard Taylor; Goethe; Arabian Nights; Moore; Jules Verne (cave under the sea); Aldrich; Frances M. Whitcher: Widow Bedott; Bret Harte; Bulwer;

nations/races: Marie Antoinette; Swiss Cottage ("in the land of the Alps");

admission: $12000 have already been taken in from tickets;

critical remarks: composer of articles fears careless on-lookers;

general: Literary figures are "the loved friends of years"; AC are education and increase reading and library loans; "nine nights of living, walking literature, costumes true to the letter, and manners built upon books"; list of which organization represents which author; other entertainment postponed; mentioning characters without pieces or authors

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 10/26/1879

  male/female roles: Locke (General Manager), Tavernier (Art Manager) and Torrence (Head carpenter) are "men of energy and men of taste . . . to whom, in the main, the credit of the grand success of this festival is due."; Max Freeman directing Goethe and Schiller and Arabian Nights booths; man as "Mother Hubbard"

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights (details: Aladdin's Palace, value $ 12000): Aladdin (details on tableaux); Tennyson (Camelot Towers, details): The Idyls of the King, The Dream of Fair Women; Goethe and Schiller (details on interior): Faust (based on paintings by Kaulbach), Die Leiden des jungen Werther, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre; Dickens (divided in 2 sections: Curiosity Shop (details) and Court-room, details on all tableaux): The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers, Nicholas Nickleby, The Bleak House, David Copperfield, Martin Chuzzlewit, Nicholas Nickleby,Great Expectations, Cricket on the Hearth, Our Mutual Friend; Irving: A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker (details on interior); Longfellow;

  audience: 15000 present

  children's program: Large number of children at matinee; girl as "Little old woman in the shoe"; Funny Infants booth: Little Red Riding Hood;

  nations/races: Italian booth (largest, refreshm.) finally open, representing "all ages" of Italy; Egyptian booth: Antony and Cleopatra;

  technicalities: Gauze and calcium light in Goethe and Schiller booth; calcium lights need improvement

  general: "old time stories ably told by modern tellers"; it took some time to settle the idea of the AC; Refreshment booth still popular and in need of donations; detailed lists of performances and participants; some booth change to fit the

tableaux; grand march exchanged for military introduction; sketches of AC by Tavernier photographed and sold; list of receipts;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 10/28/1879

  occasion/location: Pavilion

  male/female roles: Max Freeman gave up directing Arabian Nights; military dress parade new for women;

  authors/pieces: Whittier (details on Snow bound Cottage and booth's interior): Snow Bound, Maud Muller, Mary Garvin; Shakespeare (theater, details on some costumes): Much Ado About Nothing, Henry V, Richard III, The Tragedy of Cymbeline, Measure for Measure, Macbeth, Comedy of Errors; Arabian Nights (decorations and lights added, details on costumes): Aladdin, Noureddin and the Fair Persian; Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, The Cricket on the Hearth;

  audience: People want AC to last longer;

  nations/races: Trianon Garden (detail on costumes); Italian booth visited by hundreds;

  music/dance: Military march with band; list of songs in Italian booth

  technicalities: Wax nose is part of costume;

  critical remarks: Still only few can see performances in booths, again suggestions to solve that problem; suggestions concerning ladies dressing rooms not yet addressed;

  general: Seats erected in the center; details on booths and lists of participants; rehearsals announced; "The Slave Market" (Arabian Nights) on grand stage; military "was the great feature of last evening"; participant of Cervantes booth died, booth was closed; list of receipts;

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Kate at the Carnival"; 10/28/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  authors/pieces: Dickens (as if "stepped bodily from an illustration": David Copperfield; Goethe and Schiller: Faust, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Die Leiden des jungen Werther; Shakespeare: Henry V, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Richard III, Othello, The Merchant of Venice; Moore: Lalla Rookh (details); Tennyson: Idylls of the King; Cervantes: Don Quixote; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Longfellow: Hiawatha, Evangeline; Scott: The Abbot, Kenilworth, Ivanhoe, The Heart of Midlothian; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra (details), The Legend of Sleepy Hollow; Whittier: Maude Muller, Mable Martin, Mary Garvin, Amy Wentworth; Jules Verne; Bret Harte; Bulwer; Walter Crayne;

children's program: Bonbon booth; Land of Funny Infants

nations/races: Egyptian (details); Japanese; Swiss Cottage; Italy (details); Little Trianon; Mme Recamier (details): French is spoken, participants of French dissent;

number of characters: 1200 participants;

general: Pavilion not large enough; refreshment s sold out immediately; "historically and correctly costumed"; nobody complained; visitors recognized characters but not their own friends; comments on costumes (good quote), "glittering show of silk, gauze and spangles"; only tableaux on grand stage seen by everyone; main reason to attend were "costume and character; names of some characters; costumes better than everyday dresses;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/29/1879

  authors/pieces: Longfellow (details on tableaux): The Hanging of the Crane, Hiawatha, Evangeline, Keramos; Bulwer (details on tableaux and costumes): The Last Days of Pompeii, Richelieu, The Lady of Lyons; Moore: Lalla Rookh (details on booth, costumes and tableaux); Shakespeare (naming participants): The Merchant of Venice, The Comedy of Errors, Cymbeline, Macbeth, Measure for Measure;

  nations/races: "harmless-looking Indians";

  music/dance: Minuet by Longfellow company;

  critical remarks: Uncomfortable crowd of about 8000 visitors; more about seeing than about charity;

  general: Description of booths and costumes; details on Bonbon booth and its participants; announcement of rehearsals;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 10/29/1879

  occasion/location: Pavilion

  authors/pieces: Irving: Tales of the Alhambra (Lion's Court; details on "classically correct" interior, tableaux and participants; handmade costumes); Whittier (snow-bound cottage, list of participants): Maud Muller, Mabel Martin; Tennyson (list of participants and costumes): The Dream of Fair Women (details), Idylls of the King, The Lady of Shalott; Cervantes: Don Quixote (many details of tableaux of "Wedding of Comancho");

  nations/races: Patriotic program with military; Italian booth (important woman omitted on the list of participants before);

  technicalities: Glass and gauze in Dream of Fair Women;

critical remarks: Moving around almost impossible; some people come to see the crowd; booths should be higher elevated; some booths still performing, when grand stage began; AC "covereth a multitude of sins";

general: Expenses $ 14000, expected net proceeds between $ 15000 and $ 20000, equally divided among the charities and Locke; astrologer in Arabian Nights booth; Bonbon booth (list of participants); list of receipts; call for donations; program of grand stage;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "The Carnival"; 10/31/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  male/female roles: Daughter of ex-Senator among participants; women being "of more interest to the spectators" have to be described in more detail; Italian booth managed by man;

  authors/pieces: Scott (feudal castle which changed to Court of Elizabeth after three nights; many details on tableaux, participants and costumes): Kenilworth, The Talisman; Shakespeare (details on tableaux and participants): Winter's Tale, Romeo and Juliet, As You Like It, Othello (costume of Iago imported from Damascus), The Merry Wives of Windsor;

  children's program: School closed for performances of the pupils at the carnival;

  nations/races: Chess game was First Regiment against "Hiawatha's" Indians (details on game and its participants); Italian booth had tableaux with no fewer than 60 or 70 characters;

  music/dance: Bagpipes Scotch dances and bagpipes at Scott booth; violin solo by Master Larsen;

  technicalities: Chess plate 32x36;

  general: Seats taken 2 hours before start; Chess game with "live 'pieces'"; ball for benefit of the charities, not a masked ball; list of receipts;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Charity Carnival"; 10/31/1879

  occasion/location: Pavilion

  male/female roles: Ottilie von Goethe (Goethe's daughter in law) part of Goethe and Schiller booth;

  authors/pieces: Tennyson: The Sleeping Beauty, The Lady of Shalott, The Dream of Fair Women; Dickens: The Pickwick Papers; (list of participants); Irving: A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Goethe and Schiller: Faust, Die Leiden des jungen Werther, Wilhelm Tell; Longfellow: Keramos (cotter in the booth); Jules Verne: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea

(submarine grotto, list of participants); Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop (list of participants, Nell's costume);

audience: Over 10000 visitors; many people come every night;

nations/races: Little Trianon (details on interior, list of participants; "historically accurate"); Egyptian booth (details on interior; list of participants and costumes); Italian booth: list of tableaux; whites win chess game

technicalities: Platform for chess game in the center;

critical remarks: Visitors cannot see anything; chess platform "squeezed" visitors, one "lady" fainted due to throng; Pickwick tableaux was long and Cervantes was therefore omitted;

general: AC "cannot be absorbed in one evening"; Knickerbocker booth changed from performance to refreshment; chess game with actors and actresses from the booths, red (Indians) vs. white (Regiment); Temple of Flora: list of participants and flowers; one booth applauds other at procession; participants use newspapers for feedback;

- source (database): The Weekly Arizona Miner (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival, San Francisco"; 10/31/1879

  critical remarks: Entrance was blocked up; "a system of barricades or inclosures" would have been reasonable;

  general: "greatest throng ever seen"; street cars full with visitors and participants;

- source (database): The Weekly Arizona Miner (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Letter from Oakland"; 10/31/1879, p. 2

  authors/pieces: Moore: Lalla Rookh; Dickens: The Cricket on the Hearth; Bleak House, David Copperfield; Cervantes: Don Quixote; Jules Verne (best booth due to gauze illustrations): Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea;

  critical remarks: Disappointment caused by "intensely crowded state of the Pavilion"; hard to figure out some characters;

  general: Necessary to visit AC more than once or twice;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 11/1/1879

  male/female roles: Organizing women are pleased with success, young men are ruined spending all their money; Jules Tavernier participating in Italian booth;

women in male roles; Max Freeman as Goethe; Potter in Keramos booth: Charles Saxe;

authors/pieces: Scott (Holyrood Palace, list of tableaux; female manager): Lady of the Lake, Rob Roy, The Heart of Midlothian; Arabian Nights (male management; list of tableaux): Noureddin and the Fair Persian; Goethe and Schiller: Faust; Shakespeare: Hamlet, The Merchant of Venice, The Comedy of Errors; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Longfellow: Hiawatha, The Hanging of the Crane;

children's program: Special program for children: Cervantes (don Quixote Bath scene), Longfellow (Hiawatha), Tennyson (Elaine), Whittier (Mabel Martin), Dickens (Squeeres' School), Shakespeare (Hamlet, The Comedy of Errors), Funny Infants, dances and ballets;

nations/races: Italian booth ("history is shown in all its phases"): list of participants, costumes and tableaux, among those Columbus; Recamier booth (only conversation): list of participants, performances and costumes; Egyptian

music/dance: French music in Recamier booth; singing in Arabian Nights; Goethe and Schiller booth singing: "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Das Deutsche Herz"; minuet by Longfellow booth;

admission: Details on admission for ball;

general: Women will change dressing habits; no tableaux in Recamier, still one of best, historically correct; Goethe and Schiller booth repeating most popular tableaux; booths greeting each other during procession, gifts handed from one booth to another; Longfellow autographs auctioned; booths become private boxes for ball (pricelist given); expected proceeds $ 61000, expenses $ 15000, $ 6000 for each society; list of receipts; call for donations;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 11/2/1879

  male/female roles: Mentioning "four of the hardest-working ladies in the Carnival" Mrs. Hollis, Mrs. Sanders, Misses Parezo and jones; floor manager: Edwin Newhall;

  authors/pieces: Scott: The Abbot (details on tableaux and participants); Shakespeare (description of costumes): The Merry Wives of Windsor, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet, Measure for Measure, Comedy of Errors, Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice, Henry V, Winter's Tale, As You Like It, Othello, Hamlet; Longfellow; Bulwer;

  children's program: Children enjoyed matinee; son of Carnival President Scott dressed as little George Washington with "his little hatchet"; names of participating children in some tableaux;

  nations/races: Details on Egyptian booth's participants; Italian tableaux listed;

  music/dance: "original Oriental dance , by six slave girls" at Bulwer booth; list of Italian music performances; Ballenberg's Band playing at the ball;

critical remarks: Carnival Echo did not only promote but also criticize the event;

general: “Conclusion of the Grand Charitable Festival”; descriptions of booths; Longfellow booth thanks its supporters; Longfellow autographs sold; private boxes nearly all sold (list of who bought which); tickets for main floor sold by Executive Committee; list of receipts;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 11/3/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  participating organizations: Ladies’ Protective and Relief Society, Little Infants’ Shelter, Old Ladies’ Home, Children’s Hospital, Clay-street Hospital, Young Women’s Christian Association

  male/female roles: Locke as manager receives 1/7 of the net proceeds;

  authors/pieces: Tennyson; Bulwer; Scott; Shakespeare; Longfellow; Whittier; Moore; Jules Verne; Crayne; Cervantes; Dickens; Bret Harte; Goethe; Schiller

  number of characters: Over 2000 participants

  critical remarks: participants were tired; closed when most popular;

  general: Lasted for 9 days and 11 events; “popular authors”; failure was impossible; about $5000 for each society; more ACs to come with improvements and new authors; visitors made familiar with authors like never before; “healthy” for visitors and organizers

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 11/4/1879

  male/female roles: women on the floor only in costume; men in costume or full evening dress;

  authors/pieces:

  nations/races: Refreshments still in Swiss Cottage and Italian booth; Japanese garden as retreat for participants and holders of floor tickets;

  music/dance: Bullenberg’s band played 30 pieces;

  technicalities: Stage filled with seats; entire floor canvas;

  admission: $ 1,50; private boxes $ 5; booths $ 50 (with 10 tickets)

  general: Executive Committee met for preparations for “Fancy Dress Ball”; committee decides on admission and entrance; Executive Committee becomes “Authors’ Carnival Association” having charge of all properties and accessories of the recent Carnival;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Preparations for the Carnival Ball”; 11/4/1879

  occasion/location: Pavilion

  male/female roles: “scene from some booths will be presented at the grand Opera House” under Max Freeman, for Carnival fund;

  technicalities: Canvas covering entire floor;

  admission: Tickets sold by Executive Committee

  general: Meeting of Executive Committee for grand ball; booths sold for private use during the ball (only Pickwick and Arabian Nights left unsold); no changes for refreshment booth; floor access only in full evening dress or costume;

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Necks and Ankles”; 11/4/1879

  male/female roles: Women eager to be mentioned in the papers; women are not responsible for being “homely” but they are responsible for displaying their “ugliness” in public;

  critical remarks: Women “undressed” at AC; criticism was avoided by daily press; no problem for men and women to talk about everything in a public realm; Recamier especially bad taste; every woman wanted to be the center of attraction;

  general: Women in Refreshment booth were especially nice and “still” virtuous in contrast to the other booth participants; “’charity covereth a multitude of sins’”; “vanity reigneth here”;

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Grand Opera House Charity Entertainments”; 11/5/1879

  occasion/location: Grand Opera House; for AC organizers or for those not being part of AC

  participating organizations: Separate from AC management;

  male/female roles: Mrs. M. Hecht presides the committee; Max Freeman (manager of German theatre) manages the entertainment and receives ½ of net proceeds; Irving M. Scott treasurer;

  authors/pieces: Goethe and Schiller; Jules Verne; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Arabian Knights [sic.];

  nations/races: Swiss Cottage in Art Gallery room;

  music/dance: Dancing in Art Gallery room;

general: Some booths repeat their tableaux; details not settled; first time whole building is used; “art gallery, with photographs of participants; smoking room; three evenings;

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “San Francisco”; 11/5/1879, p. 12

  participating organizations: Young Women’s Christian Association, Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society, San Francisco Female Hospital; Infant’s Shelter, Old Ladies Home, Pacific Dispensary

  male/female roles: Manager: Charles E. Locke (of the Bush Street Theater);

  authors/pieces: Addison: Fan Drill; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Cervantes; Goethe and Schiller; Shakespeare: Comedy of Errors;

  audience: Over 10000 people on the first night;

  number of characters: Over 1000 performers

  admission: Detailed list of income through tickets;

  general: “splendid success”; list giving the names and sums of donators; net proceeds divided equally; comments on which booths best so far and what is to come; based on Chicago Carnival (!); participants were eager to purchase Chronical which listed all participants and gave detailed descriptions;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Six Charities”; 11/6/1879

  male/female roles: Introduction of the six charities involved in the AC;

- source (database): Daily Alta California (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Around the City”; 11/7/1879

  general: San Francisco General Circle of the Chatauqua Literary and Scientific Circle postponed meeting because of AC;

- source (database): Daily Los Angeles Herald (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “San Francisco”; 11/7/1879

  audience: Elite of San Francisco

  general: “sensational event” closed with grand ball; net proceeds about $ 38000; “most brilliant social entertainment”;

- source (database): Evening Star (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “A Brilliant Carnival”; 11/7/1879

  general: Same as New York Times 11/8/1879;

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Sugar-Coated Charity Pills”; 11/8/1879

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Scott; Cervantes;

  critical remarks: Charity less important than entertainment;

  general: Receipts $ 43000, expenses $ 20000 (outlays for costumes excluded), costumes probably very expensive; expenses seem higher than proceeds; “didactic uses” led to more reading of represented authors;

- source (database): Pacific Rural Press (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “The Week”; 11/8/1879

  audience: AC has “tired out our society people”;

  general: Thousands of dollars gained; “poor will therefore enjoy the amusement of the rich all during the coming winter”;

- source (database): New York Times (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 11/8/1879, p. 5

  occasion/location: Pavilion

  general: Conclusion of AC with dress ball; “scene was unusually striking and brilliant”;

- source (database): Daily Los Angeles Herald (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “San Francisco”; 11/9/1879

  occasion/location: Pavilion

  audience: Several thousand visitors

  general: Sequel to AC is a dress ball; grand march followed by dances; receipts and expenses given;

- source (database): Los Angeles Herald (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Editorial Correspondence”; 11/9/1879

occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion;

male/female roles: "much of the success" due to Ben C. Truman of Los Angeles representing Mr. Crocker;

music/dance: After procession participants split in groups and danced the lancers;

technicalities: "carpeted with white canvas";

general: AC most successful entertainment held at Pacific Coast; "It was an era in Charity"; costumes of ladies were extraordinarily rich;

- source (database): Los Angeles Herald (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "Editorial Correspondence"; 11/11/1879

  male/female roles: Locke is successful, knows "how to hit the public taste", gets about $ 6000 from AC proceeds;

- source (database): The Daily Inter Ocean (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "San Francisco's Carnival"; 11/13/1879, p. 7

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  participating organizations:

  male/female roles:

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, The Pickwick Papers; Walter Crayne; Scott; Jules Verne; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Irving: A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker, Tales of the Alhambra; Whittier; Arabian Nights (booth torn down for ball); Goethe and Schiller; Longfellow; Tennyson: The Dream of Fair Women, The Idylls of the king;

  children's program: Land of Funny Infants;

  nations/races: Mme Recamier; Little Trianon; Swiss Cottage takes place of Arabian Nights for ball; Egyptian booth; Italian booth only a bit smaller in number;

  technicalities: Canvas covering floor; "myriad gas-jets and its intense lustrousness of electric light";

  critical remarks: "as if Charity were doubtful of the dance"; not all former participants attended the ball, hardly any at all; only Little Trianon in full number;

  general: Booths were equal on the outside but very different on the inside; AC is "vanishing pageant"; past tries to stay but present forces it into "darkness"; no huge crowd at ball; due to smaller number costumes looked even better than before; enough room "to see, and to be seen"; first left at midnight by 2 o'clock

the Pavilion was empty; everything went back to where it came from (nice quote for fading);

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “San Francisco”; 11/14/1879, p. 12

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  male/female roles: Treasurer: Charles Crocker;

  authors/pieces: Cervantes: Don Quisote; Shakespeare; Tennyson; Goethe and Schiller (based on pictures of Kaulbach and Schaeffer): Goetz von Berlichingen, Die Leiden des jungen Werther; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Bret Harte; Dickens: Nicholas Nickleby; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra, A History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker; Addison: Fan Drill (source given; detailed description of costumes and wearers, managers wife as participant); Scott: Kenilworth; Walter Crayne;

  nations/races: “Orientals and Indians”; Swiss Cottage; Japanese booth; Little Trianon (Mme Recamier); Indians fitting everywhere; Epyptian booth; Italian booth (in detail);

  music/dance: Singing in Scott booth

  technicalities: “strong calcium light”; costumes were either new and spectacular or old and worn out;

  admission: 50 cents

  critical remarks: Booth were not high enough; refreshments bound to temperance; there was too much to see, everyone wanted extension of event; some visitors did not know the authors and spelling, so rereading is useful; theatres hardly attended during AC time

  general: Great influence of AC on San Francisco (“Carnival-struck”); a lot of re-visiting; characters and visitors mingled in refreshment booths; fortune telling was part of AC; rereading especially of Addison because of Fan Drill; Chautauqua Society formed and based on represented “standard authors”; especially Dickens’ characters stayed in their roles; auctioning booths for ball

- source (database): New Zealand Herald (Papers Past)

  title/date: “Latest American Gossip”; 11/22/1879, p. 6

  male/female roles: “under the control of the highest people of the city”; Charles Crocker (one of the railroad kings) treasurer;

  authors/pieces: Arabian Nights (“vast wealth of satin and gold, velvet and jewels”); Dickens: The Pickwick Papers, Martin Chuzzlewit; Bret Harte; Longfellow; Jules Verne; Whittier; Shakespeare (only booth with acting; directed by two young actors, Clay Green and Ben Teat)

  nations/races: Madame Recamier;

music/dance: Grand march with music

number of characters: 1300 participants;

critical remarks: Recamier criticized for female nudity; tableaux vivants necessary because too loud for drama

general: “most gorgeous spectacle ever seen on the shores of the South Pacific”; Temple of Flora; Bonbon booth; comments on costumes; tableau of all participants after grand march; San Francisco has talent that need to be supported; $ 4000 proceeds every night; other theatres closed;

- source (database): Chicago Daily Tribune (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “San Francisco”; 11/24/1879, p. 2

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  male/female roles: First W.W. Kelly suggested as manager, but Locke decided to be better;

  audience: Only elite of San Francisco at the ball;

  technicalities: Calcium light;

  admission: Admission could be rejected any time;

  critical remarks: “hurry of final arrangements” led to higher prices; Locke criticized because AC was more expensive than thought to be;

  general: “magnificent spectacle”; $ 44000 proceeds, $ 20000 expenses, $ 3400 for each charity

- source (database): The Vancouver Independent (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 11/27/1879

  general: Same as Daily Evening Bulletin 11/3/1879

- source (database): The Belfast News-Letter (19th Century British Library Newspapers)

  title/date: “An Authors’ Carnival”; 12/16/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion, “a sort of Californian Albert Hall”

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Scott; Dickens; Tennyson; Schiller; Goethe; Madame Recamier; Jules Verne; Irving; Longfellow; Bret Harte;

  audience: Too many people visiting (modern costumes and popular authors don’t go together)

  nations/races: A nice picture of many nations walking side by side

  number of characters: More than 1500

critical remarks: The number of people was annoying and dangerous at the same time

general: “amalgam of British dramatic fete and a Belgian historical cavalcade”; wondering that only three booths are American

- source (database): New Zealand Herald (Papers Past)

  title/date: “Latest America’s Gossip”; 12/20/1879, p. 6

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare (representations were mostly bad): Othello;

  number of characters: 1300 characters;

  critical remarks: “horrible crowd”; only first row could see tableaux in booths; everyone eager to get a glimpse;

  general: Proceeds $ 44000; ended with Ball;

- source (database): Aberdeen Weekly Journal (19th Century British Library Newspapers)

  title/date: “An Authors Carnival”; 12/26/1879

  participating organizations: Six charitable societies

  male/female roles: Direction: “manager of one of the principal theatres”; “young ladies” were eager to be “striking” regardless of “appropriateness”

  authors/pieces: Scott (also called Scotsh booth): Waverly, The Lady of the Lake, Ivanhoe, The Talisman, Rob Roy, Kenilworth, Heart of Midlothian; Tennyson; Irving: The Alhambra; Walter Crane: Jack and Jill; Goethe and Schiller (works were less known to the audience); Cervantes; Addison: Fan Drill

  audience: About 8000 people every evening

  nations/races: Focus of description on Scott and Scottish display; French booth without author; Italian booth

  music/dance: Italian booth had music which attracted more than tableaux; Fan Brigade accompanied by something like a waltz

  number of characters: 1300

- source (database): The Idaho Avalanche (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Late News”; 12/27/1879

  critical remarks: Netted $ 44000 but only $ 18000 reached charities;

  general: “everybody did everything for nothing, because the receipts were for sweet Charity’s sake”

- source (database): Otago Daily Times (Papers Past)

  title/date: “Our American Letter”; 12/30/1879

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Pavilion

  critical remarks: “sweet charity” got less than it earned

  general: $ 44000 proceeds, refreshments not included because they went directly to the organizers; newspapers supported success (“’sweet charity’ owes a great deal to the Bohemians of San Francisco”); carnival society will organize annual ACs; AC heightened “interest in literature and art”

- source (database): The Sunday Call (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “San Francisco’s First Authors’ Carnival”; 7/15/1900, p. 11

  occasion/location: “old” Mechanics’ Pavillion

  male/female roles: “invented” by Californian society lady

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: The Comedy of Errors; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Bret Harte; Moore: Lalla Rookh (described as Persian booth); Dickens: David Copperfield, Old Curiosity Shop; Mother Goose

  children’s program: Little Sisters’ Infant Shelter had booth especially for children (Mother Goose);

  nations/races: French booth (Mme Recamier); Japanese booth; Italian booth; Egyptian booth

  music/dance: “Tannhauser” march played during procession; operas and classic composers presented

  critical remarks: First AC was most successful and the event lost prestige afterwards

  general: Everybody began to labor for the event and to read books; all kinds of performances listed; AC was “pageant”; a couple met at the carnival; drawings of the characters displayed; there was a sketchbook published afterwards

St. Paul, Minnesota

- source (database): Daily Globe (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: 11/11/1879

  male/female roles: Frank T [sic.] Pease, conductor of Authors’ Carnivals

  general: Letter received from Pease; already given in Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities; might take place in St. Paul

Cincinnati, Ohio

- source (database): Cincinnati Daily Gazette (America’s Historical

title/date: “The Authors’ Reception”; 11/29/1879, p. 10

occasion/location: Cincinnati Music Hall; raise fund to prevent debt

participating organizations: Woman’s Christian Association and other organizations of the city

male/female roles: Many women and only few men; male chairman; Executive Committee should consist of 6 men and 6 women

authors/pieces: Addison; Mother Goose; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Poe; Homer; Chauce; Spenser; Shakespeare; Dickens; Scott: Kenilworth, The Talisman; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Cervantes;

children’s program: Mother Goose should be performed by children

general: Only preparations presented; nothing included to displease Christian public; give summary on San Francisco’s carnival; detailed description of organization

- source (database): Cincinnati Daily Gazette (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “East Walnut Hills and the Authors’ Carnival”; 12/6/1879, p. 10

  authors/pieces: Goldsmith

  general: Preparations show “intellectual cultivation” of the suburb; inspiration taken from illustrations and prints; importance of being close to historical truth

- source (database): Cincinnati Daily Gazette (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Reception”; 12/12/1879, p. 6

  general: Collection of statements on other ACs (mainly Chicago) to encourage the women in charge; good description of mingling of visitors and participants

- source (database): Cincinnati Daily Gazette (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “No Authors’ Reception”; 1/8/1880, p. 8

  male/female roles: The Executive Committee consists of six men and six women

  general: AC “indefinitely postponed” due to risk of fire; almost bought booths from Philadelphia

Los Angeles, California

- source (database): Los Angeles Herald (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Local Brevities”; 12/14/1879

  occasion/location: Los Angeles; for Shakespearean Library and Shakespeare Club;

general: Dickens party according to AC in San Francisco;

1880

San Francisco, California

- source (database): The Weekly Arizona Miner (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Author's Carnival"; 9/17/1880, n.p.

  occasion/location: Mechanics Pavillion

  participating organizations: Orphan asylums and other charitable institutions

  critical remarks: "rather a mob than the intellectual entertainment it was supposed to be"

- source (database): New York Times (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "ThePresident's Visit"; 9/22/1880, p. 1

  occasion/location: Mechanics' Pavilion

  male/female roles: Managed by Charles Locke (bush-Street Theatre)

  general: President arrived a few minutes late; Carnival Guard guided the party to its seats; description of general procedure

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "An Intercepted Letter"; 9/25/1880

  participating organizations: Old Ladies' Home, Little Sisters' Infant Shelter, Ladies' Protection and Relief Society, San Francisco Female Hospital, Young Women's Christian Association, Dispensary for Women and Children

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Charles Reade; Hawthorne; Homer; Dickens: David Copperfield;

  audience: This year no "crème de la crème"; again a lot of mingling; President attended carnival

  nations/races: Tableau: The Nation's Homage to the Muse of Music; also booth for musical composers

  technicalities: Booths are much bigger than before, "seem bare and unfilled"

  critical remarks: A lot of tables and chairs "restaurant air"; some young women in too short skirts (Carnival Guard); American author who "Best upholds the dignity of American letters" was unknown to the performers beforehand

general: A lot of work to put up an AC; costumers in town busy with AC; less "bare skin" than the year before; "culture and education" received

- source (database): Daily Evening Bulletin (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Fete of All Nations"; 9/30/1880, p. 2

  authors/pieces: Homer; Scott;

  nations/races: Egyptian booth; list of further nations and types to be included

  number of characters: About 800 out of 1300 every night;

  general: Cleared $ 33 100 so far; suggestion for a "wider plan" for future carnivals including historical and national themes

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: "An Intercepted Letter"; 10/2/1880

  male/female roles: Birth of Venus as tableau; Aladdin again female; Prince Arthur acted out by woman;

  authors/pieces: Dickens: David Copperfield, Barnaby Rudge, The Old Curiosity Shop; Hawthorne: The Marble Faun, House of Seven Gables; Arabian Nights: Aladdin; Tennyson: The Idylls of the King; Bret Harte: The Princess Bob and Her Friends; Shakespeare: The Comedy of Errors;

  audience: Different class of people this year

  children's program: Baby playing little Moses; many children out late;

  nations/races: French booth; Japanese good representation, Consul and wife appeared in American style have well-behaved English-speaking children;

  music/dance: Minuet at French booth; Musical composers' booth with interpretations of Faust;

  critical remarks: Only grand march good to see; characters are not as well represented as they are in the books;

  general: This year's dressing is modest; comments on well known women;

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Authors' Carnival"; 10/4/1880

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare

  general: "distinct educational use" for participants and visitors; reading is better than seeing, especially when novels are turned into drama; acquaintance with "good and wholesome authors"; all in all disappointing because enactment is not

as good as reading; costumes detailed; “good and wholesome authors”; carnival is over

- source (database): The Daily Record-Union (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Authors’ Carnival”; 10/4/1880

  general: Partly same as Sacramento Daily Union 10/4/1880; Carnival is over;

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Expenses of the Carnival”; 10/5/1880

  participating organizations: Six charities

  critical remarks: Expensive way to raise some money;

  general: Entertaining and educative; thoughts of making a permanent entertainment of it like Mardi Gras;

Akron, Ohio

- source (database): The Summit County Beacon (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Coming Carnival”; 12/22/1880, p. 3

  occasion/location: “The Coming Carnival”; 12/22/1880, p. 3

  male/female roles: Frank P. Pease. had a “Festival Bureau” to organize events; Fan Drill was directed by men;

  authors/pieces: Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop; Whittier: Snow Bound; Addison: Fan Drill (by “young ladies”); Shakespeare: Richard III; Scott: Marmion; Moore: Lalla Rookh;

  audience: Not only “own citizens” are invited but also those from “surrounding towns”;

  nations/races: Vienna Bakery

  music/dance: Music was part of the entertainment

  critical remarks: Hall was too small;

  general: Orders for costumes went out to New York, Cincinnati etc.; suggestion for “reading-up”;

- source (database): The Summit County Beacon (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “Opening Night Glories”; 2/23/1881, p. 5

occasion/location: Saenger Hall; benefit of the Ladies' Cemetery Association

male/female roles: Men directing booths; Carnival News edited by a woman;

authors/pieces: Cervantes (Spanish Bazar in red and yellow); Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, David Copperfield, Dombey and Son, Barnaby Rudge, Martin Chuzzlewit, The Pickwick Papers; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Scott; Whittier: Snow Bound; Addison (Queen Anne era): Fan Drill (list of "evolutions"); Shakespeare: Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice, Richard III, Taming of the Shrew;

children's program: Special children's matinee will be given;

nations/races: Chinese Tea Garden

music/dance: Lantz's Orchestra;

technicalities: Numerous chandeliers

general: Detailed lists of participants and their costumes; first tableau (Carnival of Authors) called: The Nation's Greeting to the Genius of Akron"; Carnival Guard in national colors; quote on AC's origin; photographs of characters and booths were made;

Cleveland, Ohio

- source (database): The Cleveland Herald (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Carnival"; 1/31/1881, p. 8

  occasion/location: Tabernacle

  participating organizations: Young Men's Christian Association, Cleveland City Hospital

  male/female roles: "ladies" are in charge; F. P. Pease manager

  authors/pieces: Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop; Longfellow: Hiawatha; Cervantes; Verne: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Shakespeare: Hamlet; Irving: Tales of the Alhambra; Whittier: Snow Bound; Addison; Arabian Nights("1001 Knights"): Aladdin

  nations/races: Egyptian (Cleopatra); Vienne Café(eating without AC admission possible); "festooned flags from every nation";

  music/dance: Full orchestra

  technicalities: Fountain in "Alhambra" booth; Fireplace with Whittier;

  number of characters: Over 500 "prominent ladies and gentlemen" (Dickens 75);

  general: "a reunion of the various characters born from the imagination of the most prominent authors both living and dead"; "magnificent exhibition"; dolls , candy, Indian curiosities, cigars, doughnuts and pumpkin pies sold; detailed program for the night

- source (database): Boston Daily Advertiser (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Old Whittier Homestead”; 2/9/1881

  general: Letter from Whittier to organizers, giving details on the homestead

Cairo, Illinois

- source (database): Daily Cairo Bulletin (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: 5/1/1881

  occasion/location: Hartman’s Hall

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Scott Dickens; Tennyson; Irving; Whittier; Arabian Nights (1001 Nights); Moore; Mother Goose;

  number of characters: Over 200 participants

  general: From May 17th – 21st; Fairy tales; “unique, instructive, and wonderful entertainment”; unusual attractions;

- source (database): Daily Cairo Bulletin (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date5/17/1881:

  occasion/location: Hartmann’s Hall

  male/female roles: Voting for carnival queen (exciting for young and old);

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: Merchant of Venice; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop; Tennyson: The Dream of Fair Women (recitation and tableau);Scott: Ivanhoe;

  children’s program: Matinee for children;

  music/dance: Orchestra, duet, solo;

  admission: Single ticket: 25 cents; season ticket: $1; children: 15 cents;

  general: AC is “absorbing topic of conversation and the interest awakened is great”; costumes arrive from Chicago; beginning and end was Shakespeare; dinner served; “novel, Unique and instructive”;

- source (database): Daily Cairo Bulletin (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: 5/18/1881

  occasion/location: Hartman’s Hall

  music/dance: “Vocal and instrumental”

  general: Full of Cairo “society people”; program given in detail

- source (database): The Daily Cairo Bulletin (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Carnival of Authors”; 5/19/1881

  occasion/location: Hartman’s Hall

  participating organizations: Ladies of the Episcopal Church

  male/female roles: Women are educators

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare; Dickens: Pickwick Papers, Old Curiosity Shop; Whittier; Scott

  audience: Everyone “regardless of creed” is invited

  general: Women always eager for new entertainment; AC are intelligent entertainment; more reading due to carnival

- source (database): Daily Cairo Bulletin (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: 5/20/1881

  general: Program; dinner menu

Concord, Massachusetts

- source (database): Boston Daily Advertiser (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “The Concord School”; 7/28/1881, p. 8

  audience: Audience “delighted”

  technicalities: “illuminated boats”

  general: On Concord river

Washington, D.C.

- source (database): The Evening Critic (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “Music and Mirth”; 12/29/1881

  occasion/location: Spencerian Business College

  participating organizations: New Church (Swedenborgian) Society

  authors/pieces: Longfellow: Hiawatha; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Dickens: David Copperfield, The Old Curiosity Shop; Stowe: Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Shakespeare; Irving: Rip Van Winkle;

  audience: Guests representing “characters from their favorite authors”;

  music/dance: Songs were given

- source (database): National Republican (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’’ Carnival”; 12/29/1881

  occasion/location: Spencerian Business College

  participating organizations: New Church (Swedenborgian) Society

  authors/pieces: Spenser: Faerie Queen; Chaucer; Shakespeare: Hamlet, The Merchant of Venice, Henry V, A Midsummer Night’s Dream; Goethe; Schiller; Dickens: David Copperfield, Old Curiosity Shop, The Cricket on the Hearth; Irving: Rip Van Winkle; Stowe: Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Twain; Longfellow: Hiawatha; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Burns; Poe; Scott: Guy Mannering; Bret Harte: M’liss; Mother Goose; Coleridge: The Rime of the Ancient Mariner;

  nations/races: Guy Fawkes represented; Charlotte Corday (French woman, murderer of Jean Paul Marat); Queen Catherine

  number of characters: Songs and recitations

  general: “decorated with green festoons, wreaths, banners, and United States flags”;

1882

San Francisco, California

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Freehand Notes”; 10/14/1882

  participating organizations: Pacific Dispensary Hospital, San Francisco Female Hospital, Little Sisters’ Infant Shelter

  authors/pieces: Jules Verne: Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; Chaucer: Canterbury Tales; Longfellow;

  children’s program: Three young girls “applied” as participants;

  nations/races: Military display; Japanese Tea house working with society girls; not American if Longfellow isn’t part

  general: On preparations; criticism should be avoided; oysters served

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Union (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “Like Busy Bees”; 10/21/1882

  participating organizations: Six benevolent societies

  male/female roles: “young girls” especially mentioned; Mr. J. Eldredge manager

authors/pieces: Chaucer; Homer

critical remarks: Not all charities equally needy; young people should not be on public display

general: Benevolence and charity used synonymously; last AC of its kind, everything will be auctioned afterwards; ACs were "educators"

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Record Union (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "How to get up an Authors' Carnival"; 10/21/1882

  participating organizations: "six of the more needy institutions"; done by Carnival Association

  male/female roles: "president and treasurer are necessarily gentlemen"; women were responsible for the booths in all aspects; men and women are equal in the committee

  authors/pieces: Chaucer; Hugo; Homer; Irving; Longfellow;

  audience: Good for those who are "imagination starved"

  nations/races: Beside authors display of "picturesque characterisitics of nations and races"; "Old Southern Home" planned but whites did not want blacks

  technicalities: Gas lights and glitter

  number of characters: Especially hard to find participants because managers wanted "the right" people; managers had to ask friends and hope on "vain" volunteers

  general: Postponed to 23rd as street repairs continued; structure of organization given in detail; guarantee fund established; lasted 12 nights

- source (database): Sacramento Daily Record Union (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "For Charity's Sake"; 10/28/1882

  participating organizations: Old Ladies' Home

  authors/pieces: Hugo; Doré; Arabian Nights: Aladdin;

  audience: Working class does not know all the pieces;

  nations/races: Japanese booth ("American girls" dressed as Japanese), visitors are taken to Japan (authenticity of display); French booth; Jews in character in Doré's biblical pictures; Chinese booth participants in costumes from Hongkong

  technicalities: Grand stage opened every 20 minutes; two engines to lighten stage and booths

  general: AC has a climatic run from skepticism to enthusiasm; Terra Cotta booth (participants look like clay figures) very popular; everyone finds something he likes at the carnival;

Canton, Ohio

- source (database): The Stark County Democrat (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “Authors’ Carnival”; 12/16/1882, n.p. (mutilated)

  occasion/location: Clark’s Hall; Benefit of the Cemetery Association

  male/female roles: Booths were “filled with female divinities in appropriate costumes” who “wore a tired look, . . . not receiving any pay”

  authors/pieces: Tennyson; Whittier; Shakespeare

  critical remarks: Disappointment that Poe and Byron were left out; ironic apology at the end of the article

1883

Hartford, Connecticut

- source (database): Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Connecticut.”; 12/15/1883, p. 261

  general: Images of AC in Hartford, Connecticut;

- source (database): Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Hartford’s Carnival of Authors”; 12/15/1883, p. 262

  participating organizations: Union for Home Work

  authors/pieces: Tennyson; Goethe; Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop, Martin Chuzzlewit; Du Maurier; Longfellow; Scott (sitting in a chair and watching his characters); Shakespeare; Mother Goose

  number of characters: 200

  general: Large stage and 8 booths; “literary enchantment-scene”; “living, speaking actualities” not dreams; sketches drawn and sold;

1884

Dresden, January

- source (database): The Churchman (Google)

title/date: “Germany”; 01/23/1887, p. 93

occasion/location: Meinhold’s Hall

general: Realized 5400 Marks

1885

Honolulu, Hawaii

- source (database): Daily Honolulu Press (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: 11/3/1885

  occasion/location: Benefit of Honolulu Library

  general: Proposal for AC; ACs “have been a permanent success in the cities of the United States”; “good influence” on young people; “map of leading literary lights”

1886

Boston, Massachusetts

- source (database): The Youth’s Companion (American Periodicals Series Online)

  title/date: “Holiday Evenings”; 12/8/1887, p. 554

  occasion/location: Mechanics’ Hall (Thackeray Carnival)

  general: ACs become less important, as music (representing history and national sentiment) becomes popular

1887

Salt Lake City, Utha; April 11th

- source (database): Salt Lake Evening Democrat (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “Grand Authors’ Carnival and Concert” (advertisement); 4/8/1887

  occasion/location: Walker Opera House; for Orphans Home and Day Nursery Association

male/female roles: Executive Committee only women

authors/pieces: “Tableaux from various authors”

audience: For supper visitors in character are especially welcome

music/dance: Grand concert

general: Army scenes; pantomime exercises by deaf mutes

Denver, Colorado

- source (database): Rocky Mountains News (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “An Authors’ Carnival”; 12/14/1887, p. 6

  occasion/location: Music Hall; benefit of Farragut Relief corps, G.A.R.

  male/female roles: “ingenuity and classical culture of Denver’s ladies” shown; managed by Mrs. R. N. Edwards; directed by Mrs. Louisa DeLango; participants were “a number of well known and popular young ladies”

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: Midsummer Night’s Dream, Henry VIII; Scott: Guy Mannering, Rob Roy; Burns: Highland Mary; Dickens: Pickwick Papers, Our Mutual Friend, Dombey and Son, Great Expectations, Old Curiosity Shop, David Copperfield, Barnaby Rudge; Longfellow: Hiawatha, Wayside Inn; Whittier: Snow Bound; Stowe: Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women; Haggard: She;Mrs. Henry Wood: East Lynne; Bulwer: The Last Days of Pompeii; Goethe: Faust

  music/dance: dancing

  general: “appropriately costumed”; clear focus on women;

- source (database): Rocky Mountain News (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Carnival of Authors”; 12/15/1887, p. 5

  occasion/location: Music Hall;

  male/female roles: All statues presented by women managed by Mrs. Louise De Lango; Carnival manager: Mrs. Sara T. Edwards (as “Queen of Night”)

  authors/pieces: Statue of: “Vanity”, “Mercy, Justice and Peace”, “The Vestal Virgin”, “Rock of Ages”, “At the Shrine of St. Agnes”

  music/dance: Dance and tableau combined; Singing by Messers. McFarland and Newton: “Johnson’s Cake, Walk,” Mr. McFarland and Miss Honderson: “What are the waves saying?”

1889

Macon, Georgia

- source (database): The Macon Telegraph (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 5/1/1889, p. 5

  occasion/location: Volunteers' armory

  male/female roles: Participating and selling women were very "charming"

  authors/pieces: Thackeray: Vanity Fair; Whittier; Scott: The Lady of the Lake; Mother Goose; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop; Thomson: The Seasons;

  technicalities: Order and composition of the booths given

  general: Vanity Fair booth was what it implied; copies of a photograph of the original curiosity shop sold; seemingly no stage but only selling booths

1890

Springfield, Massachusetts

- source (database): Springfield Republican (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "The Festival of the Authors"; 4/17/1890, p. 3

  occasion/location: St. Paul's Church

  participating organizations: St. Paul's Church Young People

  authors/pieces: Mother Goose; Scott: The Heart of Midlothian; Shakespeare: A Midsummer Night's Dream, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet; Irving: Rip Van Winkle; Whittier: Maud Muller, Barbara Frietchie; Moore: Lalla Rookh; Lew Wallace: Ben Hur; Burns: Tam O'Shanter; Goethe: Faust; Marietta Holley: Samantha at Saratoga; Twain: Tom Sawyer

  music/dance: Singing was part of the event

  general: Not only tableaux but also drama, not authors but pieces are mentioned

1891

Los Angeles, California

- source (database): Los Angeles Herald (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "Tonight's Programme"; 4/13/1891

participating organizations: Flower Festival Society

male/female roles: Women in all leading positions except for treasurer who is a man; president of society was "experienced" in doing such entertainments

authors/pieces: Tennyson: Elaine; Shakespeare: Hamlet, Othello; Dickens: Pickwick Papers

audience: Thousands of people

nations/races: Russian booth performed Russian wedding

music/dance: Orchestra; minuet danced by Mrs. Jarley's wax figures

general: "moral show";

1894

New Orleans, Louisiana

- source (database): The Daily Picayune (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Carnival of Authors an Artistic Success"; 6/29/1894, p. 3

  occasion/location: Washington Artillery Hall

  participating organizations: Women's Club, Carrollton ladies, Woman's Industrial and Social Association

  male/female roles: "noble women"; grand stage managed by men;

  authors/pieces: Catherine Cole (selling "Cole punch" etc.); Scott: Heart of Midlothian, Ivanhoe, Lady of the Lake, Kenilworth; Goethe: Hermann and Dorothea, Faust, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre; Longfellow: The Courtship of Miles Standish, Hiawatha, Evangeline; Homer: Ilias; Shakespeare: Hamlet, Richard III, Midsummer Night's Dream, Twelfth Night

  nations/races: Homestead booth representing "American Homes and the Safeguard of American Liberties"; "Comic History of the US booth": baseball game English vs. Indians, Washington's Little Hatchet, Old and New Declaration of Independence, Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland at home

  music/dance: Piano music; music by Grand Opera House Orchestra

  general: "immortal characters the great poets created"; "music, flowers, tableaux, handsome men, beautiful women"; only poets and philosophers can describe the scene; recitations; "lovers' retreat"; "intellectual enjoyment"

Henderson, North Carolina

- source (database): The News and Observer (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "A 'Carnival of Authors'"; 9/11/1894

participating organizations: “Woman’s Book Club”

male/female roles: invited by Mrs. C. A. Lewis

authors/pieces: Whittier: Evangeline; Shakespeare; Goldsmith; Thomas Gray

music/dance: Music and songs

general: Private event; women had to become creative and enact a literary piece

San Francisco, California

- source (database): The Morning Call (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: “Egyptian Booth”; 10/28/1894: 15

  general: Question on former carnival remembered by a reader; question on a quote and explanation

Baltimore, Maryland

- source (database): The Sun (America’s Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: “Beauty and Books”; 12/28/1894, p. 8

  occasion/location: Lehmann’s Hall; Benefit of All Hallow’s Church

  male/female roles: Tableaux directed by man; men chose women covered by a gauze for the first dance; only women in costume;

  authors/pieces: Authors not mentioned;

  music/dance: Song and dance

  technicalities: Stage hung with green and white bunting

  general: Decorated with evergreens and laurel

1897

Oakland, California

- source (database): San Francisco Call (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

  title/date: “Carnival of Authors”; 1/24/1897

  occasion/location: Reed’s Hall in Ebell Society’s building

  participating organizations: Unity Club of the first Unitarian Church

  male/female roles: “army of young ladies and gentlemen” required for performances; 4 men and 3 women in charge

authors/pieces: Schiller; Goethe; Shakespeare: Romeo and Juliet, Othello, Hamlet, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, Macbeth; Dickens: David Copperfield, Oliver Twist, Barnaby Rudge; Dumas: The Three Musketeers; Irving: Rip Van Winkle, The Legend of Sleepy Hollow; George du Maurier: Trilby

nations/races: Scotch sword dance

number of characters: 120

- source (database): The San Francisco Call (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "Authors' Carnival"; 1/29/1897: 11

  occasion/location: Reed Hall

  participating organizations: Unity Club

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: Romeo and Juliet (balcony scene), Macbeth (witches dance), As You Like It (duke in exile); Irving: Rip Van Winkle; Dickens: Dombey and Son (reading); Du Maurier: Trilby (studio scene); Goethe: Faust, Herman and Dorothea; Scott: Rob Roy

  music/dance: Several musical pieces accompanying tableaux; Verdi; Faust

  technicalities: Stage enlarged for tableaux;

- source (database): The San Francisco Call (Library of Congress, Historic Newpspapers)

  title/date: "Born of Song and Story"; 10/30/1897: 11

  occasion/location: Reed Hall

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: King Lear, Romeo and Juliet, Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, Julius Caesar, Othello, Hamlet, Macbeth; Irving: Rip Van Winkle; Dumas: King Louis XIII; Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop, Pcikwick Papers, David Copperfield, Oliver Twist; Goethe; Schiller; Scott (image of Rob Roy); Du Maurier;

  number of characters: 120

1898

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

- source (database): The Milwaukee Sentinel (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: "Black Forest Village"; 5/13/1898, p. 3

  nations/races: German section (Schwarzwald: list of details and participants)

- source (database): The Milwaukee Journal (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Opening of Great Show”; 5/16/1898, p. 6

  occasion/location: Exposition Building; soldiers’ monument fund

  male/female roles: Men supervised performances

  authors/pieces: Shakespeare: Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, Merry Wives of Windsor, As You Like It, Much Ado about Nothing, Richard III, Henry VIII

  nations/races: “representing all nations”; French section (Louis XV); Welsh booth; Russian tea and dainties

  general: Readings, songs and tableaux; costumes came from Chicago; French dolls sold

- source (database): The Milwaukee Sentinel (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Opens with Success”; 5/18/1898, p. 3

  occasion/location: Exposition building; Soldier’s Monument fund

  authors/pieces: Stowe: Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Dickens: Old Curiosity Shop; Shakespeare (160 character): Romeo and Juliet, Antony and Cleopatra, Macbeth, Much Ado About Nothing, The Merchant of Venice; Mother Goose; Longfellow: The Courtship of Miles Standish; Hawthorne: The Marble Faun; Cooper

  audience: 2000 visitors

  children’s program: “a brownie and a Mother Goose show” in the afternoon enacted by 75 children

  nations/races: Yankee booth;; Spanish absent; German joke on marriage and divorce; Russians: tea and caviar sandwiches; Greeks: candy; French: paper flowers; Polish: tea with rum and cake; Holland: cocoa; American: candy to belt buckles; Welsh: buttermilk; Irish songs and readings

  music/dance: Concert of War songs; “Star Spangled Banner”; “Tenting on the Camp Ground”; Welsh lullabies; Italian music;

  technicalities: Red electric light; electric star in D.A.R booth

  number of characters: 1000 characters

  general: “prevalent spirit of patriotism”; “the American is always the American”; grand procession led by Uncle Sam (“a brownie”) and Columbia accompanied by military music; less about literature more about types and nations; trees not delivered on time; cigarettes sold; exhibit of autographs; “Stars and Stripes were wound in friendly alliance with the colors of [other] nations”; Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) booth: all in white, red and blue

- source (database): The Milwaukee Journal (19th Century US Newspapers)

  title/date: “Every Nation and Every Age”; 5/18/1898

authors/pieces: Cooper; Dickens; Shakespeare;

nations/races: Red, white and blue everywhere; no German author only types; meeting Germans was possible in beer garden; details on represented nations and their booths; "gypsies"

music/dance: Everyone rose, when Star Spangled Banner was sung;

number of characters: About 1000;

general: Seeing and talking to literary characters; procession led by Uncle Sam and Columbia before American characters; list of procession's order; "bon bons in patriotic colors";

1909

Alameda, California

- source (database): The San Francisco Call (Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers)

  title/date: "Adelphians Plans Authors' Carnival"; 9/21/1909: 8

  occasion/location: Building fund

  participating organizations: Adelphian Club

  authors/pieces: Tennyson: Dream of Fair Women (living pictures); Shakespeare; Longfellow;

  nations/races: Spanish booth; colonial

  music/dance: Music and song one night; "Scenes From Old Plantations"; "The Angel's Awakening" whistled;

  general: "playlet" of Alice in Wonderland (list of cast); rehearsals by Miss Ida May Bradley; refreshment booths: ice cream, candy, lemonade, tea, coffee;

1920

Miami, Florida

- source (database): The Miami Herald (America's Historical Newspapers)

  title/date: "Author's Ball and Book Fair This Week"; 4/11/1920, p. 6

  occasion/location: Fund in aid of young writers, artists and musicians; in private house

  participating organizations: League of American Penwomen (national organization)

male/female roles: Patroness: Mrs. Woodrow Wilson

authors/pieces: Mrs. Larz Anderson: The Spell of Japan; Gertrude Bonnin (Sioux Indian): Old Indian Legends

music/dance: Musical program

general: No booths but rooms with themes; books sold; autographed photographs of President Wilson and his wife; prize for best impersonation;