

Philadelphia Story

An English Horn's Eye-View of the Life and Times of a Great Orchestra over Six Decades, 1900 - 1960

Michael Finkelman
Philadelphia, PA

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FOREWORD

Of American orchestras during the grand epoch of music-making in this country, none has become more legendary than the renowned Philadelphia Orchestra. While to a very great extent this group was the creation of its music director, Leopold Stokowski (Philadelphia Orchestra, 1912-1941), there were some important antecedents which helped determine the later destiny of this remarkable ensemble.

It is the purpose of the present paper to trace the path of one significant unifying line of this odyssey from its beginnings through the Stokowski years and beyond. In so doing, it is hoped that matters previously obscured will not only be clarified, but will serve to reflect the larger character of work done in this unique institution as a whole.

The artistry of a number of outstanding solo performers has graced the Philadelphia Orchestra for many decades. The quality of their work, carefully nurtured by Stokowski, infused his orchestra with a character and plasticity of sound unmatched by any similar ensemble of its time. This is the story of one on those chairs and of the musical setting in which it was to be found.

I. A NEW ORCHESTRA, 1900 - 1901

The orchestral situation in Philadelphia in the 1890s was a curious one. While cities such as Boston¹ and New York² had long possessed

full-time symphonic organizations, and Chicago in 1891 had lured Theodore Thomas away from New York to found its orchestra, Philadelphia, one of the country's oldest and historically most important cities had no comparable ensemble.³

In the post-Civil War era, the city had begun to experience visits from the established orchestras of New York and Boston, with Theodore Thomas' New York orchestra⁴ the first to arrive. Thomas, who also functioned as music director for Philadelphia's National Centennial celebration in 1876, continued his visits when he became conductor of the New York Philharmonic (i.e., from 1877) and Leopold and Walter Damrosch were heard in Philadelphia with their New York Symphony Orchestra in the same period. Visits by the Boston Symphony Orchestra were also a regular part of Philadelphia's musical life, and by the 1890s, this ensemble was playing a series of five concerts in the city every season. There were many who believed that in addition to the home-grown musical offerings, these visits by the larger groups constituted quite enough to satisfy the city's musical appetite.

Philadelphia's local orchestral life had effectively begun with the first concerts (in 1821) of the Musical Fund Society⁵, a remarkable organization, among the efforts of which was the sponsoring of periodic orchestral concerts. Its modest-sized orchestra was composed of players recruited from the many local theatre "orchestras", some of which were as small as six players. These arrangements gave Philadelphia its introduction to the world of orchestral music. Much of the Classical and a portion of the Romantic repertoire reached audiences in the city for the first time in this way⁶. With the completion in 1857 of Philadelphia's Academy of Music, the Musical Fund Society Orchestra folded, its last concert being given the 28th of May of that year. The feeling was that now that Philadelphia at last had its own opera house, no one would want to attend orchestral concerts any longer!

July first of that year, however, saw the début of the [Philadelphia] Germania Orchestra⁷, so called in resonance with a touring group of the same name which had arrived on these shores from Berlin in 1848⁸. In contrast to its

namesake, the Philadelphia group found favor, and quickly assumed the function of the former Musical Fund Society Orchestra, performing in that organization's hall until 1868. In that year, a new series was initiated in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and this continued for quite some time. By the 1880s, however, the group was also playing in the Academy of Music. (This must have come as something of a surprise to the musical nay-sayers of 1857.) The Germania ceased giving concerts by the spring of 1895, and the organization dissolved the following year.

By this time, a new group, also calling itself the Germania Orchestra had come into existence. Like its predecessor, it was established under Musical Fund Society auspices, and performed in that organization's hall in its first two seasons (1895-96, 1896-7). William Stoll was the director, and surviving programs show that he introduced a number of novelties to Philadelphia, including Dvořák's **Scherzo Capriccioso**. Like the original Germania Orchestra, and very much reflecting common practice in central Europe at the time, the personnel of this ensemble numbered only about 45 players, very small indeed by modern standards. The first two seasons, consisting of circa twenty concerts each (not including private engagements) did not break even, and a new sponsor had to be found for the third season. Only a portion of this was given in Musical Fund Society Hall, the remainder of this season's offerings being presented in Witherspoon Hall, quite nearby the Academy of Music. Stoll did not conduct all of these concerts, as the extant programs indicate. A young local conductor named Henry Gordon Thunder led the music on 15 November 1897, in a program which included what may have been the first Philadelphia performance of Dvořák's **New World Symphony**. By this orchestra's fourth season (1898-99), its financial future was in serious doubt, and a planned fifth season does not appear to have materialised.

Another local group was the Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Charles M. Schmitz, a former director of the original Germania Orchestra. (Schmitz had founded his ensemble as a direct successor to the earlier group.) This orchestra played afternoon concerts in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts on a weekly basis, beginning in the autumn of 1896, and these continued through the spring of 1899. Though this organization too expected to have an 1899-1900 season, there is no evidence that this was realised⁹.

A third successor to the Germania Orchestra was Henry Gordon Thunder's New Symphony Orchestra¹⁰, established in 1896, though its concert activities appear to have commenced only the following year. Thunder's orchestra was a fifty-piece ensemble, incorporating some two dozen former Germania players. It is clear that in his first season (1897-98) of 10 concerts in MFS Hall, Thunder made quite certain that none of his activities conflicted with those of the (New) Germania Orchestra, with which he maintained cordial relations. That Thunder's Orchestra was being supported *ab initio* by the Musical Fund Society would appear to indicate that, at least as far as the Society was concerned, this orchestra succeeded the (New) Germania after the latter's second season. The chances are that the personnel of Thunder's ensemble and that of the (New) Germania were virtually the same. This would have been nothing unusual in the period, when virtually all of the orchestral players in Philadelphia made the principal part of their living as theatre musicians. (The local orchestral life was still being run on a largely *ad hoc* basis.) Thunder's group continued its work for four seasons in MFS Hall, and on Friday afternoons in Witherspoon Hall, as many tired businessmen and ladies finishing their shopping found a Friday matinée an enjoyable terminus to the week's activities. (This tradition, already well established by this time, would be continued by another group shortly thereafter.) Thunder's orchestra folded in the spring of 1901, at the time the Philadelphia Orchestra Association was established.

In this period too, a spirited amateur group, the Symphony Society of Philadelphia (established spring, 1893) came into existence. While normally an amateur organization, however notable, would have no significant effect upon professional music-making in a large city, the Symphony Society was no ordinary ensemble. Composed of many of the city's most skilled amateurs (some of whom had studied abroad) and conducted by a first-rate professional musician (the noted composer William Gilchrist), many of the orchestra members were people of high distinction in their professions, and wielded considerable influence in city affairs. The power of the Symphony Society would shortly play a major role in the formation of the Philadelphia Orchestra.

Such, then, were the principal aspects of the volatile state of orchestral affairs in Philadelphia in the latter part of the 1890s. Though there continued to be considerable rumblings in the press about the city's musical shortcomings

vis-à-vis Boston or New York¹¹, it is doubtful indeed that anyone could have foreseen the changes which were soon to take place. The stage, though, had already been set for what was about to come.

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As was highly fashionable at the time, the municipality operated or licensed a number of centers of entertainment during the summers. One of these was the famous Willow Grove Park¹², north of the city, reachable by express train from downtown. Closer at hand was Woodside Park¹³, a pleasant trolley [tram] ride from center city. Among the major amenities of these summer idylls were frequent open-air concerts, generally informal, offering a mixed fare of light and "serious" music. (These venues also provided much-needed employment for theatre musicians in the out-of-season months.) Hired for a summer of concert work at Woodside Park in 1899 was a German conductor named Fritz Scheel.

Scheel (born Lübeck, 1852) was the product of a highly musical family, and had had a comprehensive musical training and extensive conducting experience by the time of his arrival in this country¹⁴. He had come here at the age of 40, to lead a small touring orchestra to New York and other places. While the orchestra did not fare well, the young conductor, both dashing and musically commanding, garnered positive reviews, and determined to remain. By 1894, he had been hired to conduct a series of concerts with the resident orchestra at the fabulous World Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Here he undoubtedly made contact with Theodore Thomas, music director of the Exposition. This may well have resulted in his heading for San Francisco, where in the autumn of that year he founded the San Francisco Symphony Society, which he led with distinction for the next four seasons¹⁵.

By the spring of 1899, the restless Scheel undoubtedly was thinking of obtaining a post for himself on the musically important East Coast. While he well knew that Philadelphia could offer no such position, he was very likely aware of the strong indications in the press of the desire to form a permanent orchestra in the city. Scheel must have sensed the potentialities of this situation for a man of his abilities.

The Woodside Park summer engagement was his introduction to Philadelphia audiences¹⁶. It provided ample opportunity for the display of his abilities, as two full concerts

were required daily throughout the two-month period, normally seven days per week(!)¹⁷ His work impressed the influential board of the Symphony Society, and they offered him the conductor's post of their organization for the upcoming 1899-1900 season¹⁸. While the directorship of an amateur group giving only three concerts per year would not normally have been enough to attract a man of Scheel's stature, he was guaranteed other paid work through the offices of the Society. Part of this bargain was to be two all-professional concerts in the spring. Scheel determined to see what Philadelphia could offer, and accepted.

Now resident in the city, Scheel's first opportunity to conduct a professional ensemble "in season" came with the National Export Exposition (September - October, 1899), held in the Commercial Museum in West Philadelphia. There were daily afternoon and evening concerts connected with these festivities, performing groups being hired on a weekly basis, the Marine Band and Sousa's Band among these. Based on the positive impression he had made the previous summer, Scheel was engaged for a set of concerts, 2-7 October, and quickly recalled his New York Orchestra¹⁹ for a week of work very much along the lines of what they had done before. The local critic for *The Musical Courier* took in these offerings and had this to say (11 October 1899):

"Fritz Scheel's New York Orchestra at the Export Exposition was a success. On Thursday afternoon [5 October], he played to more than 20,000 people. It is evident that he has made a bold and lasting impression in Philadelphia..."²⁰

Plainly, the conductor was making his presence in Philadelphia known to all with an ear for music.

The famous Admiral George Dewey, who had led the victorious U. S. forces in the Spanish-American War the previous year, and in the more recent Philippines Conflict was being fêted all over the country at this time, and Philadelphia wanted in the worst way to have him come for a visit. This was not to be until some time later, however. In the meantime, Scheel had his hands full in directing an increasingly restive Symphony Society, a local choral group, and fulfilling several other engagements, all connected with his obligations to the Symphony Society, which as noted, was paying him a generous salary. The board of this body was somewhat fretted with regard to having to keep its promise to the conductor of two "all-professional" concerts in the spring – or it

was, before a plan was hatched to make this an advantageous undertaking for the Society.

The inventive board conceived a means of at once eliciting a great deal of public and critical attention to their work, while drawing an immense ticket-paying crowd to a pair of extraordinary musical events led by Scheel. Among the principal objectives of these manifestations would be to prove that Philadelphia was capable of raising a worthy symphonic ensemble drawn purely from local talent. There could therefore be no depending upon the group of players he had hired in New York, and Scheel was deputed to take careful notes on the abilities of the local theatre players over the winter months, with a view toward their eventual engagement. In forming this new ensemble, he drew very heavily on H. G. Thunder's Orchestra, itself composed almost entirely of theatre musicians²¹. Still, there remained the need for a huge public attraction which would rivet the attention of the press to a musical event to which it might otherwise have given short shrift.

Matters transpired to the Symphony Society's advantage when Admiral Dewey proved available to come for a brief spring visit to Philadelphia. Thus, the pair of concerts were arranged and billed as "Relief Concerts" for the families of men killed or wounded in the Philippines Conflict. Here was a noble effort in every respect, in keeping with the progressive aspirations of the day, and something which the good Admiral, as a major public figure, could scarcely afford to ignore. That the orchestra was to be constituted exclusively of local musicians was widely touted in the musical press, and the newspapers buzzed daily with the approach of the great commander's visit.

The first concert, Thursday March 29th, in the Academy of Music, included Goldmark's **Rustic Wedding Symphony** (a favorite of the day), Liszt's **Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2**, and the famous pianist, Vladimir de Pachmann, as soloist. The *Record* of 30 March, as a matter of local pride, listed the complete personnel of the orchestra(!) The two oboists were Adolph Sauder and John Lotz, later to be connected for many years with the Philadelphia Orchestra (vide infra).

For the second concert, Thursday April 5th, also in the Academy of Music, Admiral Dewey was present, he having arrived in town the previous day, amid unparalleled hoopla. (The city was not about to miss the slightest chance to bask in the limelight reflected by the famous man.) The program on this occasion included Beethoven's

Eroica Symphony, Liszt's **Hungarian Rhapsody No. 1**, and the famous basso, Édouard DeReszke, as soloist.

Not surprisingly, both of these events drew packed houses, and Scheel scored a resounding success, widely reported in the musical press. In Philadelphia, the *Record* (6 April) commented:

"The program of the final concert by local talent under the baton of conductor Scheel only served to confirm and deepen the admirable impression made by this noteworthy experimental symphony ... on Thursday of last week ..."

The conductor had, in fact, acquitted himself so brilliantly in this work that efforts were now undertaken²² to retain him permanently in Philadelphia. (While committee work to raise funds for a permanent orchestra in the city had been ongoing since 1898, what was wanting by the year 1900 was not so much the money [\$250K as an initial guarantee], but a conductor who could make the enterprise work. Now, the guarantors believed they had found their man.) Indeed, as the *Record* (6 April) further states:

"Herr Scheel has certainly demonstrated beyond dispute his claim to be considered as a notable symphony conductor, while the richness of the local material for such a permanent orchestra as is desired has been triumphantly proved."

Scheel's work in Philadelphia since the summer of the previous year had been so successful that this must be considered the synthesizing element in the formation of the Philadelphia Orchestra under his baton.

The original Philadelphia Orchestra was in considerable part recruited from the body of local players with whom Scheel had worked in the two spring concerts²³. Of the 83-man Relief Concerts orchestra, 41 (i.e., half) became members of the new Philadelphia Orchestra, the remainder being drawn from that small proportion of prominent Philadelphia players unavailable the previous spring, while the bulk of the remaining personnel, as noted in the *Public Ledger* were "from outside cities". (One wonders how many of these last had also been in Scheel's New York Orchestra of 1899.)

The inaugural season of the new orchestra opened 16 November 1900 in the Academy of music, with a young Russian pianist, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, as soloist²⁴. The program included Goldmark's **Im Frühling** overture and Beethoven's **Fifth Symphony** in the first half,

with the young soloist in his Philadelphia debut in Tchaikovsky's **Concerto No. 1** opening the second half, followed by Weber-Weingartner: **Invitation to the Dance** and Wagner's "Entry of the Gods in Valhalla" from **Das Rheingold** to close. The *Record* (17 November) reported that:

"The orchestra itself demonstrated last night that the hopes placed in a largely local personnel were not extravagant...."

Still, the critic noted some problems, especially in the woodwind section, and particularly among the flutes and bassoons.

The fledgling orchestra's first season consisted of a total of six concerts at home, with one program repeated in Reading, Pennsylvania. The era of subscription pairs (echoing the effective practice established in Boston) lay ahead. Apart from Gabrilowitsch, soloists in this first season included such established names as Fritz Kreisler and Teresa Carreño. The oboe section comprised Adolph Sauder as first and Max Lachmuth as second and English horn²⁵. The only notable repertorial item with English horn in this season was Engelbert Humperdinck's attractive and atmospheric **Maurische Rhapsodie** (18 January), then quite new.

It is very clear that this first season was experimental in nature. While Scheel's musical abilities by this time were not the slightest bit in doubt, there was the matter of conclusively proving his fitness as the director of a permanent ensemble to be considered. Far greater than this was the question of whether sufficient interest existed on the part of the audience to support such an undertaking. Despite the symphonically relatively inexperienced body of players at his disposal, the dynamic Scheel demonstrated conclusively the interest a man of his calibre could elicit in a city not then much noted for its artistic enthusiasms.

The crowning glory of his brilliant first season arrived with the founding of the Philadelphia Orchestra Association, 17 May 1901, with Alexander van Rensselaer named as first president. This remarkable and munificent Philadelphia banker was to prove a mainstay in the city's musical life for the next three decades, and a source of invaluable support to the Orchestra. The founding of the Orchestra Association was proof positive that the city was prepared to provide a permanent commitment to its newest asset.²⁶

By the end of the first season, it had become

clear that if Philadelphia were to maintain an orchestra on a permanent basis, and one remotely to be compared with those of New York or Boston, the musical personnel of the ensemble as it was then constituted simply would not serve. Scheel expressed his strong conviction to the board that only in Europe were there to be found players of the quality required in such an effort. Unquestionably, it was van Rensselaer who provided Scheel the funds to scour Europe for the necessary artists.

The conductor returned in the autumn with a full complement of players drawn from his contacts all over Germany and The Netherlands²⁷. The latter yielded a very young oboist recruited from Amsterdam's famous Concertgebouw Orchestra. His name: Peter Henkelman.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

1. Boston Symphony Orchestra, founded 1881
2. New York Philharmonic, founded 1842, but established on a sound basis only when Theodore Thomas became music director in the late 1870s; New York Symphony Orchestra, founded 1877.
3. Also present in this period were Baltimore's privately-funded Peabody Symphony Orchestra, established 1868, and the Cincinnati and Pittsburgh Symphonies, both founded 1895. (The Cincinnati Orchestra would be suspended in 1906, not to be reinstated until 1909, when a young man named Stokowski was hired as conductor.) St. Louis too had an active musical life including orchestral concerts since the 1860s, and on a more professional basis since the 1880s, but without a true full-time orchestra.
4. founded December, 1864. The many tours made by the conductor with his orchestra became nationally famous as "The Thomas Highway". Thomas conducted the New York Philharmonic 1877-78, and was its music director 1879-1891, at which point he departed for Chicago.
5. founded 1820
6. A tiny number of visits by outside groups, almost all from Europe, complemented the local orchestra's offerings in the pre-Civil War era.
7. founded 1856
8. Philadelphia was one of the first places this ensemble performed. When the eponymous orchestra was founded in Philadelphia, many members of the earlier ensemble were incorporated into the new group. This appears also to have been the reason why the original name was retained.
9. As with all of the groups under discussion here, surviving documentation is extremely scanty.
10. Thunder (1867-1958) was to become Philadelphia's leading choral director in the first half of the 20th century. His orchestra appears to have been established in part as an adjunct to his Choral Society of Philadelphia (founded 1895), which he continued to lead for decades. The orchestra, known after its

first season simply as the Thunder Symphony Orchestra, was a constantly losing financial proposition, the deficit having to be made up by the conductor out of his own resources. While the musical press repeatedly noted Thunder's selfless activities in this regard, at least one authority roundly denounced his abilities in conducting an orchestra. Thunder's skills as choral director, significant organ recitalist and notable music educator, on the other hand, appear never to have been called into question.

- 11) Among the more interesting solutions offered to Philadelphia's orchestral plight was a plan to bring Walter Damrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra to the city for a full season of 40 concerts, beginning in the autumn of 1900. (*Musical Courier*, 12 October 1898.) While a backer was actually found for same, nothing in fact came of this plan, though it may well have provided impetus toward the founding of the Philadelphia Orchestra. (It is also to be noted that the critic in this same source had repeatedly intensely attacked the quality of Damrosch's work in *Philadelphia*, where his orchestra had played the entire summer of 1897 in Willow Grove Park.) The Boston Symphony at this time too substantially increased its local activities, performing ten concerts in the city during the 1899-1900 season, instead of the usual five. Clearly, there was a burgeoning demand for music in Philadelphia at this time.
12. opened 1895
13. opened 1897
14. Concertmaster of the city orchestra of Chemnitz, and an active military band conductor while still an adolescent, Scheel had gone to Schwerin, not yet twenty, as solo violin and assistant conductor at the opera and for the summer festivals there. Thus experienced, he returned at 26 to Chemnitz as Kapellmeister and violin soloist. During nine seasons there, he distinguished himself so highly that the great Hans von Bülow in 1867 summoned him to Hamburg as his assistant. In this wise, the young conductor came to know and work with such figures as Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and Anton Rubinstein.
15. This orchestra folded with the earthquake of 1906. Scheel also conducted opera in San Francisco.
16. The *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia* (1913) exceptionally mentions Scheel as having initially appeared at Woodside Park in 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War. No details are given, and no other source consulted provides corroboration for this assertion.
17. The 1899 Woodside engagement, as was normal with such summer work, repeated a great deal of repertoire from one concert to the next. The orchestra had been recruited in New York City and was billed as "Scheel and his N. Y. Orchestra".
18. This meant, of course, that William Gilchrist, effectively the founder of the organization, was ousted from his post. This so incensed the members of the orchestra that a great many resigned to form a new orchestra attached to the Mendelssohn Club chorus, which Gilchrist had founded in 1874. While the Mendelssohn Club exists to this day, its orchestra was a short-lived affair, and appears not to have endured more than two seasons (i.e., until spring, 1901). Many of its members in fact continued to play in the Symphony Society, the activities of which would not have conflicted with those of the new orchestra

under Gilchrist. More significant in terms of public reaction resulting from Scheel's appointment is that he was paid a handsome salary, whereas Gilchrist, who had virtually created the organization, was paid only a token emolument for all of his selfless work. That this should happen in addition to Gilchrist's ouster particularly angered a large proportion of the veteran orchestra members.

19. The personnel of this group does not appear to have been recorded, either for the summer or fall concerts.
20. Another source set the audience at 7000, but the general point was clear.
21. One player only from the Symphony Society took part in this orchestra.
22. primarily through the offices of Dr. Edward Keffer, president and manager of the Symphony Society, and Scheel's sponsor in Philadelphia. Work toward establishing a permanent symphony orchestra in Philadelphia was widely reported in the musical press, including in such national publications as *The Musical Courier*.
23. Many of these players, as noted, were members of H. G. Thunder's orchestra, and continued to play under his baton through the spring of 1901. Their activities in this regard would not have conflicted with the very limited first season of the new orchestra.
24. four days after his U.S. début, in New York City. In later years, he would be closely associated with the Orchestra as co-conductor.
25. Both of these gentlemen were Philadelphia free-lancers who had long been active in the city's musical life. (Sauder, as noted, had been first oboe in Scheel's orchestra the previous spring; Lachmuth had been first oboe in Thunder's orchestra.) They would continue in service to the Philadelphia Orchestra after this season as extras in the oboe section until the WWI era. This applies as well to John Lotz, second oboe in Scheel's Relief Concerts orchestra.
26. The Symphony Society, which Scheel had also led this season (1900-1901) was dissolved at this point, and its library, timpani and music stands passed to the Philadelphia Orchestra, by way of support for the new group.
27. By the beginning of the 1901-1902 season, indeed, only ten of the original group of players had been retained. (Of these, four would be dismissed by the spring of 1902.) Of the many original players no longer with the orchestra by 1902, nine would rejoin later in the decade, and one in 1917. Some members of the Relief Concerts orchestra not in the original Philadelphia Orchestra would join the ensemble in the latter part of its first decade.

II. THE GENESIS: PETER HENKELMAN, 1901-1925

Peter Henkelman was probably eager to go to America. For a young orchestral player at the the outset of his career, this must have seemed an adventure only to be dreamed of. While there is no record of his section position in the Concertgebouw Orchestra, it is quite clear that he did not occupy a solo post. Scheel,

however, in order to sweeten the offer, must then and there have proposed that the English horn chair in the Philadelphia Orchestra be his. The young oboist, then only two years out of the conservatory, surely considered this an opportunity not to be missed. Scheel was probably able to offer him ocean passage as well, through the offices of the new Philadelphia Orchestra Association.

Peter Henkelman was born 8 October 1882 in the Dutch town of Heusden, and began studying violin at the age of seven. A few years later, he began serious study of the piano¹. At the age of thirteen (i.e., 1895) he entered the Royal Conservatory of The Hague, where he started to study oboe and English horn, as well as continuing his studies of violin, piano and theory. He began playing with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1899, presumably directly upon his graduation. This was not so extraordinary a phenomenon at the time as it would seem today. Neither is it very unusual that he had not touched an oboe prior to entering the conservatory. He very likely had no clearly defined career objectives at the age of 13(!) and simply expected to obtain a general musical education, while perfecting his playing skills on piano and violin. That he was turned to another instrument was unquestionably necessitated by the need for oboes in the conservatory orchestra. Thus it was that the fledgling musician became an oboist almost certainly without having intended to do so². It was after his second season with the Concertgebouw Orchestra that Fritz Scheel engaged his services, on what may well have been the last stop of the conductor's recruiting tour³.

With the beginning of the 1901-02 season, Scheel must have felt at the height of his powers, with a new orchestra, effectively his own creation, and a strong board behind him. By the time of the second concert (29/30 November) of that season, the full Philadelphia Orchestra personnel were listed in the program for the first time. This was no mere roster of names, but a kind of digest with brief résumés of each artist. Scheel was clearly very proud of his accomplishment. These unusual listings continued throughout the remainder of the season, and even appeared in The Musical Courier.

1901-02

OBOES: **K. Stiegelmayr**
First Prize, Vienna Conservatory
Former Member of
Hamburg Philharmonic

A. Rensch
New York [also Librarian]

ENGLISH HORN: **P. Henkelman**
Former Member of
Concertgebouw Orchestra

Program notes are curiously wanting for the novelties of this season, in which no standard repertoire with English horn was performed(!) 56 concerts were given. Included was the Beethoven **Rondino** for wind octet, with Stiegelmayr and Henkelman doing the oboe honors. This indicates that Henkelman ranked second in the section overall.

1902-03

(As in the first season, no personnel listings at all appear in the programs.)⁴

[OBOES: A. Doucet, 1st; K. Stiegelmayr, 2nd;
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman]

Program notes are again wanting for most of the novelties of the season, which produced 71 concerts. Now, some of the major works of the English horn's orchestral repertory appear for the first time, including Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** (22/23 February) and his **Symphonic Fantastique** (6/7 March), Rossini's **William Tell Overture**, Dvořák's **Carnival Overture** (9/10 January) and his **New World Symphony** (28/29 November, repeated in the "request" program at the end of the season, 13/14 March). Philadelphia music criticism being in its infancy at this stage, not a great deal was said about any of these concerts, and certainly no local reporter focused in any way on the wind playing in the orchestra. The concert was reviewed in a general way, however, and it is interesting to note that the **New World Symphony** did not appear to please upon its initial audition! Philadelphia audiences would warm to this work in a quite unmistakable fashion in seasons to come.

Among the non-subscription concerts this season, the most notable by far was that of 5 December, a complete performance of Berlioz' **Damnation of Faust** with the Choral Society of Philadelphia under its founder, Henry Gordon Thunder. For reasons none too clear, most of the musical press did not see fit to review this concert. The house was small, perhaps due to inclement weather.

By this time, Scheel had instituted a series of Popular Concerts at low prices, most often

given on Sunday afternoons. (These provided extra work for the players in a season which by modern standards was quite thin.) A much larger proportion of the public were thus exposed to orchestral music than would otherwise have been possible.⁵

Scheel, who was correctly described as a musical progressive, did not neglect young listeners either, and by 1902 established Philadelphia Orchestra Young People's Concerts (in the Broad Street Theater), which continued throughout his tenure.

1903-04

(Again, no personnel listings appear in any program.)

[OBOES: A. Doucet, 1st; K. Stieglmayer, 2nd;
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman]

Significant repertoire with English horn this season included Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** (four times, on tour), Dvořák: **Scherzo Capriccioso**, Rossini: **William Tell Overture**, Tchaikovsky: **Romeo and Juliet**, and the tone poem **Salambo** by local composer Frank Cauffman. This season too produced the first verifiable mention of Henkelman in a concert review, this of the Philadelphia Orchestra's first performance of Sibelius' **The Swan of Tuonela** (29/30 January):

"Mr. Scheel did well in placing on his program the beautiful mood picture of Sibelius, an exquisite [tone] poem. The solo part for the English horn was taken by Mr. Henkelman [sic] of the orchestra, and rarely has one heard a tone of such clarity from this most difficult of reed instruments." (*Philadelphia Press*, 31 January 1904)⁶.

While other Philadelphia papers noted the concert, none apart from the *Press* (critic unnamed) mentioned Henkelman. One intimated that the **Swan** was not much noticed or appreciated! As with Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, once this work became familiar through repetition, a decided change in opinion would take place.

Notable this season too was Scheel's invitation to his friend Richard Strauss to come to Philadelphia for the first time to conduct. For the 4/5 March pair, the composer led a program including his **Till Eulenspiegel** and **Tod und Verklärung**. He was immensely taken with the quality of the orchestra's work, and this would not be his last visit to the city.

1904-05

(A personnel list finally appears again, but only in the spring.)

OBOES: Alfred Doucet, principal;
K. Stieglmayer;
P. Henkelman[sic];
Adolph Sauder
[occasionally listed: an extra player]

ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman[sic]

Repertoire of importance with English horn this season included Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, Dvořák: **New World Symphony** (this time by request!), Mozart: **L'Améro** and Rossini: **William Tell Overture**. The best-known work of American composer Frederick Converse, **The Mystic Trumpeter**, op. 19, received its world première under Scheel's baton, 3/4 March. (The work includes English horn in its scoring.) Richard Strauss' delightful **Symphonia Domestica** was given its second U. S. hearing 10/11 February under Scheel, after substantial delays in locating an oboe d'amore, which plays a prominent role in this score⁷.

In terms of symphonic solos for the English horn, few works can offer a part as richly endowed as that in the D-minor symphony of César Franck. Indeed, this score in many respects is a model of symphonic writing for the winds in general. Franck's masterpiece at last received its first Philadelphia Orchestra performance, under Scheel, 27/28 January. (This appears to have been its first audition in Philadelphia.) The critics again ignored Henkelman's contribution, fine as it must have been, to concentrate on the work as a whole, it being a novelty to them. As with the Dvořák **New World Symphony** and Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela**, at least one reporter had a negative opinion of the music. And as with the Dvořák and Sibelius works, the Franck symphony would, in a short span of time, go on to become a perennial favorite with Philadelphia audiences. Indeed, a positive mania eventually surrounded this music, causing it to find its way onto more request programs over the years than any other work.

The orchestra continued its sporadic forays into the realm of chamber music, including wind music. Scheel, with his early band work, must have relished these pieces, which included the Beethoven **Rondino** (octet), the Spohr **Nonett**, the Strauss **Serenade**, op. 7, and the op. 15 **Serenade** by Walter Lampe. This last includes a part for the English horn. Many of these performances were given in the home of a wealthy society matron and active orchestra supporter. Work of this kind did much to grease

the gears of the organization.

1905-06

(Again, no personnel listing appears.)

[OBOES: A. Doucet, K. Stiegelmayr, P. Henkelman,
A. Sauder (extra) ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman]

The season opened auspiciously, 27/28 October, with a substantial program including **The Swan of Tuonela**. As with the first Philadelphia Orchestra performances of two seasons previously, Henkelman was not credited in the program⁸. The *Philadelphia Press* (critic unnamed) again faithfully reported on the concert:

“**The Swan of Tuonela**, a strangely fascinating composition, [with the] solo scored for English horn, was most beautifully played by Mr. Henkelman.” (28 October 1905)

Most strangely, two other local papers seem to have been confused as to who the soloist was on this occasion. On the twenty-second of October, *The North American* reported “... the first oboeist [sic], Mr. Alfred Doucet, will play the solo part.” Came the twenty-eighth, and the critic neither mentioned the name of the soloist nor even the composition in his review. *The Public Ledger* for that day reported “... a plaintive melody for the cor anglais, superbly played by Mr. Doucet.” Precisely what gave rise to such discrepancies can, at this remove, only be speculated upon. Evidently, the critics in question were unclear as to the duties of the solo oboe and the solo English horn in an orchestra provided with the latter. They appear to have assumed that where the English horn has a significant solo (in the absence of same for the oboe), it was automatically played by the first oboist⁹. Also, it strongly appears that one or both were not in attendance at the concert, or at the very least, left well before its conclusion. (In neither case would this have prevented their writing reviews and submitting same in a timely fashion. Sadly, this was not at all uncommon practice, particularly in these early days. Fortunately for the culprits, names were not affixed to their handiwork.) In any case, someone was wrong here, and under the circumstances, the critic for the *Press* appears unlikely to have been the guilty party. While the other local papers all reviewed the concert, none took notice of the soloist in **The Swan**.

Also given this season were Berlioz’ **Roman Carnival Overture** and César Franck’s **D-minor Symphony**. The house concerts of varied cham-

ber music also continued, an important gesture to Philadelphia’s gentry, who were the financial mainstay of the orchestra. A number of such concerts were also given by Philadelphia Orchestra members in the White House.

We have noted above (f. I,11) the summer concerts in Philadelphia by Walter Damrosch and his New York Symphony Orchestra. Despite the negative notices these efforts sometimes generated, this ensemble continued to play in Willow Grove Park through the summer of 1907. Its repertoire, both in 1905 and 1907 included Dvořák’s **New World Symphony**, though there is no mention in the extant programs of the English horn soloist, nor are personnel lists provided. In the summer of 1906, however, Damrosch programmed the **Romance** for English horn by Philippe Gaubert, a recital piece with piano recently composed in Paris, presumably orchestrated by the conductor. The performance of this miniature took place June fifth, and in this case the soloist was named: Mr. [Marcel] Tabuteau, a young French oboist who had joined Damrosch’s orchestra the previous summer.

(Tabuteau had been brought to this country in the summer of 1905 as English hornist in the New York Symphony Orchestra, a position he retained through the summer of 1908, after which he became principal oboist of the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra. It was from here in the following decade that he would be recruited for the Philadelphia Orchestra. It is surely no exaggeration to say that neither the soloist that day nor a young organist and choirmaster then in New York under whose baton the oboist would later rise to fame could have predicted their subsequent fate together.)

Tabuteau’s early career as solo English horn in a major concert ensemble would play a significant role some twenty years later, in the Philadelphia Orchestra.

1906-07

(As before, no personnel listing appears.)

[OBOES: A. Doucet, K. Stiegelmayr, P. Henkelman, A.
Sauder (extra) ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman]

Notable repertoire with English horn this season included Berlioz’ **Roman Carnival Overture** again, Dvořák’s **New World Symphony** and again the Franck **D-minor Symphony**. These three, along with Sibelius’s **Swan** were by this time well on their way to establishing a permanent place in the most important and characteristic repertory of the Philadelphia Orchestra. Also of importance in the season were Rimsky-

Korsakov's **Antar**, Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet** and the first and final movements from his third orchestral suite.

There were no fewer than six performances of **The Swan of Tuonela** this season, of which the first five, in January, were conducted by Scheel. By this stage, the Philadelphia Orchestra had established a regular schedule of concerts in Baltimore and Washington, neither of which possessed its own orchestra at the time. On tour weeks, Washington was normally played Tuesday, Baltimore Wednesday. In the case of early January 1907, the regular Tuesday evening concert in Washington's Belasco Theatre had to be given as a Wednesday matinée, Tuesday of that week being New Year's Day. Nonetheless, the orchestra played its regular Wednesday evening concert in the Lyric Theatre in Baltimore (i.e., full concerts in two cities in one day). The programs for both of these included **The Swan of Tuonela!** The regular subscription pair (4/5 January) at home in Philadelphia soon followed, with the same program as earlier that week, quite an extraordinary one for Peter Henkelman. While the Philadelphia papers all reviewed the concert, none had anything to say about the soloist's work. This may in part have been due to no solo credit being accorded in the program, which as noted, was normal at the time¹⁰.

Given the orchestra's by now heavy concert and touring schedule, it is hardly surprising that the music director's health would weaken. He personally prepared and conducted virtually all of the orchestra's concerts, including many non-subscription engagements, and was involved in innumerable organizational and administrative activities required to maintain the ensemble. (In other words, he did much of the work that a managerial/support staff would do today, in addition to his own.) By mid-January, he came down with "la grippe" (i.e., influenza) during an orchestra engagement in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (the state capitol), and his health steadily declined over the ensuing weeks. Devoted to his work as he was, he nonetheless continued to conduct, a foolhardy determination which undoubtedly hastened his demise¹¹. The last subscription pair he directed was that of 1/2 February, with the famous pianist, Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler as soloist. By early February, he had to take his leave, promising to return the moment his strength was restored. Philadelphia Orchestra concerts for the two weeks which followed (including the 7/8 and 14/15 February pairs) were conducted by Scheel's assistant, August Rodemann, who was also the orches-

tra's first flutist.

A replacement had to be found, and fortunately, one was available in the person of the Italian maestro, Leandro Campanari, who directed the remaining concerts of the season, beginning February 19th, in Harrisburg. This program included the final **Swan of Tuonela** performance of the year. The closing subscription pair (1/2 March) featured Ossip Gabrilowitsch as soloist. Among the other highlights of this season were the first Philadelphia Orchestra appearance of Saint-Saëns, as soloist in one of his own concerti, as well as a Choral Society concert performance under H. G. Thunder (23 November 1906) of his **Samson et Dalila**, in the presence of the composer. While the Philadelphia Orchestra was specifically named in the last instance, the orchestra was not specified in the Choral Society's program of 4 March 1907, a complete performance of Berlioz' **Damnation of Faust**, a staple of their repertoire. It is strongly to be assumed that the "full orchestra" on this occasion was largely, if not entirely composed of Philadelphia Orchestra members.

Fritz Scheel died 13 March 1907, sincerely mourned by all Philadelphia musicians and music lovers. In his few years in the city, he had done more for its music than any musician had to that time.¹²

* * * * *

The Orchestra Association was now faced with a dilemma it had little anticipated. Scheel was only 55, and had been in robust health. Even during his final illness there seemed to be hope for his recovery. Now he was gone, and the season at an end. Campanari had failed to impress, and was not considered for reengagement. Clearly, Scheel was not going to be an easy man to replace.¹³ The board initially approached the famous Fritz Steinbach in Cologne (Brahms' favorite conductor) with an offer. He declined, as the Philadelphia Orchestra at that stage would not have been a step up for him. Franz Kneisel, the distinguished concertmaster of the Boston Symphony, and founder of the first professional string quartet in this country was also contacted, but he preferred to remain where he was. Requests in this wise were also made of Wilhelm Gericke (former music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra), Felix Weingartner (who had appeared with his own orchestra in Philadelphia in 1905) and Willem Mengelberg (conductor of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra, and

Henkelman's former director). All declined, as they had excellent positions in Europe. Steinbach and the esteemed Prof. Felix Mottl in Munich were consulted, and both recommended Carl Pohlig, court conductor to the King of Wurttemberg, in Stuttgart. Pohlig was highly regarded by his colleagues, and had excellent critical press. Despite his solid and secure position, he was willing to come to America¹⁴. The Philadelphia Orchestra board signed him to a three-year contract, which in 1910 was renewed for another three years.

Pohlig's first concert with his new orchestra took place 18 October 1907, the opening concert of the Philadelphia Orchestra's eighth season. While much has been made of his adhering very largely to a Germanic repertoire, a careful examination of his programs reveals a surprisingly catholic offering of music. This included even a few of his own works and those of other local composers among an increasing array of interesting European novelties. The brevity of his tenure in Philadelphia cannot be ascribed to interpretational idiosyncrasies either, as some have claimed. His skills as a director were far too solid for such arguments to carry any real weight.

The true problem with Pohlig must be ascribed to his lack of social graces of the kind that would please in the peculiar environment cultivated in Philadelphia at that time, a curious blend of forward-looking liberalism melded with the then all-pervasive American parochialism, compounded with a considerable admixture of Quaker straight-lacedness and studied simplicity. This made for a rather strange cocktail which Pohlig, despite his cosmopolitan background, was little prepared to digest. Nonetheless, the musical value of what he did in this city cannot be denied. Henkelman's abilities continued to improve under Pohlig's direction, and the conductor publicly acknowledged his fine work on several occasions.

1907-08

OBOES: Alfred Doucet, Karl Stiegelmayr, P. Henkleman [sic], A. Sauder
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkleman [sic]
(This list appears once only, near the end of the season.)

Repertoire of importance with respect to the English horn this season included Balakirev: **Symphony [Nr. 1]**, in its Philadelphia premiere, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** and **Symphonie Fantastique**, the favored Dvořák **New World Symphony** and Franck **D-minor Symphony**, and Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet**.

While these concerts were regularly reviewed, no critical notices of significance regarding Henkelman's work this season have come to light. The Choral Society again gave Berlioz' **Damnation of Faust** (4 March), accompanied by the orchestra.

1908-09

OBOES: Doucet, Stiegelmayr, Sauder, Henkleman [sic]
ENGLISH HORN: Henkleman [sic], Stiegelmayr

Significant repertoire this season as far as English horn parts are concerned included the Balakirev: **Symphony [Nr. 1]** again (this work having garnered a favorable response the previous season), and again the Berlioz **Roman Carnival Overture** and Dvořák **New World Symphony**. A novelty of interest in this respect was Tchaikovsky's overture to a play by the Russian dramatist Ostrovsky, entitled **The Storm**, noted as a Philadelphia première.

1909-10

OBOES: Doucet, Stiegelmayr, Sauder, Henkleman [sic]
ENGLISH HORN: Henkleman [sic], Stiegelmayr

By this stage certain works destined to remain permanent favorites in the repertoire of the Philadelphia orchestra were already deeply entrenched in the repertoire. These included Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** and **Symphonie Fantastique** (the latter with two performances on tour, as well as two at home), Dvořák's **New World Symphony** and César Franck's **Symphony in D-minor**. All of these received performances this season, and it may well be due to their very frequent appearances on Philadelphia Orchestra programs that the critics were generally disinclined to discuss them to any degree, as they likely felt they had nothing new to say about them.

In this season too, Pohlig introduced a new composition of his own, **Impressions of America**, a four-movement suite, the third of which ("Sunday Morning in the Country") includes solo passages for oboe and English horn. The response to his work being positive, Pohlig repeated it near the end of the season, for a total of four performances (two pairs). To the conductor's credit this season too is his invitation to Sergei Rachmaninoff to come for the first time to Philadelphia and introduce his compositions. Come he did, and on 26/27 November conducted his **Symphony No. 2** in its North American première and Mussorgsky's **Night on Bare Mountain**, as well as playing three of his preludes (including the famous

one in C-sharp minor). (Pohlig opened the concert with Tchaikovsky's **1812 Overture**.) This was the beginning of a long and fruitful relation between the Russian composer and the Philadelphia Orchestra, which he latterly termed the greatest he had ever heard. Pohlig's generous invitation to Rachmaninoff is a milestone in Philadelphia Orchestra history.

By this stage, summer concerts in the Philadelphia area had become a regular part of the city's attractions. Not only was there the series in Philadelphia's own Woodside Park, which had initially brought Fritz Scheel to the city, but rather more importantly, there was the ongoing series in Willow Grove Park, some miles north of the city, as previously mentioned. A diverse array of musical offerings were given here, with ensembles generally contracted for a period of two to four weeks. Sousa's and Patrick Conway's bands were particular favorites, but there were more orchestras engaged than bands. Among these was a group of 50 Philadelphia Orchestra players, led by local composer-conductor Wassili Leps. This ensemble first appeared at Willow Grove in the summer of 1910. As solo credits are given with extreme rarity at this stage, it is impossible to determine the composition of the oboe section. (Personnel lists are never provided for any organization.) By all that can be determined, it does not appear that Peter Henkelman was a member of this sodality, but that possibility cannot be ruled out entirely. Leps' orchestra played almost every season at Willow Grove through 1925, at which point it seems that the concerts as a whole were discontinued. Prior to the advent of the Great War, it appears that Henkelman preferred to return to Europe for summer engagements. By 1916, however, he had definitely joined the Leps ensemble, and his work with this group is documented in the surviving programs. (vide infra)

1910-1911

OBOES: Alfred Doucet, Eugène Devaux, P. Henkleman [sic], Adolph Sauder
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkleman [sic], E. Devaux

Significant repertoire with regard to the English horn this season included the "famous four", namely Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** and **Symphonie Fantastique**, Dvořák's **New World Symphony** and Franck's **D-minor Symphony**. Reappearing after an absence of several years was Strauss' **Symphonia Domestica**, the oboe d'amore required therein presumably again being borrowed from New York. A novelty

this season was the first Philadelphia performance of Kalinnikov's **Symphony Nr. 1**, which features a lovely English horn solo in the slow movement.

1911-1912

OBOES: Alfred Doucet, Herman Rietzel, P. Henkleman [sic], Max Lachmuth
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkleman [sic], John Lotz

Standard repertoire with English horn this season included the "famous four", with an extra two performances of the Largo only from the **New World Symphony**, and the Rossini **William Tell Overture** (another perennial favorite). Also given were Mozart's **L'Améro**, a reprise of Kalinnikov's **Symphony Nr. 1** and a novelty, the prelude to **The Woman and the Fiddler**, a stage work by the Danish-American Herman Sandby, then the Philadelphia Orchestra's principal cellist: the composer conducted. The 10/11 November concerts opened with Franck's **D-minor Symphony**, after which one assumes there was a break. (The intermissions are rarely indicated in the programs of this era.) The second half then opened with Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela**. Clearly, Henkelman gained considerable exposure here, though perhaps more than he needed at any one moment. Nonetheless, he came through with flying colors, and at least two of the city's critics took the trouble to acknowledge his efforts:

"The distinguishing feature of the well-attended concert of the Philadelphia Orchestra under Pohlig ... was the work of the wind instruments ... the individual honors [being] borne off by the English horn player, Mr. Henkleman [sic], in his remarkable performance in ... Jean Sibelius' characteristic setting. The Sibelius tone-poem ... was the best-liked of all the music given. One could not ask to hear better English horn-playing than that ..." (*Public Ledger*, 11 November 1911, unsigned)

"At the Philadelphia Orchestra concerts of last week, paramount ensemble work came in the renderings of César Franck's D-minor Symphony, while in the Sibelius tone-poem, 'The Swan of Tuonela', the English horn player's solo achievement was so important as to make it the second most notable feature of excellent performances. In fact, had his name been set down, Mr. Henkleman [sic] might rightly have been termed the soloist of the two concerts, so brilliant and artistic were his efforts. Conductor Pohlig made him on each occasion acknowledge, by repeated rising and bowing, the hearty applause of the audience ..." (*Germantown Independent Gazette*, 17 November 1911, unsigned)

That Henkelman's name was not to be found in the printed program was, of course, entirely congruent with the practice of the era. (The observant critic had to turn to the personnel list to locate the artist's name.) Plainly, the Philadelphia Orchestra's English hornist had by this stage made major strides in his artistic development, though the best was yet to come.

Rounding out the season's offerings was a non-subscription concert with the Choral Society of nothing less than Bach's **St. Matthew Passion**, under H.G. Thunder, "accompanied by 50 members of the Philadelphia Orchestra". Given the importance of the oboe da caccia writing in this work, one assumes that Henkelman took part in the performance. (The critics did not much note the instrumental solos.)

By early 1912, undercurrents Pohlig had stirred up among the Orchestra Association's board members and its support groups had become too strong to ignore. Among his many undesirable traits were an unwillingness to discuss much of anything with the board, his occasional unnecessary roughness in rehearsals, and obvious lack of desire to associate with the players outside of rehearsals and concerts. Nor did his stiff manner and courtly politeness impress the influential parties concerned, and particularly not the increasingly powerful Philadelphia Orchestra Women's Committees.¹⁵ The Orchestra Association had by this stage long regretted its hasty decision in granting Pohlig's second three-year contract, which still had a full year to run. By the latter part of 1910, indeed, they had already begun casting about for a new conductor, to take over in 1913.

One of the first to notice these ripples in the musical waters was Leopold Stokowski, employed since the autumn of 1909 as conductor of the Cincinnati Symphony. By 1912, he was feeling considerable discomfort with his position there, due in large part to friction between himself and certain members of the Cincinnati board. Stokowski's recent bride, the distinguished American pianist, Olga Samaroff, had numerous influential connections in Philadelphia, and lost no time in rekindling them on behalf of her husband. Armed with a pressbook full of outstanding critiques, she was able without much delay to secure an agreement from the Philadelphia Orchestra Association to hire Stokowski as that organization's next conductor (provided he could free himself from his Cincinnati contract, which ran to the spring of 1914).

Matters in Philadelphia came to a head quite unexpectedly at this stage when Pohlig

was discovered in the Orchestra Association's offices in what may delicately be termed a compromising position with the Association's lovely Swedish secretary. (Though it had long been known that they were having an affair, it can fairly be said that a quiet fling with the secretary may have been possible to ignore, but hot pursuit in the business office could not!) This was all quite naturally kept under the heaviest of wraps, and nothing much was said even to Pohlig at the time, though he had already sown the seed of his own destruction.

In the meantime, Stokowski was engaged in an extended struggle on the one hand with the Cincinnati board,¹⁶ and on the other with some hostile elements in the local press there. Though the audiences were wildly in his favor, he had determined to leave, with or without a struggle, and finally succeeded in doing so (though not without leaving some deeply embittered people in that city). He no doubt expected to do some guest-conducting, composing and score studying during the 1912-1913 period, before going to Philadelphia to take up his new position in the fall of 1913. Relieved that the battle in Cincinnati was over, he and Olga departed for their Munich villa (a wedding present from a wealthy friend) and a much-needed summer respite.

From Philadelphia, Pohlig had, as usual, departed instantly for Europe once the season was over, and was himself in Munich when word reached him that Stokowski had been engaged as his successor, and moreover had freed himself a year earlier than planned from his Cincinnati contract. Alarmed and incensed, Pohlig caught the first boat back to Philadelphia. There he had an altercation of unparalleled intensity with the board, which of course had an ample store of ammunition against him. Pohlig, alleging a conspiracy, threatened to sue the Association in open court. In order to avoid a major scandal, the board resolved to pay him his entire year's salary (\$12,000) for the coming season (1912-13), the last for which he was contracted, in exchange for his immediate resignation. Pohlig agreed, and both parties were thus able to save face.¹⁷

Once this episode was concluded, the Philadelphia board immediately wired Stokowski: would it be possible for him to take up his duties there a year earlier than previously agreed? It would, and Stoki and Olga had to make the necessary arrangements which would take them to a new city and a new life sooner than they had expected.

* * * * *

Stokowski must have known that he was taking quite a gamble in coming to Philadelphia, but he probably wanted badly to get back to the East Coast, then the home of most of the country's important music-making. He had built up a strong reputation in Cincinnati, and in breaking his contract caused an enormous scandal: this alienated quite a few people who had been his friends there. In coming to Philadelphia, he perhaps imagined more peaceful times ahead, but he was mistaken.

Hard though it is to imagine it now, the Philadelphia Orchestra in those days did not have the luxury of rehearsing in the Academy of Music. Various facilities were improvised for this purpose, most of them taking the form of large rooms with low ceilings, in which one could determine no ensemble balances, nor judge the effect any music would have in the concert hall. And if this were not enough, it took no time at all for Stokowski to realize, with dismay, that the personnel of his new orchestra (which he had never before conducted) were, as a whole, in no way comparable to what he had had in Cincinnati. Combined with the poor rehearsal conditions, the young conductor¹⁸ must have felt chagrined at his pique and folly in coming east.

Fortunately for him, two enlightened individuals on the Philadelphia board soon came to his rescue (though not before extended and furious arguments with the Orchestra Association had taken place). These were the broad-minded President of the Association, Alexander van Rensselaer¹⁹ and the magnanimous Edward Bok, like van Rensselaer, a highly successful businessman and board stalwart. He took it upon himself to investigate the cause of the new conductor's complaints and soon rectified matters to Stoki's entire satisfaction.

Without these two extraordinary men, it is little likely that Stokowski would have enjoyed much success in his new venture. It is unlikely indeed that he would have remained long, and had he not, there would have been no way that Philadelphia's orchestra could have achieved the world renown it would later enjoy. The freedoms these two extraordinary gentlemen afforded their creative and visionary music director were unexampled in American musical history, and the rewards thus reaped equally without parallel.²⁰

Regarding the orchestra as he initially found it in 1912, Stokowski many years later recalled "The orchestra in those days ... had about three

good players and the rest were not good. They had a first horn who was wonderful and the timpanist was good, and there might have been two or three others, but these stood up like mountains and the rest were valleys."²¹ The hornist referred to was Anton Horner, who had been active in Philadelphia orchestral circles in the late 1890s, but left in 1899 to join the Pittsburgh Symphony, then being conducted by Victor Herbert. He returned to Philadelphia in 1902, and became a great favorite of Stokowski. The admired timpanist was Oscar Schwar, who joined the orchestra in 1903, and remained until after Stokowski's departure, as did Horner.²² Stokowski made very similar remarks on other occasions, sometimes also noting the third horn, Otto Henneberg, a worthy assistant to Horner, and Thaddeus Rich, the remarkable concertmaster and assistant conductor who was engaged in 1906 and remained until 1926.²³

Horner, Henneberg, Schwar and Rich make four players. Stokowski noted two, Horner and Schwar, adding "there might have been two or three others." Who might this third additional man have been? A careful examination of Philadelphia Orchestra solo players present in 1912 who remained long after Stoki's reign began will reveal one further name only: Peter Henkelman! He is indeed the last of these "two or three others", yet Stokowski never once mentioned his name in any of the interviews he gave over the years. We shall try to fathom the reason for this later.

By the time of the young conductor's arrival, Henkelman was already an eleven-year veteran of the orchestra, and had clearly developed under Scheel and especially Pohlig. His full maturation as an artist-interpreter would come into being only under Stokowski, however, as the music director approached his own artistic maturity. (They had in fact been born in the same year, 1882.) What later came to be known as "The Philadelphia Sound" began to be formed not long after Stokowski's arrival (principally in the post-WWI era).²⁴ Henkelman was an eager participant in this metamorphosis, and like all of the solo artists for whom Stokowski evinced respect, the admiration was mutual. An interpreter like Stokowski needed artists of this calibre as much to inspire *him* as they needed him to lead them to heights they would never have reached under a less imaginative director.

It is said that while Henkelman did not have an attractive attack, what he was able to do once he got the sound going was quite magical, and unlike any other player of the time. This

is borne out by the extant critiques of the day, reproduced here, and the sonic documents, which unfortunately are very few. (See discography, Chapter VII.) Sol Schoenbach, who played with Henkelman in the CBS Orchestra in the early 1930s remembered that “he played [on] a rather hard, inflexible reed²⁵ and had an enormous tone which Tabuteau [later] told me had an effect on *his* tone, which took on a darker or broader sound over the years.”²⁶

Plainly, Henkelman’s distinctive sound did not fall upon deaf ears in Philadelphia. His tonal coloring inspired not only Tabuteau, but also Stokowski, who was not one to let such a voice in his ensemble go unnoticed.²⁷ Indeed, the English hornist’s work was an important component in Stokowski’s building his group to a level previously unknown in the orchestral world. As the conductor settled into his position and began to form the orchestra he envisioned, personnel changes came in waves, with Alfred Doucet, then principal oboe, among the first to be dismissed. Henkelman became one of only a tiny number of solo chairs to weather this storm, as we have noted. This fact alone is clear indication of Stokowski’s satisfaction with his work.²⁸ Stokowski, though, had first to prove himself to the board and the audiences before effecting any changes in the ensemble personnel. Having done so, the first crop of dismissals came already by the spring of 1913, with Doucet among them.

1912-1913

OBOES: Alfred Doucet, Herman Rietzel, P. Henkleman [sic]; Max Lachmuth (*an extra player*)
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkleman [sic]; John Lotz (*an extra player*)

Needless to say, the repertoire of Philadelphia’s orchestra in Stokowski’s first season already began to expand, and in directions different from any it had previously taken. The favorites were not neglected by any means, however, with Franck’s **D-minor Symphony** and Dvořák’s **Carnival Overture** represented in the programs. The Prelude and “Liebestod” from Wagner’s **Tristan und Isolde** were included, as well as Debussy’s colorful **Ibéria**. Novelties featuring the English horn this season included the first Philadelphia performances of Rachmaninoff’s superb **Isle of the Dead**, a piece by H. van den Beemt of the orchestra, and three of Ippolitov-Ivanov’s **Sketches from the Caucasus**. This last was included in the opening pair (11/12 October) of the season, which was Stokowski’s Philadelphia début. This naturally

was heavily covered by the musical press, and the critics were much taken by the quality of the young conductor’s initial appearance. This, though, was the smallest portent of what was to come. Occupied as they were with the more external details of the occasion, not one of the critics saw fit to take note of the details of the orchestra’s playing, including the prominent English horn part in Ippolitov-Ivanov’s exotic score.

1913-1914

OBOES: Attilio Marchetti, Edward Raho, P. Henkleman [sic]; Max Lachmuth (*extra*)
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkleman [sic]; Max Lachmuth (*extra*)

It will be seen that already the oboe section (and indeed the orchestra as a whole) had quite a new complexion by the outset of Stokowski’s second season. Attilio Marchetti was a noted solo oboist Stokowski may have heard and recruited in New York. Edward Raho had worked with Stokowski in the latter’s church concerts in New York City, and later went with him to Cincinnati as a member of the orchestra during Stokowski’s tenure there as music director. Clearly, the conductor wished to retain the services of this artist as a member of his Philadelphia ensemble.

Repertoire of interest this season included the “famous four” (i.e., Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture** and **Symphonie Fantastique**, Franck: **D-minor Symphony** and Dvořák: **New World Symphony**) as well as several novelties, including an overture by Otto Müller of the Orchestra and the fourth symphony of the distinguished American composer, Henry Hadley. (This work contains an extended English horn solo in the opening movement.) Among the other offerings were the **Tristan** Prelude and “Liebestod”, Dvorak’s ever-popular **Carnival Overture**, and the first Philadelphia Orchestra performances (5/6 December) of the Prelude to Act III of Wagner’s **Tristan und Isolde**, about which the critics had some revealing remarks:

“... individual honors of the afternoon [must] go to Mr. Henkleman [sic] for his fine performance upon the English horn, behind the [curtain], of the long unaccompanied passage in the Prelude to Act III of ‘Tristan und Isolde’. When he returned [from offstage], he was twice called upon to recognize the approval of his [audience].” (*Public Ledger*, 6 December 1913, unsigned)

“The Philadelphia Orchestras first performance of the Prelude to Act III of ‘Tristan und Isolde’ is a miracle of

musical tone painting in the mood of touching pathos. The passage is one of the most effective in the opera [and] a considerable proportion [of it] is devoted to the sorrowful piping of the shepherd. The score calls for ... the English horn ... [and] the long solo was expressively and beautifully played, much [moreso] indeed than is commonly the case in operatic performances." (*North American*, 6 December 1913, H.T. Craven)

The critic of this all-Wagner program in the latter case clearly admired Henkelman, though did not mention his name(!) The *Bulletin* also had a highly positive review of the concert, but did not focus on the English horn.

1914-1915

OBOES: Attilio Marchetti, Edward Raho, P. Henkelman [recte!]; Max Lachmuth (*extra*)
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman [recte!]; John Lotz/Max Lachmuth (*extras*)

With this season, the orchestral personnel are now listed in each and every program, and it is refreshing to see with this development another change for the better: Henkelman's name is spelled correctly for the first time since 1902!

Repertoire with English horn parts of distinction this season included J. S. Bach: Pastorale from the **Christmas Oratorio** (with the two oboe d'amore parts played on oboe, the oboe da caccia parts on English horn), the Dvořák **New World Symphony**, Kalinnikov's **Symphony No. 1**, Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus** again, and yet another work by one of the orchestra members, in this case principal cellist Herman Sandby. Novelties this season included the first Philadelphia Orchestra performances of Enesco's **Romanian Rhapsody No. 2** and the **Symphony in C minor** by Frederick Stock, the distinguished conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. (This work contains an English horn duet in the third movement.) An equally remarkable work in Stokowski's burgeoning American repertoire given its first Philadelphia Orchestra performance this season was Amy Beach's **Gaelic Symphony**, the principal symphonic work of the country's most accomplished female composer of the day. (This attractive symphony contains a fine English horn solo and duet with oboe in the slow movement.) Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela** was performed in the Academy of Music in an October subscription pair, and thereafter no fewer than eight times on tour, through February. About the performances at home, the critics had a great deal to say:

"Hardly anything lovelier ... has [ever] been heard from the orchestra than ... the 'Swan of Tuonela' as Sibelius has imagined it from the ancient Finnish legend ... Against the background of muted strings ... the sound of Henkelman's English horn projected itself with that ... haunting connotation of 'old, unhappy, far-off things' that Wagner so clearly understood when he employed this [larger] brother of the oboe, as in the opening of the third act of **Tristan und Isolde**. The player was called to his feet by the [audience] after the [final] note faded into silence." (*Public Ledger*, 17 October 1914)

"[In] the Sibelius number, the [English hornist], P. Henkleman [sic], played the [solo part] in 'The Swan of Tuonela' with so much artistic finish that he was compelled twice to bow acknowledgement to the applause." (*Philadelphia Press*, 17 October 1914)

"On a background of shimmering or surging strings, the English horn carries the melody in plaintive tones ... The strings ... at times in a whisper so faint as scarcely to be audible, rising at others, swelling and surging, while Henkelman voiced the melody of the legend on his mournful English horn ..." (*Evening Star*, 17 October 1914)

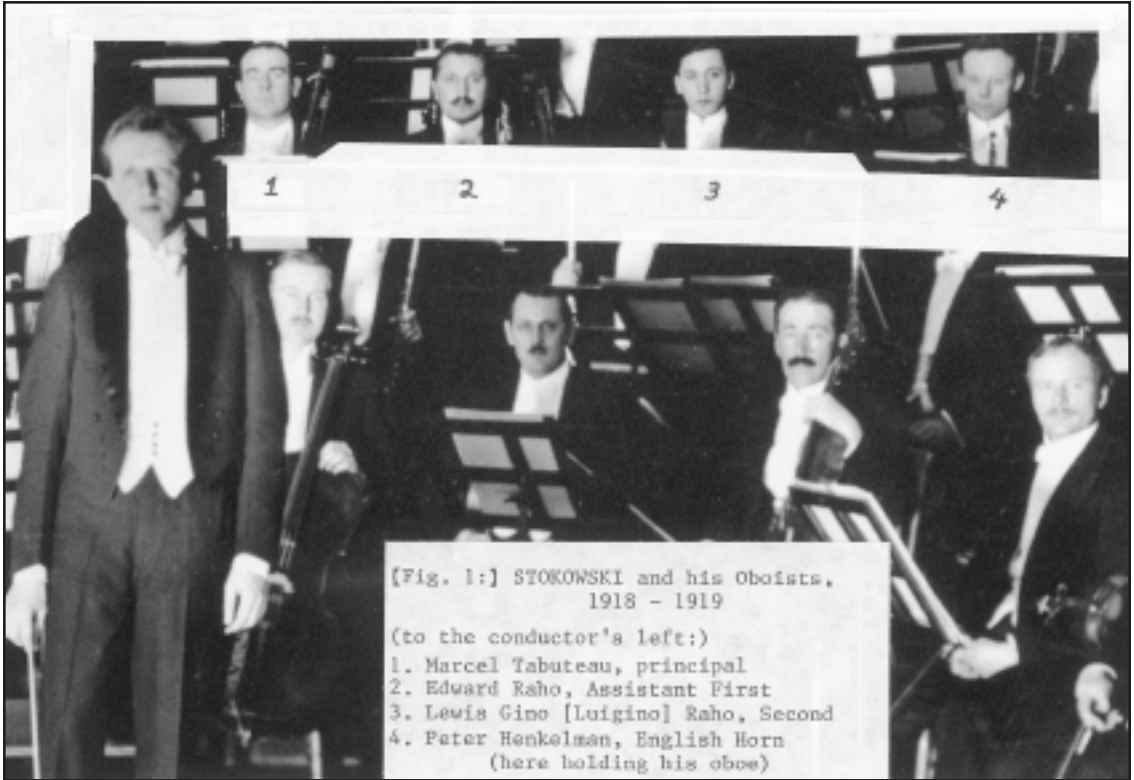
The *Philadelphia Record* (17 October) too noted an exceptional performance of **The Swan**, "greeted with a storm of applause", without, however, mentioning anything about Henkelman or the English horn in this season opener. By this stage, **The Swan of Tuonela** had firmly established itself as a Philadelphia favorite.

By the outset of this season, too, Stokowski must have realized that the first oboist he had hired the previous year was unsatisfactory. Fortunately, he had already scouted a replacement in New York. This artist would arrive in Philadelphia the following autumn and rapidly make his presence felt.

1915-1916

OBOES: Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, P. Henkelman; Max Lachmuth/John Lotz (*extras*)
ENGLISH HORN: P. Henkelman; Max Lachmuth/John Lotz (*extras*)

Among the now familiar Philadelphia repertoire heard again this season were Dvořák: **Carnival Overture**, Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture**, Ippolitov-Ivanov: **Sketches from the Caucasus** (subscription pair and five times on tour), Dvořák: **New World Symphony** and Franck: **D-minor Symphony**. Three important works by Strauss were heard this season as well: **Tod und Verklärung**, **Ein Heldenleben**, and the first Philadelphia performance of **Eine**



[Fig. 1:] STOKOWSKI and his Oboists, 1918-1919 (to the conductor's left:) 1. Marcel Tabuteau, principal 2. Edward Raho, Assistant First 3. Lewis Gino [Luigino] Raho, Second 4. Peter Henkelman, English Horn (here holding his oboe). (Detail from an undated full orchestral photo, Philadelphia Collection, Prints Department, Free Library of Philadelphia. Date determined by analysis of orchestral personnel present.) This was near the time of Henkelman's first significant recording, of the *Largo* (only) from Dvořák's *New World Symphony*, 21 April 1919 (see Chapter VII).

Alpensymphonie in its official U.S. première. (Heckelphone was mentioned as included in the scoring of this work, but the Philadelphia Orchestra owned no such instrument: bass oboe was used.) Two of Debussy's **3 Nocturnes** made a welcome appearance as well. (These would later become essential parts of the Stokowski repertoire.) Local composer Camille Zeckwer conducted his op. 30, **Sohrab and Rustum** in February. (This work has an attractive English horn solo near the opening, reprised near the close.)

The great *coup* of this season (though not of importance as far as the English horn is concerned) was Stokowski's mustering of the U.S. première of Mahler's mighty **Symphony No. 8**, the famous "Symphony of a Thousand". It was only with great difficulty that he was able to escape from war-ravaged Europe two summers previously, with the precious score in hand. It required an immense machinery to mount the first American performance of this massive work, 2 March 1916. The success of this venture was so great that six extra performances had to be scheduled in Philadelphia alone. There

could be no doubt about it by this stage: young Leopold Stokowski was a name to conjure with in the symphonic world. He had now put Philadelphia on the musical map for the first time as an equal with Boston and New York. Stokowski, though, was not one to rest on his laurels. Indeed, the Mahler triumph was only the prelude to many other fine things to come.

Despite the relatively thin season (by modern standards) of subscription concerts, the players were generally quite busy. During the First World War (seasons 1915/16, 1916/17 and 1917/18), free Sunday concerts were given in Oscar Hammerstein's Metropolitan Opera House on North Broad Street,²⁹ as an aid in the war effort, to maintain public morale. This was not the players' only work in this house, as most took as many engagements playing for the Philadelphia Opera Company as their schedules would permit.

Wassili Leps' 50-man summer orchestra, which had been playing at Willow Grove Park (vide supra) since 1910 now (i.e., by 1916) definitely included Peter Henkelman among its personnel. Summer repertoire of interest in this

regard included Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, as well as two separate performances of the Largo alone, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, Rossini's **William Tell Overture** (twice), and Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus**, as well as a separate performance of the "In the Village" movement from this alone. The English hornist was twice credited in the programs, on both occasions for the Ippolitov-Ivanov work, the first time as "Mr. Kenkelmann", the second time almost correctly as "Mr. Henkelmann".

1916-1917

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN,
HECKELPHON:³⁰ Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, A.
Dupuis, P. Henkelman

This season again included in its programming the Franck **D-minor Symphony**, by this stage well on its way to becoming the single most popular work in the Orchestra's repertoire. Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** was also featured among the favorites. Less well-known works with prominent English horn parts this season included Mahler's **Kindertotenlieder**, with the famous contralto, Elena Gerhardt as soloist, the Borodin **Symphony No. 2**, Stokowski's setting of the "Shepherds Symphony" from Bach's **St. Matthew Passion** (with the soli for two oboes d'amore and two da caccia rendered on pairs of oboes and English horns), and Vincent D'Indy's **Symphony on a French Mountain Air**, with its evocative opening solo. New American novelties with parts of import this season included Arne Oldberg's symphonic poem **June**, conducted by the composer, Ernest Schelling's **Impressions from an Artist's Life** for piano and orchestra,³¹ and the violin concerto of the distinguished music director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Frederick Stock. The soloist in this last was the work's dedicatee, Efrem Zimbalist, in later years director of Philadelphia's Curtis Institute of Music. The conductor on this occasion was the Orchestra's concertmaster and assistant conductor, Thaddeus Rich. The complete **St. Matthew Passion** was heard in a spring subscription pair, and both at home and four times on the Orchestra's winter tour the **Swan of Tuonela** was again played.

The critics all had very positive reviews of the latter performances, but only a few took notice of the English horn specifically:

"Sibelius' wonderfully appealing and poetic score employs all the resources of the present-day orchestra with masterly skill ... and imaginative power. ... Although of compar-

atively recent composition, this work already ranks as a classic. ... It was interpreted with great emotional intensity, and the audience was deeply impressed." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 February 1917, unsigned)

"In the Sibelius legend, of which our audiences are justly enamored, the sweeping mournful cantabiles ... were eloquently sustained ... the cello and the English horn excelled, and the result was so beautifully received that first the horn [sic] player and then all the performers were called upon to rise." (*Public Ledger*, 10 February 1917, signed F.L.W.)

"[In] **The Swan of Tuonela** ... by Sibelius, ... captivating rhythmic pulsings and melodious form with rich and subdued though colorful English horn part played by Mr. Henkelman without flaw or blemish, called forth unlimited enthusiasm. ... At the conclusion of the work, Mr. Stokowski signaled the solo instrumentalist, who arose and acknowledged the appreciation his remarkable artistic effort had created." (*Musical Courier*, 15 February 1917, unsigned)

Wassili Leps' summer orchestra continued its efforts at Willow Grove Park in 1917, offering a remarkably rich repertoire with English horn, including Rossini: **William Tell Overture**, Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture**, Dvořák: **New World Symphony** and **Carnival Overture**, Debussy: **Petite Suite**, Ippolitov-Ivanov: "In the Village" from **Sketches from the Caucasus** (twice) and Sibelius: **Swan of Tuonela** (twice). Henkelman was acknowledged in the programs for the two Ippolitov-Ivanov performances, with the second "n" still appended to his name, and for the second (but not the first) of the Sibelius performances (9 August), this time with his name spelled correctly, as it would hereafter always be.

1917-1918

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN, HECKELPHON:
Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, A. Dupuis, P. Henkelman

Shortly after the opening of this season, there was a felicitous occasion in the history of the Orchestra, with the commencement (24 October) of its long recording career with Victor Records. The earliest recordings were made in the Camden, New Jersey Studios of the Victor Talking Machine Company (as it was then called). It would not be until nine years later that the company would install recording equipment in the Academy of Music, so the Orchestra could record in its home venue. (We will deal with the recordings specifically in the closing chapter.)

Included in the repertoire this season were such standard works with English horn as Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, Franck's **D-minor Symphony**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** (at home and on tour), Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet**, Wagner's Prelude and "Liebestod" from **Tristan**, and the Kalinnikov **Symphony No. 1**. Among the novelties of interest in this regard were excerpts from Borodin's **Prince Igor**, in the first of many Philadelphia performances to come, Ravel: **Rapsodie Espagnole**, Selim Palmgren: **Piano Concerto No. 2, "The River"**, and Georges Dorlay: **Concert Passonné** for cello (with Casals as soloist). Two notable American novelties also made their Philadelphia débuts this season: Edgar Stillman-Kelley's **New England Symphony**, and Rubin Goldmark's **Samson**. All of these include English horn parts.

The summer of 1918 saw Wassili Leps' 50-man orchestra continuing its efforts at Willow Grove Park, with Peter Henkelman among the personnel. The repertoire, as ever, was rich in English horn solos, including Balakirev: **Symphony No. 1**, Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture** (twice), Chadwick: **Melpomene** (three times), Debussy: **Petite Suite** (twice), Dvořák: **Carnival Overture**, **New World Symphony**, and a separate performance of the Largo from same, Enesco: **Romanian Rhapsody No. 1**, Franck: **D-minor Symphony**, Ippolitov-Ivanov: **Sketches from the Caucasus**, and a separate performance of the "In the Village" movement (with Henkelman credited for both), Kalinnikov: **Symphony No. 1**, Rossini: **William Tell Overture**, and Sibelius: **Swan of Tuonela** (three times, with Henkelman credited in every case).

1918-1919

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN,
HECKELPHON: Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho,
Lewis Raho, P. Henkelman (English Horn Solo)

The extraordinary indication following Henkelman's name appears for the first time at the outset of this season, and continues through the end of his tenure. The English hornist was the only member of the orchestra so denoted, a clear indication of his growing stature in the organization, and the esteem in which he was held by the Music Director.

Repertoire featuring significant English horn writing now included such Philadelphia standards as Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, the Franck **D-minor Symphony** and Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, as well as the Prelude and "Liebestod" from Wagner's **Tristan** and a com-

plete performance of Debussy's **3 Nocturnes**. Novelties encompassed one of a growing number of Stokowski's Bach transcriptions (which some critics adored and others despised), the prelude to Giordano's opera **Fedora**, the colorful **Symphony in B-flat** by Chausson, one of Ch. Stanford's delightful **Irish Rhapsodies**, the symphonic poem **Vision** by Louis Garnier, and the North American première of the best-known work of the Alsatian composer, Florent Schmitt, **La Tragédie de Salomé** (31 January), conducted by one Alphonse Cathérine. This must have been a stimulating season for Peter Henkelman.

We have noted above the occasional series of Sunday Popular Concerts at very low prices instituted during Scheel's directorship. In the post-WWI era, this mantle was inherited by the Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia,³² with a Sunday series typically once a month (in-season) at nominal prices. The Philadelphia Orchestra was the featured group sponsored by this organization, but other orchestras (including those of New York and Cincinnati) as well as soloists were also presented. Stokowski was among the conductors engaged, and we shall have occasion later to return to this matter.

Wassili Leps' summer orchestra continued its vigorous schedule at Willow Grove in the summer of 1919, normally giving two concerts daily. As ever, the repertoire chosen was rich in significant English horn parts, including Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture** (three times), Chadwick: **Melpomene**, Debussy: **Petite Suite**, Dvořák: **New World Symphony**, as well as a separate performance of the Allegretto alone, Ippolitov-Ivanov: **Sketches from the Caucasus**, a new tone-poem by the conductor, Massenet: Ballet Music from **Le Cid**, Rossini: **William Tell Overture** (five times!), and Sibelius' solidly popular **Swan of Tuonela** (three times). Henkelman was credited for the Ippolitov-Ivanov, the three Sibelius, and for the real novelty of the season, Saint-Saëns' "My Heart at thy Sweet Voice" [Mon cœur s'ouvre à ta voix] from **Samson & Dalila**, arranged as a solo for English horn and orchestra(!)

1919-1920

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN, HECKELPHON:
Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, Lewis Raho,
P. Henkelman (English Horn Solo)

This season again included such Philadelphia favorites as Dvořák's **New World Symphony** (in an October pair, and again in a request pair in February), Franck's **D-minor Symphony**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, Tchaikovsky's

The Philadelphia Orchestra

LEOPOLD STOKOWSKI, CONDUCTOR

Second Children's Concert

Wednesday Afternoon, February 1st

Nineteen Twenty-Two

At 4.00

... *Program* ...

GRIEG In the Hall of the Mountain King,
from "Peer Gynt" Suite

ROPARTZ "Danse," from "Pastorale et Danses,"
for Oboe and Orchestra

MARCEL TABUTEAU

BEETHOVEN First Movement of "Moonlight" Sonata,
for Oboe d'Amore and Orchestra

LEWIS RAHO

BRAHMS Hungarian Dance in D

SAINT-SAENS . "Le Cygne," for English Horn and Orchestra
P. HENKELMAN

BARTALETTO . "Il Sogno," for Heckelphone and Orchestra
EDWARD RAHO

WAGNER Prelude to Act III, "Lohengrin"

ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager

LOUIS A. MATTSON, Assistant Manager

Pennsylvania Building, Philadelphia

[Fig. 2] Philadelphia Orchestra Children's Concert, Program of 1 February 1922. The excerpt from the Ropartz work played by Tabuteau was the only original solo item on the program. The author of the transcriptions of the Beethoven piano work, the Saint-Saëns violoncello piece and the Bartaleto song is not given anywhere in the program. (It may have been the conductor himself, though no such material survives in the Stokowski Collection. Conceivably, it was the work of Lucien Cailliet.)

Romeo and Juliet and the “Shepherds’ Symphony” from Bach’s **Christmas Oratorio**.

As far as the English horn was concerned the true high points of the season were rather neatly spaced. The first occurred in early December, with the Philadelphia première³³ of Ch. Martin Loeffler’s **A Pagan Poem**. The famous American pianist, Harold Bauer, was at the keyboard, the composer at his side, to supervise details in this complex work. The critics were most enthusiastic:

“... without a doubt, one of the most important contributions to [the] recent literature for piano and orchestra ... of interest from first note to last ... Perhaps the most atmospheric section ... occurs near the middle: here the English horn takes its solo place with a fascinating background of Aeolian harp-like piano passages, muted strings, glockenspiel and stopped stumps – fascinatingly beautiful. [Bauer did not give the piano part more than its due, and the critic several times commended him for that.] Praise should also be tendered Mr. Henkelman for his fine playing of the English horn.” (*Philadelphia Press*, 6 December 1919, unsigned)

“The section for the English horn was beautiful, much the most effective part of the work.” (*Philadelphia Record*, 6 December 1919, unsigned)

Of significance virtually equal to that of the Loeffler is the superb solo opening the final movement (“Mournful Iron Bells”) of Rachmaninoff’s colorful cantata, **The Bells**. This season saw the North American première of this work in a subscription pair, followed by a single New York performance by the same artists. Here too, the composer was present to supervise preparations, and the critics were ecstatic. Bass-baritone Fred Patton, soloist in the final movement, received warm praise from the press, but not one reviewer noted Henkelman’s work. Indeed, only the astute writer in the *Press* even mentioned the lengthy English horn solo at all! (This is, in all fairness, quite typical when a vocal work is being presented for the first time: the focus is naturally on the singers.)

Very nearly at the close of the season came the latest pair of performances of **The Swan of Tuonela**, by now a Philadelphia standard. Familiar as it was by this time, the critics did not ignore it by any means:

“... Mr. Stokowski, upon ending the tone poem, graciously called upon Pierre [!] Henkelman to rise and acknowledge the applause, for through nearly the entire work, the English horn playing of Mr. Henkelman was the chief element of interest.” (*Philadelphia Press*, 24 April 1920,

Clarence K. Bawden)

“The orchestra yesterday played the best concert heard this season. Quite the most exquisite thing of its kind is the Sibelius “Swan of Tuonela” The lyricism of the English horn was as perfect as that of a beautiful voice, while the composition as a whole was played with delicacy and grace.” (*Philadelphia Record*, 24 April 1920, unsigned)

“... the lovely “Swan of Tuonela” of Sibelius ... [is] justly a favorite ...” (*Evening Bulletin*, 24 April 1920, unsigned)

“... The composition is principally a solo for the English horn, and Mr. Henkelman played the expressive solo part with great beauty of tone and faultless rhythm. At the close, Mr. Stokowski made him rise and acknowledge the applause which his excellent performance [had] justly called forth.” (*Evening Public Ledger*, 24 April 1920, unsigned)

Critiques like these, to say nothing of the performances themselves, confirmed to the conductor what an exceptional artist he had in the English horn position in his orchestra.

Vassili Leps’ summer concerts continued in Willow Grove Park, offering Chadwick: **Melpomene** (twice), Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture** (twice), Dvořák: **New World Symphony**, as well as a separate performance of the Largo alone, Ippolitov-Ivanov: **Sketches from the Caucasus** (once only, with Henkelman credited), and two performances of Sibelius; **Swan of Tuonela** (30 July and 11 August), for the second of which Henkelman received credit. It is interesting to note also among the Willow Grove Park engagements that of Patrick Conway’s Band, in which Henkelman’s Philadelphia Orchestra colleague, Edward Raho, several times took the English horn solos, in this and succeeding summers.

1920-1921

OBOES, OBOE D’AMORE, ENGLISH HORN, HECKELPHON:
Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, Lewis Raho, P. Henkelman
(English Horn Solo)

As a goodly number of others, this season offered some unusual fare with English horn, a portion of which would become part of the standard repertoire, along with such local favorites as Berlioz’ **Roman Carnival Overture**, Franck’s **D-minor Symphony**, Dvořák’s **New World Symphony**, and two of Debussy’s **3 Nocturnes**. Among the novelties later to become repertorial items were Ravel’s **Tombeau de Couperin** and Chausson’s **Symphony in B-flat**, now in its second audition. Heard too were

Schoenberg's impressive **Pelléas and Mélisande**, Casella's delightful **Italia Rhapsody**, and Malipiero's **Dityrambo Tragico** (which was panned for its dissonance). The generically-titled **Symphonic Poem**, by the late Philadelphia composer, William Gilchrist (discussed in Chapter one) was among the other novelties including English horn to be heard, and Willem Mengelberg conducted Richard Strauss' **Ein Heldenleben**, of which he was the dedicatee. One assumes that Henkelman re-established contact with his former music director on this occasion.³⁴

The substantial importance of the above works notwithstanding, it was unquestionably the orchestra's performance this season of Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela** which, compounded with the manifestly successful performances of same the previous season that must have provided Henkelman some of the most satisfying moments of his career. The first auditions of the work this season occurred in a regular fall subscription pair in Philadelphia, followed by a single New York performance. The critics warmed to the Casella rhapsody, also heard on this program, but had commentary aplenty on the Sibelius as well:

"Two well-known compositions, both by Sibelius, ended the program. The first, 'The Swan of Tuonela', was beautifully played, especially the lovely English horn solo, for which Mr. Henkelman was obliged to rise several times." (*Evening Public Ledger*, 23 October 1920, unsigned)

"In 'The Swan of Tuonela', Mr. Henkleman [sic] scored a great success with the English horn solo, which is the principal feature of the composition." (*Public Ledger*, 23 October 1920, unsigned)

"In the Sibelius 'Swan', Mr. Henkelman distinguished himself with the handling of the English horn passages." (*North American*, 23 October 1920, Linton Martin)

The orchestra had been journeying to Toronto every year since 1918 to perform with that city's famous Mendelssohn Choir. While the choral numbers on these programs were always conducted by the choral conductor, orchestral works were included whenever possible, and these were led by Stokowski. For the orchestra's fourth visit, the conductor chose to include **The Swan of Tuonela**, for which the orchestra had earned glowing notices in its recent performances. This occasion appears to have been the tone poem's first audition there, and the critics took great interest in this novelty:

"... the 'Swan of Tuonela' by Sibelius [is] a mystic composition suggesting the song of the swan as it moves on the surface of the river of death. The swan song is allotted to the English horn, and it was played with that distinction of tone and phrasing that betrayed an accomplished master of the instrument. ... The audience recalled Mr. Stokowski four times with tumultuous applause, and the soloist of the English horn was given special recognition and made special acknowledgement of the compliment." (One wonders what that "special acknowledgement" may have been! The critic went on at considerable length regarding the excellence of the orchestra, and indeed even the sub-heading of the article read "Superb Work by the Orchestra".)³⁵ (*Toronto Globe*, 12 April 1921, unsigned)

"The orchestra ... offered a novelty, a short tone poem, 'The Swan of Tuonela'. It is a characteristic Sibelius composition ... a picturesque and mystic legend told in exquisite tone[s]. No band could have given fuller value to its beauties than did the Philadelphia Orchestra." (Mention was also made here of the fact that all of the major orchestras of North America except one [the BSO] had performed that season in Toronto: this made the perfection of the Philadelphians stand out all the more clearly, according to the critic.) (*Toronto Mail & Empire*, 12 April 1921, unsigned)

"This legend is a rather dreary sort of indigo dream. [!] The English horn solo in this piece is the longest ... for that bewitching instrument ever heard here, and was superbly done. The whole thing was a soothing tone poem about the Finnish Hades and the lovely swan that glides on [its] dark waters." (*Toronto Star*, 12, April 1921, unsigned)

By this stage, both the Philadelphia conductor and his English horn soloist were approaching full artistic maturity, with an impressive record of performances behind them. Nonetheless, there were still quite a few high points to come.

After a season like this, including the whirlwind trip to Toronto (which included four concerts in three days), the summer season with Leps' orchestra must have been something of a letdown. Still, there was plenty of good repertoire with English horn, as ever, including Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, and a separate performance of the Largo, Rossini's popular **William Tell Overture** (twice), Chadwick's **Melpomene**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, a new orchestral piece by the conductor, and excerpts from the ever-popular **Sketches from the Caucasus** (twice) by Ippolitov-Ivanov, for which Henkelman on both occasions was acknowledged in the program.

1921-1922

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN, HECKELPHON:
Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, Lewis Raho, P. Henkelman
(English Horn Solo)

The high points of the previous season formed an effective prelude to the most remarkable period in Henkelman's career, which began at that time, and lasted until his departure from Philadelphia. This season began auspiciously, with a rebuilt ensemble, featuring 21 new players, part of Stokowski's constant quest to improve his corpus of players, of which Henkelman was by this time a mainstay.

Such standards as Franck's **D-minor Symphony** (in a fall pair and again in the request pair in the spring), Dvořák's **New World Symphony** and **Carnival Overture** and Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances** were heard, along with Tchaikovsky's **Francesca da Rimini**, which Stokowski was building into a favored show-piece. After an absence of many years, Richard Strauss returned this fall to lead the orchestra in six special concerts, entirely of his own works. Keeping Henkelman busy in this regard were **Ein Heldenleben**, **Don Quixote**, and the **Symphonia Domestica**, in its first Philadelphia performance in nearly two decades.

The first of February saw a remarkable children's concert, one of many such fine offerings during Stokowski's tenure. This particular concert, however, was without precedent in Philadelphia Orchestra history, as it featured each member of the oboe section in solos, variously for oboe, for oboe d'amore, for English horn and for bass oboe (dubbed "Heckelphone" in the program, though as we have noted previously, the orchestra owned no such instrument, and had already several years before begun misnominating the bass oboe in this fashion).

The critics regularly attended these extraordinary concerts, and this one was no exception, but amazingly, there was no comment of any importance from a single pen regarding the performers on this occasion(!)

Later that month, the orchestra made its fifth annual sojourn to Toronto, to perform with that city's Mendelssohn Choir, this time in Berlioz' massive **Damnation of Faust**. Though every critic in Toronto covered this concert extensively, none had anything at all to say regarding the English horn solo in the "Romance de Marguerite", which forms Tableau XV of this important work. (We have noted previously the critics frequently ignoring even important and exposed instrumental obbligati, as in the

orchestra's performance of Rachmaninoff's **The Bells**.) The Toronto schedule was, as usual, grueling, with five concerts in four days (four with the chorus, and one orchestral matinée).

The following month saw the North American première, under Stokowski, of Stravinsky's **The Rite of Spring**, one of the most significant scores introduced in Philadelphia which later became standard repertoire in the U.S. This work contains some amazing and largely unprecedented writing for the English horn and indeed for all of the woodwinds.

In April, yet another subscriptions pair included performances of Sibelius' ever-popular **Swan of Tuonela**, and here at last the critics spoke:

"... Sibelius' poignant 'Swan of Tuonela', whose exalted spirituality and emotional intensity are more deeply appreciated the more frequently it is heard. ..." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 8 April 1922, unsigned)

"By far the best number of all was Sibelius' hauntingly beautiful 'Swan of Tuonela', with the English horn song of the swan played with wistful loveliness by Mr. Henkelman." (*North American*, 8 April 1922, Linton Martin)

Things began to change with regard to Philadelphia's summer musical offerings in 1922, with the establishment of the Fairmount Park Symphony Orchestra. Concerts by this organization, led variously by Victor Kolar of Detroit, Henry Hadley of New York or Philadelphia's own Thaddeus Rich were given in the bandstand at Lemon Hill, a part of the park on the east side of the Schuylkill River, near Boathouse Row and the Art Museum. While there were complaints regarding traffic noise from nearby East River Drive, these concerts continued for four seasons, and are the direct forerunners of the Robin Hood Dell Concerts (about which more in the next chapter).

Leps' orchestra still presented a typical several weeks of concerts at Willow Grove, and although a fair bit of repertoire with English horn was included, in the absence of any credits for Henkelman, it is impossible to determine if he played with this ensemble. In this wise, Leps this season gave Rossini: **William Tell Overture** (three times), Dvořák: **New World Symphony**, Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture** (twice), Chadwick: **Melpomene** and Borodin: **Polovtsian Dances**. The repertoire in this regard at Lemon Hill, however, was far richer, including Wagner: Prelude and "Liebestod" from **Tristan** (three times), Saint-Saëns: "Bacchanale" from **Samson & Dalila** (four times), Dvořák: **New**

World Symphony, plus a separate performance of the Largo alone, and the **Carnival Overture**, Ippolitov-Ivanov: **Sketches from the Caucasus** (twice), Rossini: **William Tell Overture**, Tchaikovsky: **Romeo and Juliet**, Saint-Saëns: Suite from **Henry VIII**, Berlioz: **Roman Carnival Overture** (twice), and Borodin: "Polovtsian Dances" from **Prince Igor**. Unfortunately, here, as with Leps' orchestra, there are no solo credits for the English hornist, nor any orchestral personnel listings in the programs, which survive complete for this season.

As the concert schedule for Leps' orchestra overlaps that of the Fairmount Park Orchestra for the first several weeks (beginning mid-July), it is quite impossible to determine in which ensemble Henkelman played, though it is clear that he could not have participated in both. From the extant solo credits for the Lemon Hill concerts, it is evident that this was the more prestigious ensemble, with many Philadelphia Orchestra principals participating, including perhaps its solo English hornist. Unless further data come to the fore, nothing more specific can be stated regarding Henkelman's summer work this year.

1922-1923

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN,
HECKELPHONE:³⁶ Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, Lewis
Raho, P. Henkelman (English Horn Solo)

This exceptional season included such favorites in its fall schedule as Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, Rossini's **William Tell Overture**, Franck's **D-minor Symphony**, Bach's "Shepherds Symphony" from the **Christmas Oratorio**, Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances**, and the Chausson **Symphony in B-flat**, now a staple item of the repertoire. The famous Romanian composer, Georges Enesco [George Enescu] came in January to conduct (among other selections) his **Romanian Rhapsody No. 2**, which contains an interesting solo for the English horn. Another guest that month was the French composer, Darius Milhaud, whose program included the C. P. E. Bach - M. Steinberg: **Concerto in D**, the slow movement of which has an expressive solo for the instrument. Also in the same amazing month, the orchestra performed its very first broadcast concert, which at this stage – in the infancy of radio – was purely an experiment.³⁷ The soloist on this occasion (16 January) was a young Philadelphia contralto in her début with an orchestra. Her name was Marian Anderson.

Among the other offerings in this astounding season were two of Debussy's **Nocturnes**

(by this stage growing rapidly in Stokowski's favor), American composer Henry Eichheim's exotic **Oriental Impressions**, the Prelude and "Liebestod" from Wagner's **Tristan** and the first performance (in Philadelphia at least) of local composer Camille Zeckwer's impressionistic **Jade Butterflies**, conducted by the composer. The critics took note of this novelty:

"There are several exquisite details upon which one would like to dwell ... but mention must at least be made of the lovely solo for the English horn, which [has a] dreamy, meditative beauty ..." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 December 1922, unsigned)

"Especially liked and praised was the fourth part, in which the English horn mellifluously descants with a solo violin, muted, in the offing ..." (*Public Ledger*, 2 December, unsigned)

The orchestra again played this piece under the composer's baton in February, this time under Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia Auspices.

The Prelude to Act III of Wagner's **Tristan** again took the stage, both at home and on tour in February, and about this, the critics, particularly in Toronto, waxed wildly enthusiastic:

"... A fine individual performance was that of the herdsman's ditty [!] from 'Tristan', played off the scene by Mr. Henkelman." (*Public Ledger*, 10 February 1923, unsigned)

"Finally, 'Tristan': first the prelude to Act III, with the English horn playing its delectable dirge ..." [The critic here characterised this concert, an all-Wagner program, as "an orgy of emotional psychology quite superior to the greatest film" [-! an amazing simile, considering that sound film had yet to make its public début.] ([Toronto] *Daily Star*, 19 February 1923, Aug. Bridle)

"The prelude to act three of 'Tristan' scored with such sense of desolation and loneliness – the marvellously played English horn solo, [performed] offstage amid the tensest silence of three thousand listeners: a song, as the programme note said, which is one of the strangest, saddest melodies ... distilled from all the tears that man in his pain has ever shed. It was an unforgettable afternoon of music." (*The [Toronto] Evening Telegram*, 19 February 1923, Termitta)

"One of the most exhilarating orchestral concerts ever presented in Toronto was the Wagnerian program given by the Philadelphia Orchestra ... It was the greatest [such] concert this city has ever enjoyed. Whenever before did we hear ... [thus performed] the prelude from the third act of 'Tristan' with the heart-rending English horn solo?

... It seems to us that the Philadelphia Orchestra plays with an intensity of tone that has seldom been equalled. Such a power introduced into Wagner produced incredible results. It was an orchestral event that will not soon be forgotten." (*The [Toronto] Mail and Empire*, 19 February 1923, unsigned)

"The closing numbers of the matinée were the prelude to the third act and the Prelude and [Liebestod] of 'Tristan und Isolde', in which the transcending feature was the sad but lovely piping of an invisible shepherd, played from behind the orchestra by the English horn[ist] with indescribable beauty. In response to long-continued applause, Mr. Stokowski called the player [to the front] to make special acknowledgement." ([*Toronto*] *Globe*, 19 February 1923, unsigned)

Were this not enough, the season continued to be a showcase for the talents of Peter Henkelman straight through to the close. Stokowski again programmed **The Swan of Tuonela** for concerts in March, and familiar as it by now was, the critics did not fail to take notice of the English hornist's work:

"For the 'Swan of Tuonela' – lovely, mournful imagination of the great Finn, Sibelius – the melodic line is carried principally by the English horn, and Mr. Henkelman again distinguished himself." (*Public Ledger*, 10 March 1923, unsigned)

"... The Finnish Swan on the River of Death sang its English horn solo with wistful loveliness, thanks to Mr. Henkelman's fine artistry." (*North American*, 10 March 1923, unsigned)

"In Sibelius' beautiful 'Swan of Tuonela', Mr. Henkelman gathered his usual crop of deserved laurels for the [fine] manner in which he played the English horn solo." (*Evening Public Ledger*, 10 March 1923, unsigned)

As was usually the case by this stage, the ever-popular Franck **D-minor Symphony** was chosen for the request program at the end of the season, and the critic for one of the major New York-based periodicals was present:

"Both orchestra and conductor seemed keyed to the highest pitch and played with a skill and beauty which surpassed even their usual fine work. Special mention must be made of the excellent work done by Mr. Henkelman, English horn soloist, in the second movement. Enthusiastic applause indicated the delight of the audience." (*Musical Courier*, 21 May 1923, unsigned)

This was a wholly remarkable season for Peter Henkelman, who plainly was now in full

bloom as a performer, and one who acquitted himself brilliantly, even under heavy strain. That he was responsible for many of Stokowski's triumphs was something the conductor did not fail to notice and acknowledge on stage, as we have seen.

Warm-weather musical offerings in Philadelphia continued to be very rich, as they were the previous season. Clues as to Henkelman's whereabouts in this wise are thankfully far clearer than they had been, as he is twice credited in Leps' orchestra for performances of excerpts from Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus**. Also on tap from Leps' 50-man summer sodality this season were the Franck **D-minor Symphony** as well as a separate performance of the Allegretto alone, Dvořák's **New World Symphony** and a separate performance of the Largo alone (in none of which Henkelman was credited), Rossini's **William Tell Overture** (three times), Chadwick's **Melpomene**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** (twice), Massenet's ballet music from **Le Cid** (featuring a lovely flute and English horn duet), and (apparently both of) Enesco's **Romanian Rhapsodies**, through the appropriate numbers were not furnished. This was, as usual, a very busy summer for the English hornist. In the meantime, concerts continued at Lemon Hill by the Fairmount Park Symphony Orchestra, as they had the previous season. Again, this orchestra's schedule overlapped that of Leps' ensemble. Given the data for 1923, it would appear that Henkelman remained with Leps' orchestra as well the previous summer. (There are very few surviving programs for the Lemon Hill Concerts for 1923, but among the conductors was Henkelman's countryman, Willem van Hoogstraten, music director of the New York Philharmonic's summer concert series since the previous year. One assumes the two managed to speak to one another at this time. This may have been the genesis of what was to come only a year and a half later.)

1923-1924

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN,
HECKELPHONE: Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, Lewis Raho, P. Henkelman (English Horn Solo)

This season opened auspiciously with a refreshed ensemble including no fewer than 25 new members, and a program (5/6 October) including Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela**, by now among Stokowski's favorite shorter works. The critics took note:

"... Sibelius' 'Swan of Tuonela', with its lovely obligato for the English horn ... was admirably done ... and the playing of Mr. Henkelman was simply exquisite." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6 October 1923, unsigned)

"[In] Sibelius' 'Swan of Tuonela' ... Paul [sic] Henkelman played the English horn solo beautifully." (*Public Ledger*, 6 October 1923, unsigned)

Not long after this, with memories of the previous season's triumphs in Toronto still fresh, the music director again programmed the Prelude to Act III of **Tristan** at home as well as on the standard loop to Washington and Baltimore. The reviewers were again most enthusiastic:

"Somberly beautiful ... the 'Tristan' third act introduction is, with its mournful shepherd's melody for English horn, beautifully played by Mr. Henkelman ..." (*North American*, 3 November 1923, unsigned)

"The prelude to the third act of 'Tristan and Isolde' set in relief an admirable performance by Mr. Henkelman, on the English horn, behind the scenes ..." (*Public Ledger*, 3 November 1923, unsigned)

"... very beautiful is the interpretation of the 'Tristan' third act prelude, with the long off-stage English horn solo played with notable skill and remarkable loveliness of tone by Mr. Henkelman." (*Evening Bulletin*, 3 November 1923, unsigned)

On the occasion of the 6 November concert in Washington, two of the local journals noted a coughing fit during the English horn solo (!) Stokowski was *fuming* over this and other mishaps. The orchestra repeated the program the following day in Baltimore:

"... the prelude to the third act of 'Tristan', desolate music with a wailing of strings and a tragically hopeless theme for Tristan's anguish played by the English horn. Mr. Henkelman played it beautifully." (*Baltimore American*, 8 November 1923, unsigned) (Among the article subheadings here were: "Audience Large and Enthusiastic" and "Henkelman is Soloist")

"... a lovely quality of tone and a skillful breath management were exhibited by Mr. Henkelman - offstage - in the long cor anglais solo preceding the first scene of Act 3 of 'Tristan' ..." (*Baltimore Evening Sun*, 8 November 1923, unsigned)

Later that month saw the North American premiere of Stravinsky's **Symphonies of Wind Instruments**, a remarkable work for the orches-

tral wind section alone.

This season also included in its offerings the suite from Ildebrando Pizzetti's **La Pisanella**, two of Debussy's **3 Nocturnes**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** (in a Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia concert), the delightful suite, **Through the Looking Glass** by American composer Deems Taylor, and the perennially popular Dvořák **New World Symphony** and Franck **D-minor Symphony** in December and January, respectively. For the third consecutive year, the Franck symphony was the featured work in the spring request program as well. (By this stage, the Philadelphia mania for this work was well established, though Stokowski had yet to record it. This would have to wait until the electrical era.)

Estival music-making in the city took a strange turn this year, with Leps' orchestra notably absent from the festivities. Conceivably, by this stage, Henkelman had at last joined the Fairmount Park Symphony, though the very few surviving programs from this season provide no clue. Those which remain are all from August, and led by the noted Dutch-American composer and conductor, Richard Hageman. Repertoire included Tchaikovsky: **Romeo and Juliet**, and Dvořák: **New World Symphony** and **Scherzo Capriccioso**, the last too infrequently played today.

On the other hand, by this stage in his career, Henkelman may have sought wider for a summer outlet for his services, and might well have wandered to one of the upstate New York or New England offerings. Indeed, September 19th of this year (1924, not long before the commencement of the new season) saw him at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge's Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music, for the world première of American composer Wallingford Riegger's **La Belle Dame sans Merci**. This opus, for four solo voices and instrumental ensemble, opens with a brief English horn solo, after which the oboist switches to the treble instrument, used throughout the bulk of the work. Henkelman, now billing himself as "Pierre" Henkelman, did the oboe honors on this occasion, with two of his colleagues filling the other wind chairs: clarinetist Daniel Bonade and hornist Anton Horner, principals of their respective sections in the Philadelphia Orchestra.³⁸

1924-1925

OBOES, OBOE D'AMORE, ENGLISH HORN, HECKELPHONE:
Marcel Tabuteau, Edward Raho, Ernest Serpentine, P.
Henkelman (English Horn Solo)

The change in the oboe section personnel, the first in six years, came about due to the younger Raho's requesting a leave of absence, so he could study voice in Italy. Hearing this, Stokowski granted him a permanent leave!³⁹

This was to be a remarkable season for Peter Henkelman, in more ways than one. Philadelphia Orchestra performances of significance in this regard included the by now obligatory Dvořák **New World Symphony** and Franck **D-minor Symphony** in the fall, as well as Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances**, two of Debussy's **3 Nocturnes**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, the Prelude and "Liebestod" from Wagner's **Tristan** and the Chausson **Symphony in B-flat**. Among the novelties were Rachmaninoff's atmospheric **Isle of the Dead**, Albeniz' "El Corpus en Sevilla" (from the suite **Iberia**, this number in its orchestral version by Stokowski himself, and re-titled "Fête-Dieu à Séville"), Ralph Vaughan Williams' **Pastoral Symphony** (No. 3, which contains an extensive English horn part) and Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg's **Symphony No. 2** (which contains soli for the instrument in the first two movements).

The Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia continued to be active, with the Philadelphia Orchestra regularly contributing its services to this popular low-priced series. Among the repertoire for a January concert under Richard Hageman was Danish-American composer Thorwald Otterström's **American Negro Suite**, in which the English horn has a prominent part, as it also has in Bartok's **First Suite**, op. 3, given under Reiner in February.

Stokowski could not resist again programming the Tristan III prelude for four performances in April. Here again, the critics took note:

"The playing of the orchestra was at all times of remarkable beauty. One recalls especially the wondrous tone and atmosphere created by Pierre Henkelman in the passage allotted to the English horn in imitation of a shepherd's pipe..." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 April 1925, St. Muschamp, in a subsection of his review entitled "Henkelman's Pipe Imitation")

"... the introduction to the last act of 'Tristan', in which Mr. Henkelman played the English horn in the shepherd's lament..." (*Musical America*, 25 April 1925, unsigned)

For the fifth consecutive year, Franck's **D-minor Symphony** appeared on the request program closing the season, and the reviewers again lent an ear:

"The second movement was played with a marvelous beauty of tone by the orchestra and especially Mr. Henkelman, the expressive solo for the English horn one of the finest [examples] of writing for this instrument in the orchestral literature." (*Public Ledger*, 2 May 1925, unsigned)

"Special attention must be made of the excellent work done by Mr. Henkelman, English horn soloist, in the second movement." (*Musical Courier*, 21 May 1925, unsigned)

At the close of this triumphant concert, Stokowski was recalled *twelve* times, and the season ended in the black, truly an extraordinary accomplishment by any standard. Henkelman was by this stage a fixture in the Philadelphia concert world, and a name familiar both to the critics and audiences.

By the midpoint of this season, his 24th with the orchestra, Henkelman had been solo English horn under Stokowski for twelve and a half years, and all augured well for the future. His work had manifestly been to the music director's satisfaction, and indeed quite a few of the conductor's triumphs, noted here, were the direct result of the quality of his playing. This was not the sort of thing a Stokowski was wont to forget. Neither could he ignore an instrumentalist with a unique sound. (Unfortunately, he also could not ignore Henkelman matters quite apart from the English horn ...)

At this stage, however, things transpired to effect Henkelman's departure from Philadelphia. The first event in this chain appears to have been the mid-January visit of conductor Willem van Hoogstraten for a typical five-concert engagement.⁴⁰ One can only assume that the podium guest took the opportunity during his ten-day stint in Philadelphia to have an extended discussion with his compatriot regarding the benefits of a New York engagement, including the imminent opening of the English horn position in the Philharmonic. Henkelman was undoubtedly interested, but most likely made no firm commitment at the time, realizing how solid his reputation was in Philadelphia.

Then came the U.S. debut, in Philadelphia (22 March), of one Leonora Cortez, a rising young American pianist who had already made her bow in Europe to great critical acclaim. The orchestra was to be that of the Philharmonic Society (i.e., the Philadelphia Orchestra), conducted on this occasion by none other than Leopold Stokowski.⁴¹ The conductor's ever-wandering eye did not fail to notice the comely attractiveness of the lovely blond soloist. He seems not to have noticed, however, that the pretty young pianist was the daughter of his

longtime English hornist, despite this having been spelled out quite clearly in the program!⁴²

In any case, these something less than purely musical attentions to Henkelman *fillie* did not please papa in the slightest, and this, indeed, would appear to be the catalyzing element in Henkelman's decision that for him, the grass was greener to the north. He lost no time establishing a New York residence, and in registering (14 April) with the local chapter of the American Federation of Musicians. With the help of Arthur Judson (who was at once manager of the Philadelphia Orchestra *and* the New York Philharmonic)⁴³ and of his two countrymen on the New York podium, Henkelman was able quickly and very quietly to make his farewell to Philadelphia at the close of the season.⁴⁴

Sadly, this was just the sort of behavior that Stokowski interpreted as disloyalty. Particularly when compounded with the memory of the ensuing difficult years (1925-1932), Stokowski later no doubt made a mental note not to credit Henkelman his due in aiding the conductor's rise to fame in these all-important early years. The English hornist's leaving of his own accord, coupled with the (unconsummated) "affaire Cortez" was something Stokowski could not forgive!

It is interesting to note, however, the significance of the repertoire in the spring 1925 programs, as far as the English horn is concerned (*vide supra*). One can only wonder if in programming the **Tristan** III prelude Stokowski were not in some way tacetly acknowledging the exceptional contribution made by his solo English hornist over the years.⁴⁵

More telling than this, however, is the repertoire chosen for recording by Stokowski in the Orchestra's earliest electrical sessions in the Victor Studios in Camden, New Jersey. The first of these took place 29 April 1925, a moment some historians consider the first true electrical orchestral recording session ever held. One of two pieces waxed that day was Stokowski's version of a Borodin **Polovtsian Dance** including a prominent English horn part. The next session occurred two weeks later, at the very end of the season, 15 May 1925, and was in fact the orchestra's last such before the fall. Stokowski was naturally well aware of this, and chose the repertoire accordingly for what he surely realized would be Henkelman's last time under his direction. Included in this session was "In the Village" from Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus**, with its extended duet for the English horn and solo viola. Most

significant of all, however, was the choice at this moment of the Largo from Dvořák's **New World Symphony**. This was intended as part of a complete recording of this work, the first by the orchestra.⁴⁶ While the Borodin and Ippolitov-Ivanov⁴⁷ reproduce Henkelman's sound reasonably well, it is unquestionably on the Dvořák recording that he can be heard to best advantage. One can hardly doubt that Stokowski wanted to record this piece before Henkelman's departure, and this indeed accounts for his inclusion of that movement in this red-letter session, when the rest of the work, which does not use the English horn, would have to wait until the fall of that year. That Henkelman rose to the occasion is testified to by the quality of his work, preserved on the very rare recording, of which a copy fortunately survives in the Stokowski Collection.

Henkelman's exodus left a void in the orchestral personnel the music director was little prepared to fill. The English hornist had, after all, been present in Philadelphia when Stokowski arrived, already an eleven-year veteran of the orchestra. Filling his shoes after thirteen consecutive seasons of being able to depend upon him was to prove no easy task, as we shall see. As for Henkelman, the move to New York would prove disastrous.

* * * * *

THE LATER CAREER OF PETER HENKELMAN, 1925-1949

The noted Australian-American composer, Percy Grainger gave an extraordinary concert in New York City, Sunday, 25 April 1925. Included in the program (conducted by the composer) were his **Hill-Song No. 1** in its chamber orchestra version (scored with oboe, English horn, Heckelphone and sopranino Sarrusophone!) and the delightful **My Robin is to the Greenwood Gone** for flute, English horn and strings. While heavily covered by all of the major New York newspapers and musical journals, neither they nor the printed program reveal anything regarding the personnel involved, apart from the "participation of 24 members of the New York Philharmonic." It is tempting, nonetheless, to think that this might well have been Henkelman's first bow in his new position. (He having registered with Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians in New York eleven days previously, and listing a Manhattan address, one can only assume he had already formally been signed by the Philharmonic. Of course, his

contract in Philadelphia still had another three weeks to run, but the Sunday Philharmonic engagement would not likely have conflicted with this, though Peter Henkelman was a very busy man in the spring of 1925!

It is quite clear in any case that once the 1925 spring season in Philadelphia was over, Henkelman (and family) made a beeline for New York, and he undoubtedly took part in the Philharmonic's summer session at the Lewisohn Stadium, under van Hoogstraten. While there are no extant personnel lists of this ensemble and no credits for Henkelman in the copious repertoire with English horn performed, his already having a New York union card and Manhattan residence as well as his absence in Leps' summer orchestra this season mitigates strongly against his having performed elsewhere.⁴⁸

The Stadium concerts for 1925 (the eighth season of this series) indeed offered a rich showcase for the display of Henkelman's abilities, which, if the Philadelphia critics are to be believed, must at this stage have been at their peak. Conducting duties were shared by van Hoogstraten with Rudolf Ganz, Fritz Reiner and Nikolai Sokoloff. The repertoire included Dvořák's **New World Symphony** (three times), Franck's **D-minor Symphony** (twice), Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** (three times), Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances** (twice), Debussy's "Fêtes" (from the **Nocturnes**) (twice), von Dohnanyi's op. 19 **Suite** (twice), Tchaikovsky's **Francesca da Rimini** (twice) and single performances of Humperdinck's "Dream Pantomime" (from **Hänsel and Gretel**), Rossini's **William Tell Overture**, the Gluck-Mottl **Ballet Suite**, Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet**, Borodin's **In the Steppes of Central Asia** and **Symphony No. 2**, Enesco's **Romanian Rhapsody No. 1**, Ippolitov-Ivanov's ever-popular **Sketches from the Caucasus**, Rachmaninoff's darkly evocative **Isle of the Dead**, and two works by American composers: Leo Sowerby's **From the Northland** and Ruben Goldmark's **Negro Rhapsody**. By any standards, this was a remarkable summer for Peter Henkelman. These concerts were not regularly covered by the musical press, although *Musical America* usually provided a summary review of the local musical festivities on a weekly basis. None of the sparse writings thus far seen by the present writer reveals anything regarding the work of the English hornist, however.

With the first of Henkelman's New York Philharmonic seasons proper looming, the locally-based *Musical Digest* (6 October 1925) and

Musical America, (10 October 1925) did nonetheless note Henkelman's appointment as the most significant of the eight new names on the artist roster for the orchestra's upcoming season.

The 1925-1926 Philharmonic season was under the joint direction of Willem Mengelberg and (in his U.S. début) Wilhelm Furtwängler. Principal guest conductors were Arturo Toscanini and Fritz Reiner. One of the earliest concerts of the season occurred 25 October, *in Philadelphia*, under the auspices of the Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia, which we have encountered several times before. This was most likely Henkelman's first appearance here since his April departure, and one can only wonder what his thoughts and feelings may have been as he sat in the Academy of Music for the first time in six months, now the member of another orchestra than the one in which he had played for the previous twenty-four years in the same auditorium. The program here, as later in the week in New York was conducted by Mengelberg, and included two works with English horn by Alfredo Casella: the lovely **Italia Rhapsody** and a suite from the opera **La Gira**. Mengelberg worked regularly with the orchestra through January, and in this period also led performances of Tchaikovsky: **Romeo and Juliet**, Falla: Three Dances from the **Three-Cornered Hat**, Loeffler: **A Pagan Poem**⁴⁹ (with Henkelman credited in the program), and Ruben Goldmark: **Negro Rhapsody** (in which the English horn plays "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child". This had numerous January performances, both at home and on tour.) Toscanini then conducted a number of concerts prior to Furtwängler's arrival. Repertoire chosen by the famous maestro included a number of Italian novelties, with Respighi's **Pines of Rome** the most significant among them. Also among his choices was Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela** for four performances, Henkelman's first of this all-important work with the Philharmonic. The last of these (20 January) was a tour concert in Philadelphia(!)⁵⁰ Again, one can only wonder what the artist may have been sensing as he intoned the magical solo in a hall in which he had so often played the same music with the local orchestra. Unlike the New York papers and journals, which almost always reviewed these concerts but consistently gave short shrift to the orchestral soloists, one Philadelphia critic took the trouble to lend a closer ear:

[The New York Philharmonic was compared favorably with the Philadelphia Orchestra in sound quality, the only ensemble to merit such a comparison.] ... "The second

part of the program began with a superb reading of Sibelius' 'Swan of Tuonela', the characteristic tone coloring of the Finnish composer wonderfully illustrated by the gray background of the strings, against which was [placed] the exquisite solo of the English horn." (*Evening Public Ledger*, 21 January 1926, Samuel L. Laciár)

Furtwängler then arrived for his American debut. This of course was with the Philharmonic, but the concert in this case again was in Philadelphia, 8 March 1926. His repertoire with parts of significance for Henkelman was limited, but did include Dvořák's **New World Symphony** and **Hussite Overture**, Ravel's **Rapsodie Espagnole** and Strauss' **Tod und Verklärung**. American composer/pianist/conductor Ernest Schelling had directed the Philharmonic's Children's Concerts since 1924 (a function he also filled for some years in Philadelphia). His repertoire this season included Ippolitov-Ivanov's "In the Village" from the **Sketches from the Caucasus** (with Henkelman and the violist credited in the program) and the Largo from Dvořák's **New World Symphony** (without credit for the English hornist).

Toward the end of the season, the Philharmonic had the then unique experience of recording the original score for the first commercial sound feature film ever made in the U.S., "Don Juan", starring John Barrymore.⁵¹ The composer was William Axt, a film specialist, the conductor Henry Hadley, the distinguished American composer-conductor then assistant conductor of the orchestra.

The ninth (1926) season of the Stadium Symphony Concerts began not long after this, again with van Hoogstraten on the podium. The music director shared conducting duties this time with Frederick Stock (of the CSO), Henry Hadley and again Nikolai Sokoloff. Though Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela** was announced, it appears not to have been programmed. Nonetheless, Henkelman was, if anything, even busier this season than he had been the previous one.

This exceptional summer produced Stadium performances three times each of Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet**, Dvořák's **New World Symphony** and Franck's **D-minor Symphony** and twice each of Respighi's **Pines of Rome**, Tchaikovsky's **Francesca da Rimini**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus**, Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances**, and Rossini's overture to **William Tell** among the favorites with English horn. There were also single performances of Rachmaninoff's **Isle of the Dead**, R. Goldmark's

Negro Rhapsody, Casella's **Italia Rhapsody**, Debussy's "Fêtes" from the **Nocturnes**, Alfvén's **Midsommarvaka Rhapsody** (in its first Stadium audition, under Stock), Humperdinck's "Dream-Pantomime" from **Hänsel and Gretel**, Strauss' **Heldenleben** and **Symphonia Domestica** (the latter in its first appearance at the Stadium, under van Hoogstraten), Deems Taylor's **Through the Looking Glass**, Ravel's **Rapsodie Espagnole**, and the prelude to American composer William McCoy's award-winning opera, **Egypt** (under Hadley).

Thursday, 29 July produced an all-Wagner concert under Sokoloff including the prelude to Act III of **Tristan**, billed as "Prelude to Act 3 and Shepherd's Melody from 'Tristan und Isolde', English Horn Solo: P. Henkelman". A Stadium concert devoted to the works of a single composer appears to have been enough to awaken the New York critics from their accustomed lethargy, and in uncharacteristic fashion, this event was covered with some level of detail:

"The solo of P. Henkelman stood out in beautiful relief. ..." (*New York Times*, 30 July 1926, unsigned)

"P. Henkelman, who played the English horn solo, was justly rewarded with prolonged applause." (*Musical America*, 7 August 1926, unsigned)

Plainly, Henkelman's powers had not deserted him, and that was certainly to the good in what must have been a marathon summer for the Philharmonic's English hornist.

As the city where the Declaration of Independence had been signed in 1776, Philadelphia that summer was host to the National Sesquicentennial Celebration of American Independence. The resident musical ensemble for these festivities was naturally the Philadelphia Orchestra.⁵²

The "Sesqui" concerts were given in Memorial Hall in Fairmount Park. By the autumn, however, the Philadelphia Orchestra was occupied with its regular concerts in the Academy of Music, downtown. The festival committee nonetheless needed an orchestra for the closing concert, 13 October. The New York Philharmonic proving available for this date, its services were engaged.⁵³ The outstanding feature of this concert, as far as Henkelman was concerned was the U.S. première of American composer Howard Hanson's tone-poem, **Pan and the Priest**, op. 26 (dedicated to Mengelberg!) which opens with an unaccompanied English horn solo. The composer conducted. (There was nothing

in the reviews regarding Henkelman's work.) This program, otherwise led by Mengelberg, was repeated in New York City 14/15 October, for the Philharmonic's opening concert at home. The work of the young American was given again numerous times by the Philharmonic that fall, both at home and on tour.

High points for Henkelman later this season included Ruben Goldmark's **Negro Rhapsody**, Casella's Suite from **La Giara**, Wagner's Prelude and "Liebestod" from **Tristan**, Strauss' **Don Quixote**, and above all, a November 7th performance under Mengelberg of the **Tristan** Act III Prelude. The billing here, with Henkelman fully credited, was exactly as it had been the previous summer (vide supra). A fledgling bassoonist by the name of Sol Schoenbach was present at this concert, and well remembered the conductor's bringing Henkelman out from backstage for a much-deserved bow.⁵⁴ Romanian conductor Georges Georgescu came for a brief visit prior to Furtwängler's arrival.⁵⁵ He led his compatriot Enesco's **Romanian Rhapsody No. 2** and Rimsky's **Scheherezade**. In the late winter and early spring, Furtwängler conducted Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture**, Strauss' **Heldenleben** and **Tod und Verklärung**, Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet** and the Franck **D-minor Symphony**. Assistant conductor Hans Lange led a January subscription pair including Sibelius' **Swan of Tuonela** in what one suspects was not among Henkelman's better performances of this unique work. (The press scarcely took notice of this concert, nor indeed of the November Wagner performance.) Ernest Schelling continued his direction of the Philharmonic children's concerts, including performances this season of Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances**, and Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus** with Henkelman credited in the program.

The tenth season of Stadium Concerts ensued, with van Hoogstraten again at the helm and sharing podium duties with Frederick Stock and this time also with Pierre Monteux. An extraordinary event occurred 18 July, however, when Philharmonic Music Director Willem Mengelberg came to direct Richard Strauss' **Ein Heldenleben**, of which he was the dedicatee.⁵⁶ Other repertoire keeping the Philharmonic's solo English hornist busy this summer included performances under the three conductors of Franck's **D-minor Symphony**, as well as pairs of renditions of Borodin's **Polovtsian Dances**, Enesco's **Romanian Rhapsody No. 2** (in its first Stadium appearance), Dvořák's **New World Symphony**, and Tchaikovsky's **Romeo and Juliet**.

There were single performances of Debussy's "Fêtes" from the **Nocturnes**, Respighi's **Pines of Rome**, Tchaikovsky's **Francesca da Rimini**, Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus**, the Chausson **B-flat Symphony**, Alfvén's **Midsommarvaka Rhapsody**, Berlioz' **Roman Carnival Overture** and **Symphonie Fantastique**, Rossini's **William Tell Overture**, Debussy's **Ibéria**, Delius' **Dance Rhapsody** (probably No. 2), and Albeniz' **Catalonia**. Stock conducted two American works, Deems Taylor's **Through the Looking Glass**, and for the first time at the Stadium, Otterström's **American Negro Suite** (which he had premiered in 1916).⁵⁷ *Musical America* (23 July) took the trouble to list the entire personnel of the summer orchestra, with Bruno Labate as first oboe and Henkelman as English hornist, the same as in season.

Major changes were plainly afoot with the appointment for the new Philharmonic season of Arturo Toscanini as co-director with Mengelberg. The fiery Italian had not previously held a post at this level with the orchestra, and clearly his new position could not simply be interpreted as a promotion. Indeed, by the end of this season, he would definitively take the reins from Mengelberg. For Henkelman, this transition was to have major repercussions. At the outset of the season, however, all appeared to be well for the English hornist. He had rendered signal service to the ensemble during the whole of his still brief tenure, and must by this time have considered himself almost as secure as he had been in Philadelphia.

As usual, Mengelberg took his turn on the podium at the opening of the season, programming Falla's **Nights in the Gardens of Spain** for several performances (including 7 November in the Academy of Music in Philadelphia),⁵⁸ R. Goldmark's popular **Negro Rhapsody** also for several performances at home and on tour, Debussy's **Ibéria**, the Franck **D-minor Symphony** both at home and on tour, and his favorite warhorse, Strauss' **Ein Heldenleben** for several December and early January performances constituting his seasonal farewell. Sir Thomas Beecham and Bernardino Molinari then came for brief visits, the former including the Borodin **Polovtsian Dances** in his programming, the latter Casella's Suite from **La Giara** and Debussy's "Fêtes" from the **Nocturnes**. Toscanini then arrived, beginning with his customary crop of Italian novelties, the most significant of which as far as Henkelman was concerned being Pizzetti's **La Pisanella**. There were several performances under his direction of the now very favored **Pines of Rome** by

Respighi and of Strauss' **Tod und Verklärung**, a Philharmonic standby. Ernest Schelling led his normal series of quite distinguished children's concerts, including performances of Rossini's **William Tell Overture** (twice) as well as "In the Village" from Ippolitov-Ivanov's **Sketches from the Caucasus** (this time without a credit for Henkelman in the program) and the "Ranz des Vaches" from Schumann's **Manfred** (here with a credit for the English hornist, always simply as "P. Henkelman").

In April of 1928, the New York Philharmonic and Walter Damrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra were consolidated, effectively ending the existence of the latter organization, only 20 members of which were absorbed into the new Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra. As a result of this merger, Henkelman became the only member of the Philharmonic oboe section to lose his chair, a terrible irony for an artist who had weathered thirteen seasons of sweeping personnel changes in Philadelphia under Stokowski, and who was still in top form as an executant. The English hornist had, by all that can be gleaned, acquitted himself brilliantly in New York, despite the Philharmonic's often grueling schedule and the clearly heavy demands this entailed. By this stage too, he had performed successfully at least twenty times under Toscanini's baton. An explanation for his removal is thus at first difficult to find.

The Maestro, though, was now in full control. The new orchestra was to be his to form, and this, it appears, is what sealed Henkelman's professional fate. Nationalist that he was, Toscanini wanted to give every opportunity to Italian performers, and of course, he was obliged to take a number of Damrosch's players into the new ensemble. NYSO English hornist Michel Nazzi, while technically French, was by paternity Italian (which accounts for his surname) and there was no question as to the quality of his work in the three seasons in which he had functioned as English hornist in New York's "other" orchestra. By Toscanini's reckoning, he was therefore a fine choice for the new ensemble. Henkelman, on the other hand, was manifestly one of Mengelberg's boys, whose presence Toscanini can only have interpreted as a kind of political liability. These unfortunate factors, it appears, assured Henkelman's dismissal, most likely without personal or professional antipathy between him and the conductor. The merger was finalized and the new name adopted 8 June 1928.

Arthur Judson, manager of the Philharmonic,⁵⁹ who had been instrumental in

obtaining Henkelman his chair in the first place, now positioned him in the CBS Radio Orchestra (which had only been formed the previous year)⁶⁰ the affairs of which he also controlled. The rumor around CBS too was that Leonora Cortez, whose career was managed by Judson's artists' agency, was one of his (many) mistresses as well,⁶¹ so he felt doubly responsible, as it were, for Henkelman's well-being.

Documentation of the CBS group, as with virtually all American radio orchestras is scarce to the point of non-existence, so it is difficult to say how many years Henkelman remained with this organization, though it appears that he worked in this capacity until approximately 1936 (i.e., eight years). Here, he would have been exposed to a much broader variety of music than he had known in the symphonic world. The demands on a player's time in this sphere, too, were often severe, with a 52-week per year contract, frequently requiring services seven days per week.

By November of 1932, a seventeen-year-old bassoonist named Sol Schoenbach had joined the CBS Orchestra, and recalled nearly six decades later⁶² that it was "a virtual musical Foreign Legion," including many veteran European-born players from the old Philharmonic, among them Daniel Bonade (previously first clarinet in Philadelphia). The growing complexities of radio work, especially in regard to American popular and jazz material proved too much for many of the older European players to cope with. Thus, Henkelman and a number of others were forced out by the mid-1930's.

At that point, and most likely again with the intervention of the ubiquitous Judson, Henkelman joined the newly-reconstituted New Orleans Symphony Orchestra.⁶³ The New Orleans season was apparently not a very full one, and Henkelman does not appear to have taken up permanent residence there, he retaining his New York address and union membership, and taking whatever free-lance work he could get between New Orleans seasons.

Unfortunately, it appears that documentation of New Orleans orchestral activities in the period under consideration has all but vanished, so unhappily, we cannot offer details as to Henkelman's work in this final stage of his performing career. Early in May of 1948, John Minsker, then English hornist of the Philadelphia Orchestra, had occasion to meet him during a Philadelphia Orchestra tour concert there. This was the only time these two men ever saw one another.

Sadly, that must have been among Henkelman's last days in that city. He appears to have returned to New York shortly thereafter, and did not take his place in New Orleans the following season,⁶⁴ apparently due to illness. He died in New York City early the following spring (25 March 1949) at the age of 66.

A unique instrumental voice was thus stilled. Fortunately, we have a few (admittedly very rare) recordings as a memento of this artist. One writer, in commenting upon the work of the first two music directors of the Philadelphia Orchestra, made a statement coincidentally applicable to their solo English hornist as well:

"[He] laid a foundation ... deeper and truer than [he] knew."⁶⁵

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

- both of which he later taught in Philadelphia, in addition to oboe. His studio was at 1733 Vine Street, a building no longer standing.
- This state of affairs was a common as could be prior to World War II. A number of quite distinguished orchestral careers began in precisely this way. That Henkelman possessed an exceptional gift for oboe playing is made quite clear in his being hired for the leading Dutch orchestra immediately upon completion of his studies. Strong a contrast as this makes with present-day practices, the commencement of a career at the age of 17 was not usual 100 years ago.
- Wister (p.231) indicates Henkelman (whom she would have interviewed personally) having played as well in the City Orchestras of Haarlem and Utrecht in The Netherlands. One assumes that these were summer or replacement engagements during his conservatory years. Per Wister, he also played in orchestras in Heidelberg, Leipzig (not the Gewandhaus) and even Budapest. It is to be assumed that these were summer engagements post-1091, and very clearly prior to the First World War, as we shall see.
- The orchestra by this stage comprised a full symphonic complement of 80 players, Scheel having returned with more European artists after a second recruiting trip in the summer of 1902.
- Documentation of these and other non-subscription concerts is quite sparse, especially in the early days. Some of these concerts provided opportunity for the orchestra's solo players to come to the fore, and for young concert artists to make their débuts with a symphonic group.
- Henkelman was plainly coming into his own by this stage, but his finest performances lay ahead.
- Frank Damrosch of New York City, brother of the more famous Walter, and a conductor of note in his own right, lent his instrument. He possessed this extreme rarity to use when conducting Bach cantatas, and he was surely the only director on these shores doing so at the time.
- This sort of thing lay in the future: it was, after all, not a "stand-up" solo.
- While this was congruent with European practice in a number of locations, it was never normal in the U.S. In fact, Henkelman occupied a solo chair which Doucet was in no position to usurp. And he had of course performed **The Swan** with notable success two years previously.
- Especially in these days, a very large proportion of the concert reviews appear near the bottom of the pages on which they are printed. It appears, i.e., that they were published only if space remained and only as much as was used as needed to fill the columns. It is to be assumed, then, that hundreds of finished critiques were never printed at all, and that an at least commensurate number were greatly truncated or otherwise abridged by the editors.
- The last of the January **Swan** performances (and among the very last concerts conducted by Scheel) was given in Wilmington Delaware, 31 January.
- Among the pallbearers at his obsequies were Philadelphia composers Wassili Leps and Camille Zeckwer, whose works would later be played by the Orchestra.
- The conductor's illness and the train of events which followed had been made rapidly known in the musical press. At the time of Scheel's passing, a number of eager musicians applied for his post. Among these was a young man of British birth then working in New York City as a church musician: Leopold Stokowski. Young, inexperienced and unknown, his application was rejected without much discussion.
- Like his predecessor, Pohlig had had extensive conducting experience in Europe. Born in Bohemia in 1864 (in the resort town of Teplitz, a favorite haunt of Beethoven), Pohlig had, in his youth, been part of Liszt's entourage, and had inherited much of the Liszt-Wagner tradition. While still quite young, he obtained a conducting post at Graz and later served as Mahler's assistant at the Hamburg Opera. From here he went to London's Convent Garden (where he learned to speak English), thence to Bayreuth, the home base of Wagner production. After considerable concert experience in numerous German cities, he accepted a lifetime appointment as Kappelmeister to the King of Württemberg in Stuttgart, and it was there that the Philadelphia Orchestra's business manager caught up with him.
- One might even go so far as to say that Pohlig, despite a military-style handsomeness, did not strike the ladies as a romantic figure suitable to his position, as undoubtedly Scheel had. In the years to come, Stokowski would have no difficulty whatever in this regard.
- to which, in truth, he owed a very great deal. He had directed only a tiny handful of symphonic concerts prior to his engagement as conductor in Cincinnati, beginning in the autumn of 1909. His first experience as a symphonic conductor had taken place only earlier that very year(!)
- As for the unfortunate secretary, she was fired.
- then only 30 years old, far younger than either of his predecessors.
- referred to by those who knew and admired him as "Mr. Van". (Even Pohlig called him "a prince".) Van Rensselaer (1850-1933)

- was the scion of one of the oldest and most aristocratic Dutch-American families, and the son-in-law of Anthony Joseph Drexel, among the most powerful bankers and influential men in the country. A noted progressive, Van Rensselaer gave freely of his vast fortune to support all sorts of humanistic causes.
20. Stokowski later gratefully acknowledged their many kindnesses.
 21. Daniel, p. 124
 22. Schwar was a truly extraordinary artist, and in some respects the greatest orchestral timpanist of the century. He was easily the finest player of his day in North America.
 23. This exceptional American-born, European-trained violinist had actually been concertmaster of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra prior to his return to the U.S. He brilliantly played all of the major violin concertos with the Philadelphia Orchestra, as well as premières of new works. He was as solid a concertmaster and assistant conductor as Stokowski could possibly have had, and aided the Music Director in many ways. Stokowski in fact owed this remarkable artist a great deal, but was loath to credit him very often, as the two had increasingly divergent musical opinions, which latterly led to frequent disagreements between them. Rich finally departed in 1926 to become Dean of the Temple University School of Music.
 24. Not the least of the impeta here was the orchestra's recording career, which began in the autumn of 1917.
 25. This would account for the unattractive attack, which fortunately is all but inaudible in the few recordings we have of this artist.
 26. letter to the writer, 12 March 1991
 27. Henkelman is the progenitor of the distinctive Philadelphia Orchestra English horn sound, which remained in the Music Director's ear long after the oboist's departure in 1925.
 28. Henkelman was, in fact, the only member of the oboe section retained. He played 13 seasons under Stokowski's direction.
 29. This building, an acoustical marvel, is still standing, though in a sorry state of disrepair. The orchestra used this as a recording venue until fairly recently.
 30. [sic!] The German spelling was used here most likely because it was the only familiar orthography for the instrument at the time. (There were fewer than half a dozen in the whole of North America then.)
 31. Première in Boston, 31 December 1915, this unusual work consists of a theme and variations depicting various persons, one the renowned solo oboist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Georges Longy. Variation XI is for horn solo, erroneously reported in the Philadelphia Orchestra program as if for English Horn solo(!) The composer was at the piano for the Philadelphia performances, as he had been for the première.
 32. 1918 - 1921 at the Forrest and Schubert Theaters; 1921 - 1926 at the Academy of Music.
 33. for some reason not noted as such in the programs.
 34. Strauss' work, of course, has an extensive English horn part. Henkelman had been a member of the oboe section in the Concertgebouw Orchestra (directed since 1895 by Mengelberg) from 1899 to 1901, as we noted above.
 35. It should be noted again that Henkelman's name did not appear in the tour programs nor at home as soloist in *The Swan*, as this was not normal practice at the time. This was the reason for the out-of-town critics' failing to supply his name in their reviews.
 36. Here, the orthography of the last-named instrument has at last been rendered in English. (One only wishes that the instrument thus referred to had in fact *been* a Heckelphone. ...)
 37. The Philadelphia Orchestra's regular broadcasts would not begin until the autumn of 1929.
 38. The composer conducted. The local newspaper covered the event, and even published a photo of the string players participating, but not of the other artists. No details of significance regarding the wind playing were provided in the review.
 39. This apparently happened some time in 1924, in the middle of a rehearsal(!) (Private communication, Edward Raho II [son of Lewis, grandson of Edward] to the author, autumn 1996.) Stokowski was not one to take a request like this lightly. Serpentine, a former Tabuteau student, may therefore have begun his services to the Orchestra well before the previous season was over, but the personnel list was not altered at that time. The younger Raho did in fact go to Italy, studied and sang professionally there for several years. He thereafter returned to the U.S., and continued his singing career as well as playing oboe in Philadelphia, Atlantic City, Baltimore (including a season as principal oboe in the Baltimore Symphony) and elsewhere.
 40. 15-21 January, including a subscription pair plus Monday evening, Tuesday evening in Baltimore and Wednesday evening in Washington. Van Hoogstraten, a Dutch conductor we met in the summer of 1923, worked many years in the U.S., including 1922-1938 as director of the N.Y. Philharmonic's summer Stadium Concerts series. At this time too (1923-24, 1924-25) he was Associate Music Director of the Philharmonic, in-season. Another of Henkelman's countrymen, the celebrated Willem Mengelberg (whom we have also encountered previously) was Music Director of the Philharmonic at this time, and Henkelman's former director during the first two years of the oboist's career, in Amsterdam. Mengelberg wanted Henkelman for the Philharmonic, and undoubtedly deputed van Hoogstraten to make the necessary overtures.
 41. The program included the Gluck-Mottl: **Ballet Suite** and Stokowski's transcription of Bach's great **Passacaglia and Fugue** in C-minor among the works scored with English horn. Cortez played one of Saint-Saëns' piano concertos.
 42. The notice read: "Leonora Cortez, who is nineteen years old, was born in Philadelphia and received her entire musical education in this city. She studied with her father, Pierre Henkelman (English horn soloist of the Philadelphia Orchestra) until five years ago, when she became the pupil of the renowned piano virtuoso and pedagogue, Alberto Jonas. Miss Cortez has just returned from a most successful tour of the leading [European] music centers where she appeared as soloist with many of the principal orchestras. Miss Cortez is making her American début this evening with the Philharmonic Society." (This was, of course a concert début. Her U.S. recital debut occurred the following week, also in Philadelphia and under the same organization's auspices. They sponsored her as well in a Philadelphia recital the following season. She remained active in New York and Philadelphia through 1937, after which all trace of her

- disappears.) It is rather unlikely, all things considered, that Stokowski did not in fact know who her father was, particularly considering the latter was playing in the orchestra that very evening. Perhaps he imagined Henkelman would take his attentions as a compliment(!)
43. a feat without parallel in U.S. orchestral annals. Judson was easily the most powerful figure in the concert world of his day, and there is unlikely anyone in the history of American music who more needs a biography written of him than this man. Among his many other activities was the management of a large agency representing concert artists, including Leonora Cortez.
 44. Very revealing in this respect are numerous articles in the musical press at just this moment regarding players leaving the orchestra (i.e., ones whose contracts Stokowski decided not to renew). There is not the slightest mention of Henkelman in any of these sources, clear evidence indeed that he resigned, most likely at the last possible moment. There is in fact no notice at all of his departure in any of the many sources checked, including the Orchestra's own program note booklets. This tells a tale in itself.
 45. Notable in this regard is that Stokowski did not again conduct this difficult piece for another *eight* seasons. By that time, he had at last found an English horn soloist he could depend upon. More of that story, however, in the chapters to come.
 46. This is not to be confused with the famous Victor Set M-1 of the same work, recorded in the Academy of Music in 1927, and reissued in a number of formats. The 1925 recording bears no set number, and to the author's knowledge has never been reissued. (See Chapter VII.)
 47. issued together on a single disc: see Chapter VII.
 48. New players also most often joined major ensembles during the summers preceding their first in-season engagements. Wassili Leps returned to Willow Grove Park near Philadelphia this summer with a group billed as "all Philadelphia Orchestra members except four players". One of these exceptions was Henkelman: a local free-lancer named Jakob was the English hornist this season. The Lemon Hill Concerts of the Fairmount Park Symphony Orchestra also continued this summer (in what would be the final season of this group's existence). There is no evidence in the surviving programs of Henkelman's participation here.
 49. American pianist and composer Heinrich Gebhard (who specialized in this work) was at the keyboard. The program also included his own **Fantasy** for piano and orchestra, which is scored with English horn.
 50. These concerts also included the Respighi: **Pines of Rome**, with its unusual and difficult English horn solo in the final movement.
 51. This film, produced by the Vitaphone Studios, did not have audible dialogue, but had synchronized music and sound effects. (Speech in this film was still rendered in printed form.) Some of the series of shorts produced by the same studio at this time did have synchronized speech, and this indeed is considered the beginning of sound film. Among these one-reel films was one of the Philharmonic, the first sound film ever made by an orchestra. Henry Hadley conducted the ensemble in Wagner's **Tannhäuser** Overture. Given that this work is not scored with English horn, Henkelman appears to have been excused from this assignment. The public first saw these films in August of 1926.
 52. Further details in this regard in the next chapter.
 53. This affair, which also constituted the opening concert of the 85th season of the Philharmonic, was horribly bungled by the "Sesqui" Concerts Commission with little public notice given and no programs printed. The result was a total audience of circa 200 in the 10,000-seat house.
 54. letter to the writer, 12 III 1991. This all-Wagner program was a Sunday matinée performance, in the Metropolitan Opera House.
 55. The Philharmonic's conducting staff this season remained as it had the previous year (vide supra).
 56. Unusual a moment for the Philharmonic's series as this was, the musical high point of that summer was unquestionably the visit the following week of George Gershwin, though his program did not include anything of significance for Henkelman. (This was the composer's first appearance at the Stadium.)
 57. We earlier noted this work in Henkelman's last season in Philadelphia (vide supra).
 58. the distinguished French-American pianist, E. Robert Schmitz was soloist.
 59. and of the new Philharmonic-Symphony
 60. CBS Radio Orchestra, 1927-1951, directed principally by Howard Barlow and Alfredo Antonini, with Bernard Herrmann also notably on staff.
 61. letter, Sol Schoenbach to the writer, 11 October 1997. We have, of course, encountered Ms. Cortez (née Henkelman) previously in Philadelphia, in the spring of 1925 (vide supra).
 62. letter to the writer, 12 March 1991. The young musician was at this stage at the very outset of his professional career.
 63. This orchestra had existed 1917-1934, and folded almost certainly due to the Depression. It was reorganized in 1936, both for concert and operatic work. (The New Orleans Opera is the oldest in the U.S.)
 64. Previously ousted from the Eastman-Rochester Symphony Orchestra, Mario Bottesini came to New Orleans as English hornist in the fall of 1948.
 65. Kupferberg, p. 218