

Gottschalk in Madrid: A Tale of Ten Pianos

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After completing his wildly successful concert tour of France in 1851, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, then twenty-two years old, went to Madrid, where Queen Isabel II was said to be eagerly awaiting the arrival of the New Orleans-born piano virtuoso.¹ Gottschalk was preceded by his secretary, Eugène Gouffier, who was to arrange accommodations and release advance publicity to the press; Gottschalk's Paris successes, these press notices trumpeted, were "triumphs to make even Liszt, Thalberg, and others uneasy."² Other announcements recounted his sizable donations to charity.

So effective were the efforts of his advance man that when Gottschalk finally arrived in Madrid in late October 1851, avid amateurs had already begun thronging to his residence to catch a glimpse of this new musical sensation.³ His arrival and address were extensively covered in the press, although in their enthusiasm, newspapers did not always get his name or occupation right. *La Nacion*, for instance, called him "EL VIOLINISTA OTTSCHALK." A genuine violinist, Ludwig Eller, arrived a week later intending to give a series of concerts but departed for Portugal almost immediately; *La España* speculated that Gottschalk's already legendary reputation in Madrid prompted him to postpone his visit.⁴

Another item considered newsworthy by local editors was Gottschalk's relationship with the Spanish court. He showed himself circumspect and sensitive to protocol by officially refusing to play in public or private before gaining an audience with Queen Isabel. News of an initial contact with Fernando Muñoz, Duke of Riansares y Tarancon and consort of the queen mother, Maria Cristina, was leaked to the press in early November. The duke sent Gottschalk his card, dated 24 October, formally inviting the pianist to meet with him at four the next day.⁵ Evidently, the two struck up a friendship, and Gottschalk wrote to his father on 17 November that he had been



Figure 1. A young and dashing Gottschalk as he appeared in 1853, just after his successful European tours. Iconographic Collection, New York Public Library Performing Arts Research Center.

received by his excellency frequently and treated “in the kindest manner possible,” while the queen, who only months before had invited him, was now embroiled in a diplomatic dispute with America over Cuba and refused to recognize an artist representing that nation.⁶ Gottschalk later told reporters that the duke advised him to call himself a Frenchman. Instead, according to an American newspaper account, “he sat down and addressed a letter to the queen in which he told her he was an American from New Orleans. He came at her invitation, and unless an audience was granted him, he would leave the country without performing.”⁷ This tactic was effective and very shortly afterward, the duke’s secretary arrived with the news that Queen Isabel would hear him that Wednesday evening.

His court appearance a rousing success, Gottschalk wrote his father an exuberant letter the next day describing his conduct and performance in the palace.⁸ While his secretary Gouffier escorted his two pianos to the palace, the king’s pianist, who was to play second, escorted Gottschalk. A native of Pamplona, Juan Maria Guelbenzu (1819–1886) was appointed court pianist in 1844 and had played second to Franz Liszt at three concerts, the year Liszt began his triumphant tour of Spain and Portugal.⁹

During his audience with the royal family, Gottschalk was able to display his diplomatic sensibilities. He conversed at some length with the king, who made no secret of his interest in playing the piano with him—Gottschalk regularly granted these requests to any noble amateur who wanted to play second piano with him, regardless of the level of expertise. Playing with Guelbenzu, Gottschalk began his concert that evening with *Jerusalem*, his “duo for two” pianos based on the French adaptation of Verdi’s *I Lombardi*. Next, at the king’s request, he offered another of his own compositions, *Le Bananier*, based on a “creole air” he heard as a youth in New Orleans. He followed that with *Danse Ossianique*, *Le Moissoneuse*, and after an “intermission” of conversation, *Bamboula*, which he had dedicated to Queen Isabel and now performed at her request.

No sooner had he triumphed with the court than he was invited to a ball that the Dowager Maria Cristina was giving two days later to celebrate her daughter’s birthday.¹⁰ Gottschalk’s presence at this ball was chronicled in music and theater columns in the Madrid press; by his own account, Gottschalk enjoyed another success with the royal family. Queen Isabel, then eight months pregnant, was unable to dance at the ball given in her honor but enjoyed watching Gottschalk dance with the partner she had selected, the Countess of Casa Valencia, and was later to remark to her mother that Gottschalk had

replaced Liszt as her favorite piano virtuoso.¹¹ Maria Cristina, although no longer reigning queen, had been the true cultural doyenne of Madrid for years; she sponsored many costly palace theatrical extravaganzas similar to this one throughout the year with sometimes as many as four orchestras hired to provide music for dancing.¹²

After having ingratiated himself with the court, Gottschalk was now able to perform for the public. The monthly *El Pasatiempo musical* reports in its November issue that Martin Sanchez Allú, a well-known conductor and composer of over 200 works, was organizing for the Teatro Real a great musical performance “under the sponsorship of the celebrated Gottschalk”¹³ that was to have included several other famous musicians of the time. However, little or no evidence exists that the concert ever took place.

Meanwhile, Gottschalk began playing in private circles. He may have wanted to strengthen professional ties with musicians; Liszt had followed the same course of action seven years earlier. His first such recital was announced in *La Nacion* for 21 November, and attendance was limited to music teachers and performers only.¹⁴ A week later Gottschalk appeared at the home of Sr. Bengoechea before a distinguished gathering of representatives of literature, journalism, and the arts. He played a *Lucia* sextet (presumably Liszt’s *Reminiscences*, a piece he would later include in his New York debut in 1853)¹⁵ and his own *Mazeppa*. He repeated most of his palace program, including the *Danse Ossianique*, and some “Caprichos americanos,” perhaps his own Louisiana “triptych,” *Bamboula–La Savane–Le Bananier*.¹⁶ Among his audience at this time were several who had also been fortunate enough to have heard Liszt, including the influential music and literary editor Joaquín Espín y Guillén, a nephew of Rossini; the composers Angel Inzenga, Tomas Breton, and Rafael Hernando; and Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, who in later years was to become Spain’s leading musicologist.

Gottschalk’s performances at this salon, and at the Count de Velle’s Salon on 8 December and at Sr. Mora’s on 12 December, were greeted with frantic applause,¹⁷ and the reviewer in *La Epoca* expressed the view that this talented soloist could not be allowed to leave Madrid without a public performance.¹⁸ Unfortunately, since the dissolution of the Lyceum, no suitable theater for local concerts was available, and local theater owners were charging too much money, in Gottschalk’s opinion, for the use of their venues.¹⁹ All these difficulties ultimately were overcome, and Gottschalk’s public debut took place at the Coliseo del Circo on Saturday, 13 December.

The first half of that evening's entertainment was a selection from Rafael Hernando's opera *El Duende*. The Gottschalk portion of the program began with his performance of Emile Prudent's fantasy, *Les Bois*, accompanied by an orchestra led by Joaquin Gaztambide. The orchestra was insufficiently rehearsed, and Gottschalk was forced to give the beat with his feet and hands to the serious disruption of the music. He followed with a selection of his popular solos and the piano duo based on Verdi that had gone over so well only a few weeks before. Unfortunately, the second pianist had been pressed into service at short notice, and the *Jerusalem* fantasy was less than successful. He concluded the concert with a solo performance of the *Lucia* fantasy, *Grand Galop di bravura* by Joseph Quidant, and the march and finale from Weber's Piano Concerto in F Minor, opus 79. At this point, a "very beautiful wreath" was thrown at his feet, and he concluded by favoring the wildly enthusiastic audience by encoring most of the program.²⁰

A second performance took place on the following Tuesday and began with a zarzuela, *Tribulaciones* (which was panned by the critics). Gottschalk began his portion of the evening with *Les Bois*, this time arranged by him as a solo, and followed that with seven other pieces, including a fantasia on Mehul's *La Chasse du Jeune Henri* overture and the march and finale from Weber's concerto.²¹ As before, Gottschalk was lionized: "Mr. Gottschalk does not need to conquer those great difficulties with which he amazes his audience to enrapture souls. The simplest, least note-filled measures produce, in his hands, effects which electrify" (*El Herald*o).²² The best-received performance that evening was his new *Capricho español*, an improvisation that incorporated Spanish national music to great effect. Even the *Jerusalem* fantasia was received enthusiastically and had to be repeated amid bravos. Again, the small and inept orchestra that accompanied Gottschalk in the Weber Piano Concerto provided the sour notes of the evening. One reviewer theorized that the placement of the pianos in the middle of the hall, surrounded by the audience, with the orchestra some distance away on stage, produced a pleasing acoustical effect, but may have also been responsible for some of the asynchronisms that were noticed that evening.²³

The local press began to publicize Gottschalk's return to Madrid almost as soon as he had left for a tour in the province of Old Castile. While there, however, he fractured the fifth finger of his right hand, and it took several months to heal. He was back in Madrid about mid-May of 1852 announcing that he would stay only

a short time before leaving for Paris and London. As before, his announcement seems to have stimulated the demand of an admiring public for him to prolong his stay.

While recuperating from the finger injury, Gottschalk composed—in a little over a week—a 300-page “grand fantasy” for ten pianos entitled *El Sitio de Zaragoza*.²⁴ He again faced some difficulty in renting a theater, especially since the stage had to hold the requisite number of pianos. The luxurious Teatro Real, where he was to have performed in a concert organized by Sanchez Allú, needed formal permission from the president of the council of ministers before he would be allowed to perform there. His letter requesting permission (shown in Fig. 2) asks that the president “take into consideration the very great number of benefit concerts I have given already in Spain and lately the offer I have now begun to negotiate to contribute 15,000 reales towards building the Hospital de la Princesa.”²⁵ The queen’s council responded by granting Gottschalk permission to use any salon of the building except the main theater and stage—the only area big enough—presumably because it had never granted use of the Teatro Real to any outside organizations before and did not want to set a precedent.²⁶

Gottschalk continued to give salon performances before several private societies, among them the Circulo filarmonico at a concert given on Friday, 28 May. By this time he had added the *Carnival of Venice* to his Spanish repertoire, as well as a new “grand fantasia with fugue” on the theme of the Spanish *Marcha Real*—he thus appears to have tried (probably as a solo) a portion of the ten-piano composition (see analysis section in Appendix 2). Two days later, Circulo filarmonico director Espin y Guillen named Gottschalk a member-artist on the unanimous vote of that society.²⁷

Gottschalk was spending a great deal of time at the Café de la Esmeralda and had even joined the resident pianist, J. G. Miralles, in an extempore duet to the delight of the patrons of the club. José Ortega Zapata, a leading music critic of the day, reported that Gottschalk is “practically always seated near the piano listening enthusiastically to whatever compositions our compatriot plays, especially his *Jota* and *Pensamiento*,” the latter the subject of the aforementioned duet. At least one unnamed composer in court circles chided Gottschalk for “stooping to the point of playing at a bar.”²⁸

Meanwhile, plans for the premiere of the grand work for ten pianos were beginning to crystallize, and the concert was scheduled for Sunday, 13 June, at the Teatro del Principe, located on the spot now occupied by the Teatro Español. The first part of the program

Il y a déjà plusieurs jours que
j'ai eu l'honneur de demander à Monsieur le Président
du Conseil des Ministres l'autorisation de donner un
concert au Théâtre Royal. Après avoir hier seulement
Monsieur le Ministre, qu'il dépendrait de votre Excellence
d'accorder la salle du Théâtre Royal aux artistes qui
veulent donner concert, je vien vous supplier, Monsieur
le Ministre, de m'autoriser à en y faire entendre.

J'ose espérer, Monsieur le Ministre, que vous voudrez
bien en recevant ma requête prendre en considération
le très grand nombre de concerts de bienfaisance que
j'ai donnés déjà en Espagne et enfin l'offre que
j'ai commencé déjà à mettre à exécution de
contribuer pour 15,000 réaux à l'édification de
l'hôpital de La Princesse.

Very truly, Monsieur le
Ministre agréé à l'expression des profonds
vœux de votre reconnaissant et humble serviteur.

L. M. Gottschalk

La Comteza 35.

Madrid 24 Mai 1852.

Figure 2. Letter requesting permission of the minister of the interior of Spain to use the theater of the Royal Palace. (Library of the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, legal section, file 11378, No. 45, 1-2), reproduced by permission. Note the signature Gottschalk uses for official purposes, which matches his clear, legible handwriting.

consisted of a paraphrase of Donizetti's *Belisario*, which featured a triumphal march, and a reprise of some of the solo and duet pieces he had already played publicly. The second part began with his new waltz for two pianos, *La Vallisolitana*. After a fantasy for flute by one "Musician Major" Villetti, a local composer and arranger for military bands, and the *Carnival of Venice* came the pièce de résistance, *El Sitio de Zaragoza*. Gottschalk emerged with his nine aides-de-camp, all uniformly attired and representing just about every piano player of note in Madrid at the time.²⁹

This legendary concert, immortalized in the earliest biographies of Gottschalk, helped to form the surviving reputation of the celebrated American.³⁰ All reports leave no doubt that the public could hardly be restrained during the performance. Gottschalk's imitation of fanfares to the accompaniment of drums caused such a sensation that men and women came to their feet and insisted the passage be repeated. The minister of agriculture, in an emotional outburst, shouted "Long live the queen" during one passage. The end provoked delirious enthusiasm; someone threw a wreath at the feet of Gottschalk and his compatriots, and another enthusiast attempted, unsuccessfully, to place a laurel wreath on his head. Gottschalk was shouldered by throngs of devotees and paraded to his residence amid lingering bravos, accompanied by the strains of his own *Danse Ossianique* played by members of the queen's and princess's regimental bands. Thus serenaded, the foreign virtuoso was obliged to make a short speech in Spanish, at which the enthusiasm of the crowd boiled over.³¹

This "monster" work was destined to be heard in public no more than three additional times in its composer's lifetime, twice more in Madrid and once in Havana. Shortly after the premiere the pianist fell ill and played, in a debilitated condition, two days later for a select society of the court at the Coliseo del Circo. On this program were several works reportedly not known in Madrid, among them Weber's *Moto perpetuo* and an untitled "fantasia on various national airs." He obliged his audience by playing several sections of the *Sitio* as a solo to enthusiastic response.³²

He was forced to postpone his next public appearance until Thursday, 24 June, a performance billed as the response to the request of "several persons who could not get tickets for the earlier concert."³³ The program, however, except for the *Sitio*, was not a repeat, and featured a piano trio arrangement of the overture to *La Chasse du Jeune Henri*. To a stage already crowded with ten pianos were added two singers and a bassoonist, as well as the flute player Villetti. A

reviewer for *El Clamor público* claimed that, if possible, this performance of *Sitio* exceeded the premiere in brilliance.³⁴

Gottschalk had, in the meantime, received a request from the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Parish of St. Louis under the aegis of the Royal Madrid Association for Benefits to Homes.³⁵ The day after his last concert at the Teatro del Principe, an announcement was made that on the following Monday he would play in this charity concert at the Coliseo del Circo,³⁶ sharing the stage with numerous other musicians playing "several different caprices" otherwise unnamed. He is also credited with playing his showpiece *El Sitio de Zaragoza*, probably as a solo. The now-to-be-expected ribboned wreath was thrown at his feet again. Here is the review of the performance that appeared in *La Epoca actual* the next day:

Mr. Gottschalk managed, with his admirable execution, with his exquisite cleanliness, to open the gates of heavenly regions and carry souls up toward them, transporting them on wings of sublime harmony. He has a fiery imagination; God has given him the faculty of expressing what he is feeling on the piano, whose keys, it seems, come to life beneath his fingers, and the spirit, docile at the eloquence of music, which eloquence is also in music, cannot resist his mysterious communication and admire and applaud with enthusiasm when it is, who knows [how], put in motion with his divine language, his faculties and his passions. This is what Gottschalk does, and here is what explains his triumphs.³⁷

At this time, Gottschalk exchanged tokens of esteem with the acclaimed matador José Redondo, "El Chiclanero."³⁸ News of the cordial exchange appeared in all the newspapers, including *La France musicale*. Gottschalk had sent a ticket to his 24 June concert to Redondo in a letter delivered to him by his secretary:

Sr. José Redondo

My dear Sir,

I ask you please to accept from a foreign artist a ticket for the concert that I shall have the honor to give next Thursday in the Principe Theater.

An admirer of the science which you have inherited from the celebrated Montes, it would be very gratifying to me if you would honor my concert with your presence.

Dispose as you like of

Your Humble Servant Who Kisses Your Hand,

for Mr. Gottschalk, his secretary,
Eug. Gouffier³⁹

The matador was touched by this gesture and replied with the gift of "Paquiro," a sword of Francisco Montes, his renowned master, asking no more in return than the artist's autograph in person.⁴⁰ In the wake of such admiring gestures and the sensationalism they generated, notices even appear in the bullfighting columns of the Madrid papers where Gottschalk's name is wonderfully transformed into "Foss-track."⁴¹

Gottschalk continued to perform into the summer. An article uniquely preserved in the Hemeroteca Municipal, published on 11 July by *El Herald*o, records his last concert appearance in Madrid.⁴² Advertised as his final Madrid appearance, it was a benefit for his friends Julian Aguirre (who had substituted for the originally scheduled second pianist at Gottschalk's first public concerts and accompanied him on many of the subsequent duet performances) and Miralles, the piano player at the Café de la Esmeralda. On the program are a number of familiar pieces from the Gottschalk repertoire, along with a soprano aria from Verdi's *Macbeth* sung by diva Emilia Moscoso. The program also featured a piano trio version of the overture to *La Chasse du Jeune Henri* featuring Gottschalk's two friends, an unspecified "Capricho" for two pianos composed and played by Gottschalk with Miralles, and as a finale, the ten-piano version of *El Sitio de Zaragoza*, which was to be performed with the full complement of pianos only once more, on 28 March 1854 in Havana, Cuba, where it generated an enthusiastic response equal to that it had received in Spain.⁴³

In the July heat of Madrid, the custom of the royal family was to repair to the cooler Palace of San Ildefonso de la Granja on the Guadarrama slopes near Segovia. Gottschalk was there that month, reportedly for his health and relaxation. Back in Madrid, Gottschalk planned another journey; as was his custom, he sent his personal secretary, the faithful Gouffier, along with his piano tuner, Gonzales, to Cordoba to prepare the way. On 3 August he bid farewell to Madrid, amid rumors that he would return in the autumn; there is no proof that he ever did.⁴⁴

Gottschalk's Madrid programs were filled with premières of original music or fantasies built on themes by other composers; his first concert for Queen Isabel in November 1851, for example, had begun with a "duo for two pianos," perhaps his recently composed fantasy on Verdi's *Jerusalem*, chosen a few weeks later for his first public perfor-

mance in Madrid. In earlier programs, this fantasy had been variously called a "duo," a "Triumphal march played on two pianos," and a "morceau" for two pianos.⁴⁵ Gottschalk apparently had turned *Jerusalem* into a duo for a benefit concert at the Bordeaux Grand Theatre on 17 July, 1851 (the second pianist was Emile Forgues).⁴⁶ One Madrid review states that this triumphal march pleased the Spanish royal couple more than *Bamboula*, dedicated to Isabel herself.⁴⁷ The solo edition published as op. 13 seems to have been written after the two-piano version, possibly in Spain; it was published in America shortly after his return when it appeared at the same time as *La Jota aragonesa*, op. 14.

La Danse Ossianique, which seems to have some connection with an earlier *Danse* or *Marche des Ombres*, was another composition to appear on the Madrid programs, but was one surrounded by some publication controversy. In a letter written shortly after arriving in Madrid, Gottschalk implored the Baron de Bock to treat in strict confidence the manuscript once titled *Danse des Ombres*, which he promised to dedicate to the Grand Duchess Anna of Russia, as it had not yet been released for publication.⁴⁸ The controversy occurred with the publication of the November issue of *El Pasatiempo musical* in which the music publisher Casimiro Martin, who may have had a major interest in the journal, announced his acquisition of the copyright and the imminent publication of the *Danse Ossianique: Capricho poetico*. A vitriolic exchange ensued between Gottschalk's Paris publishers, Léon and Marie Escudier, and the editor of *El Pasatiempo musical* over this announcement and publication. (Casimiro Martin's Paris agent, Chabal, was a rival of the Escudiers.) The Spanish editor states that the Escudiers in their 9 November issue of *La France musicale* accused him of "falsifying" Gottschalk's music and of committing piracy. What most likely happened was that Gottschalk gave the finished *Danse* to Martin shortly after arriving in Madrid to secure its undelayed dedication in print, as promised by the Baron de Bock to Grand Duchess Anna, because his Paris publishers would have needed an extra month. The Spanish version (Fig. 3) is the first version published, although the Escudiers printed another version in the middle of December and advertised it in the largest possible lettering in their magazine.

A variation of the overture *La Chasse du Jeune Henri*, a French composition given a Spanish conversion, also appeared on the Madrid program. Born as a duo in Switzerland, this fantasy became a solo published in Paris in 1851 and was played in Bordeaux and apparently in the December concerts at the Circo. Its program is supposed to



Figure 3. Cover of the first published edition (Madrid: Casimiro Martin [1851]) of *La Danse ossianique* (Biblioteca Nacional, Sección de Música, sign. M 1⁴⁴), reproduced by permission (photo: Biblioteca Nacional, photographic laboratory).

portray "Dawn, Arrival of the Hunters; Baying of the Hounds; Gallop of the Horses; Coursing of the Deer, Fanfares of Triumph, Finale."⁴⁹ Gottschalk wanted to suggest that the listeners were "not at a hunt filled with life and gaiety, but at a diversion of a melancholy soul who seeks danger so as to find rest," one reviewer observed. The same reviewer wrote that the "transport from dejection to giddiness, from racing to repose, emerges imprinted in the lamentations that Gottschalk produces at the keyboard with such a clarity as if they were sheets of gold."⁵⁰ From this solo version, *La Caza del joven Enrique*, as it was then called, reemerged in the June concerts as a piece for three pianists. Gottschalk's flair for multipiano writing was reinforced in Spain. The king told Gottschalk that *La Moissoneuse* would not be appreciated in Spain, as "the only pianists we admire here are those who perform acrobatic feats on their instruments."⁵¹ Spanish royalty was partial to a multiple sound. For example, Pedro Albeniz had written a three-part piano arrangement of a rondino with variations by Cramer; there was even a march with variations on an original theme for five pianos.⁵² Gottschalk, no doubt, knew about these projects. Moreover, unpleasant memories of experiences with ad hoc orchestras may have provided an impetus to use multiple pianos instead.

Also on the Madrid program was *Le Mancenillier* [*Sérénade*], a favorite bit of Gottschalk Americana. A December performance of it evoked this response from a rhapsodic critic: "*Le Macenillier* [sic] is a nameless thing. Only those who are born in the regions of the South, in those endless jungles of virgin nature, can understand what passion is contained in notes, some so timid and others so courageous."⁵³ Around 1852 Casimiro Martin published a *Polka caracteristica sobre Le Mancenillier. Serenata*, which John Doyle discovered.⁵⁴ At its earliest performance, the original version was subtitled by Gottschalk *Marche Nègre*, and it included dance elements. The changes in the polka version range from merely cosmetic to structural: $\frac{4}{4}$ is changed to $\frac{2}{4}$; G-sharp minor to A-flat major becomes A minor to A major; the overall length of 238 measures is reduced to 108 measures; and the rhapsodic right-hand passagework over the left-hand melody at m. 181 of the original is transformed into a melody-octave and chord accompaniment in the *Polka* (Ex. 1). The music is thus made technically easier for the amateur musician, a tendency that continues to manifest itself in some of Gottschalk's later publications. Some new elements are added as well, including one entirely new melodic turn with a concomitant change of key to the relative major, a relationship not

Introduction

6 POLKA

12

18

24

ff

Example 1. Polka caractéristica on Le Mancenillier, mm. 1–29

employed in *Sérénade*. This change occurs in mm. 24–25 and is followed by an episode in this new key.

Later, this and the final melody, the one rhapsodized in the model, establish the tonic major in the *Polka*, starting at m. 45. The polka per se, two pages long, encompasses only sixty measures, repeatable, dal segno. The remainder of the *Polka*, designated “coda,” reca-



Example 2. *Polka caractéristica on Le Mancenillier*, mm. 52–60

pitulates all three melodies for a third page and ends with the final theme of the *Sérénade*, here merely extended by cadential formulas throughout the last page. The *Sérénade* theme, sixteen measures long ending in the dominant (its last utterance twelve measures ending in the tonic) is, not surprisingly, truncated to eight measures in the *Polka* (Ex. 2).

Souvenirs de Bellini appeared in both December and June concerts. Doyle does not catalog this work, and Robert Offergeld equates it with the *Fantaisie sur La Sonnambula*.⁵⁵ However, the *Souvenirs de Bellini* uses music drawn from other Bellini operas. A reviewer wrote of the piece: “Gottschalk has selected some of the tenderer motifs from *I Puritani* and *La Sonnambula* and the finale from *Norma*, whose arias the artist interprets with all the sentiment of his supernally poetic soul.”⁵⁶ Gottschalk had been performing a *La Sonnambula* fantasy in France; perhaps this Spanish piece might have been partly derived from it. Offergeld seems correct in suggesting that Gottschalk’s *Gloires italiennes*, described years later as based on music from *Norma* and *Sonnambula*, “may have evolved from the *Souvenirs de Bellini*.”⁵⁷ The music seems to have been shaped or reshaped in Spain, perhaps while waiting for the queen’s invitation, with the many Spanish fans of Bellini’s opera in mind. Whether or not originating in Spain, these *Souvenirs* deserve to be treated as an autonomous work. It was praised

by the unsigned reviewer of *La Nacion* who called it “the most finished expression of Italian music” that assimilates “in most original notes those that the creator of *Norma* has immortalized.”⁵⁸

The next composition from Madrid is the most enigmatic: *Mazeppa*, still unlocated. Luis Fors, citing testimony supporting the acquaintance of the two composer-pianists, claims that this “étude dramatique” was dedicated to Liszt.⁵⁹ Offergeld provides a strong argument that *Mazeppa* belongs among the European works never written down. Offergeld quotes Nicolás Ruiz Espadero: “It needed even reproaches, and the full influence of our friendship, to cause him to give to the world . . . *Mazeppa*.”⁶⁰ Gottschalk gave the piece, not to the world, but to a private society in Madrid.

Without a score, however, we are informed solely by descriptions. Ruiz Espadero, editing Gottschalk’s posthumous works, found in *Mazeppa*’s music “immense beauty . . . full of ingenious mechanisms,” but advised that “it requires an able interpreter.” Ortega Zapata in *El Porvenir musical* translated the musical effects of its program from the intellect and fingers of the artist into Spanish. In turn, I render Ortega Zapata’s description in Appendix A. Nothing else seems to survive.

A fabulous work from Gottschalk’s December Madrid concerts was the unscheduled and supposedly improvised *Capricho español*, which premiered on 16 December. This fresh inspiration elicited the highest praise in *La Nacion* (18 December): “The *jaleo* and the *jota* are, in the hands of Gottschalk, all that a very simple thing can be in the hands of a genius.” In fact, this work, unlike *Mazeppa*, was written down and published; a single imprint exists in the Biblioteca Nacional with the following identification on its cover: “Capricho español for Piano improvised by L. M. Gottschalk on his concert of 16 December 1851, in the Teatro del Circo.”

Where does this hitherto unrecognized edition of an improvisation come from? The publisher is given as the firm of C. Monier, “Bookseller-of-the-Chamber of Their Majesties”; there is no date or opus number. The firm of Monier is known to have published only in 1852, and Gottschalk’s work was probably published in that year.⁶¹ The composer’s unmistakable autograph on page 1 of this score is shown in Figure 4. This appears to be Gottschalk’s hand; the ink has browned, is faded, and has run into the paper so that the lines of the signature have spread to about a quarter-inch thickness and even appear on the reverse of the page.⁶²

The later history of this music is complex. The *jota* turns up, at least partly, shortly after the December premiere in *El Sitio de Zara-*

CAPRICHIO ESPAÑOL.

OP.  L. M. GOTTSCHALK.

PIANO. *Allegro.*

p ben misurato.

p marcato.

misterioso

brillante.



Figure 4. Autographed first page of a limited edition (Madrid: C. Monier [1852]) of the *Capricho español*, which preserves the notes Gottschalk played on December 16, 1851 but never repeated (Biblioteca Nacional, Sección de Música, Sign. M 1²⁶), reproduced by permission.

goza. Perhaps folkloric interests caused Gottschalk, who had not composed *El Sitio* yet, to seek early release of this amalgam of *jota* and certain Andalusian subjects to a minor, nonmusical editor for a limited edition. Eight months later, another work appeared, premiered in Sevilla but published only in 1855 as *Souvenirs d'Andalousie. Caprice de concert sur la caña, le fandango, et le jaleo de Jerez*, op. 22. On the cover of the New York edition (but not, incidentally, on the Escudier firm's 1856 print) is an inscription that begins, "The cadre of this piece was improvised in the concert the composer gave in the Circo Theater of Madrid on December 16, 1851."⁶³ But the pieces are quite different, and the *Souvenirs* lack the *jota* and the song-like section described later.

The improvised version included the *jota*, familiar to us from its partnership with the *Marcha Real* in *El Sitio* (played six months later) and also from *La Jota aragonesa*, op. 14, "drawn from the grand symphony for ten pianos, *El Sitio de Zaragoza*."⁶⁴ But only two of the four elements of the *jota* occur in the *Capricho español*: one, not the opening theme of opus 14, enters halfway through the *Capricho* as an anticipation of that main theme, which arrives at the conclusion in appropriate major-key triumph. In its later Sevilla form, *Souvenirs*, deprived of the *jota*, gets to the major mode only a few arbitrary measures from the end.

Differences in length are also quite apparent. The *Capricho español* at 391 measures is nearly one and a half times longer than *Souvenirs d'Andalousie* (268 measures), more than twice the length of *La Jota aragonesa* (121 measures), and two measures more than their combined length. There are three dedications: the earliest, for the *Capricho*, is to a Miss Fatima de Olavarria; the next, for the *Souvenirs d'Andalousie*, is to his friend Collignon; and last, for the *jota*, is to his friend and early teacher in New Orleans, François Letellier.

The *Capricho español*, the *Souvenirs d'Andalousie*, and the more completely realized *Jota aragonesa* differ in several more specific respects, however. The two opening gestures of the *Capricho* and *Souvenirs* are strikingly dissimilar. The *Capricho*, in its initial gesture, presages the *jota*, which is first heard in full at m. 356. The *Souvenirs* launches right into the fandango, while the *Capricho* waits a measure and a half. These gestures are contrasted in Examples 3a and 3b. This fandango is recapitulated in both pieces: at mm. 320–34 in the *Capricho*, and at mm. 208–18 in the *Souvenirs*. In the process, Gottschalk leaves the opening bass notes, A–C-sharp–E, silent in the *Capricho* m. 5 (see Fig. 4), thereby slicing the first of four measures of the antecedent phrase of the fandango entering in the bass.



Example 3a. *Capricho*, mm. 1-2



Example 3b. *Souvenirs*, mm. 1-2 (100)

The theme of the *caña*, more substantial in the *Capricho*, as seen in Example 4a, contrasts plainly with the *Souvenirs*' version, shown in Example 4b: not only is the former longer, but the antecedent and consequent phrases are interchanged, much like the opening gesture.

In the *jaleo* of Jerez of the *Capricho*, second statement, Gottschalk crosses with the right hand, which he avoids in the more simplified American version of the *jaleo*. Following its minor strain, the major strain of the *jaleo*, mm. 105-94 in the Madrid edition, a sort of *cachucha*, is basically identical to mm. 80-170 of the American edition. The *Capricho* does, however, contain extensions at phrase ends of one or two measures, more bass octaves at phrase beginnings, and a more technically difficult right-hand part. Although the retransition to the minor strain is approximately the same length (Madrid twenty-six measures, American twenty-eight measures), the music differs markedly, as the last four measures of each show (Exx. 5a and 5b). After this, the Hall American edition skips to the fandango recapitulation, which comes much later in the Monier Madrid print, and then goes to the D-minor coda and the final measures of the piece without preparation, in D major. But the Monier edition continues with the third motif of the *jota*, *jaleo* minor-strain recapitulation, guitaristic song in D major, *fandango* recapitulation, *jaleo* minor-strain recapitulation, and *jota* opening motif, which is repeated to end the

8-
tr

pp

marcato il canto

Example 4a. *Capricho*, mm. 31–47 (2–3)

LA CANA

8-
tr

pp

con melancholia ma senza rall.

pp

Example 4b. *Souvenirs*, mm. 17–25 (100–01)

work (I label as a “guitaristic song” a song-like section accompanied by broken-chord triplets whose upper notes articulate the melody on each beat of the measure). The overall form combines the rondo with the *fandango* and *caña*, forming a binary introduction with the concluding *jota* strain as a coda. Introductions 1 and 2 actually refer to integral themes and not to introductions in the Gottschalkian sense. The themes are registered as successive letters with altered forms shown as subscript 1; keys are represented with upper case for majors



Example 5a. *Capricho*, mm. 201–04 (9)



Example 5b. *Souvenirs*, mm. 180–83 (106)

and lower case for minors (see Table 1). The F-strain guitaristic song is not included in *Souvenirs*. The printed vestige is shown in Example 6.

This theme seems to be a measure short in its fourth phrase as published (mm. 294–96), since a new phrase begins with the first measure of the next page. Evidently, the publisher omitted the measure following m. 296, which should repeat the right hand of the last measure of the page shown while continuing the left-hand pattern established in the first six measures—specifically mm. 283, 285, 287—of F-sharp–D–A. This appears to be an adaptation with evened rhythm of the major, *cachucha*-like C strain of the *jaleo* motive. But this melody is far from identical to the F theme. The *fandango*, *caña* and *jaleo* de Jerez are all labeled in the Escudier and Hall prints but not in Monier's; neither the *jota* (themes E and G) nor, more significantly, this guitaristic theme is labeled. What then is the origin of this theme?

A clue might be found in a fantastic story told by Fors⁶⁵ about a young Sevillana with whom Gottschalk was in love, but who constantly repulsed him by whistling a song. When, finally overcome by exasperation, the pianist asked her the meaning of her curious denials

Table 1. Form of the *Capricho español*

Measure	Theme (structure)	Key
31	Introduction I–Introduction II	modal
55	A	d
75	B	e
89	A	
105	C	D
137	D	b
163	C ₁	D
179	D ₁	b
205	A ₁	d
219	B ₁	
229	E	D
252	A ₁	d
266	B ₁	
282	F	D
320	Introduction I	
340	A ₁	
355	G (finale)	D

in music, she sang the words whose air she had been whistling which Fors claims became the *Souvenirs d'Andalousie*. The concert performer intertwined the song into the piece he was playing in Madrid at the moment he spied her in the audience.

Most of this story is romantic fabrication. Gottschalk was never in Sevilla before August 1852, and the *Souvenirs*, as we have shown, does not use this melody. But Gottschalk might have omitted the song he improvised in Madrid from the ultimate edition of the *Souvenirs*. Fors asserts that Gottschalk met this woman at the house of a foreign diplomat. The location could have been Madrid even if the woman was from Sevilla. Perhaps the unknown dedicatee, Fatima de Olavarria, was the whistler of the Andalusian song-like motive.

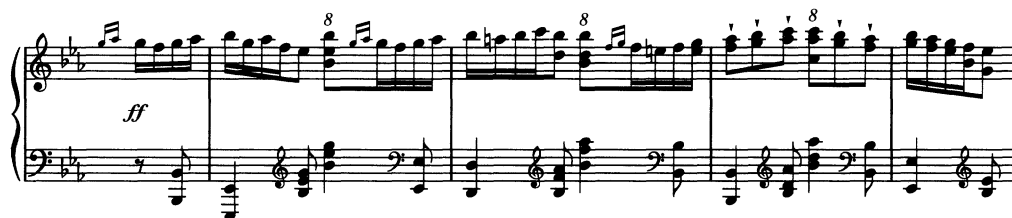
The jota of the *Capricho* bears little resemblance, other than a melodic one, to *La Jota aragonesa*, op. 14. They are not the same piece, nor does either form a part of the other. *La Jota* is in $\frac{6}{8}$ meter,

Example 6. *Capricho*, mm. 282–96 (13)

while the *jota* of the *Capricho* continues the $\frac{3}{4}$ meter of the whole composition; *La Jota* is in E-flat major, the key of its matrix, *El Sitio de Zaragoza*, the *Capricho* in D major. In *La Jota* Gottschalk states all four thematic elements, while in the *Capricho* he quotes only the first (G theme) and third (D theme). In Examples 7a and 8a, these thematic elements appear as employed in the *Capricho*; in Examples 7b and 8b, the employments in *La Jota* are shown. Here, the differences are apparent even in a casual perusal. Other than the aforementioned sections of the *jaleo* and *fandango*, the only other element in common is the genre designation, “*Capricho español*”/“*Caprice Espagnole*,” which in the *Capricho* from Madrid represents a splendid synthesis of Aragonese and Andalusian musical folklore. All in all, the improvisa-



Example 7a. *Capricho*, jota element 1: mm. 356-63 (17)

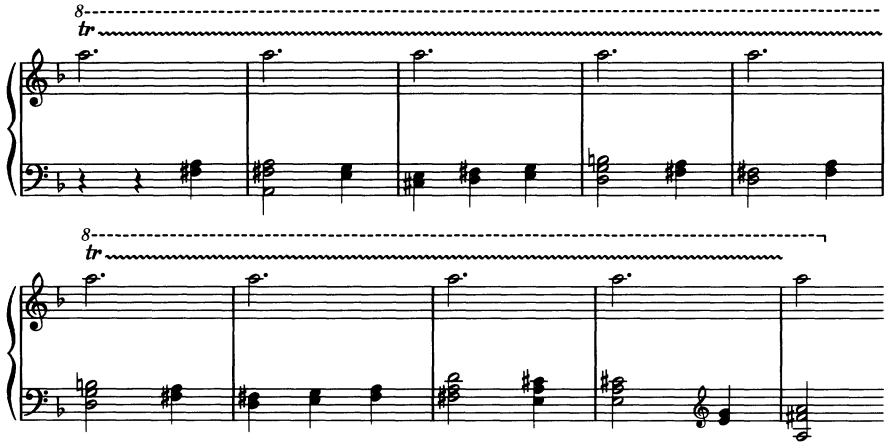


Example 7b. *La Jota aragonesa*, jota element 1: mm. 11-15 (71)

tion of the Madrid concert is more of a shell than a true “cadre” for the later work.

Other than a three-piano version of *La Chasse*, only *La Vallisolitana*, a revision of his *Carnival of Venice*, and the grandiose *Sitio de Zaragoza*, from which the aforementioned *La Jota aragonesa* was eventually distilled, seem to have occupied the composer’s attention in preparation for his second tour of Madrid toward summer. The first two of these, a waltz for two pianos, “The Girl from Valladolid,” and an apparent revision of the not-yet-hackneyed instrumental solo with virtuosic variation resulted from the composer-arranger’s activity outside Madrid and, therefore, does not fall within the scope of this article.

El Sitio was not only finished in the capital, but, as I have noted, was also prepared for realization there pending the recruitment of nine



Example 8a. *Capricho*, jota element 3: mm. 231–39 (11)



Example 8b. *La Jota aragonesa*, jota element 3: mm. 45–48 (73)

accompanying pianists. Often described in Madrid as an epic poem, it began as a “gran fantasia fugada” on the theme of the *Marcha Real*, Spain’s national anthem. Gottschalk played it in this form for Espin y Guillen’s Circulo filarmonico. This rendition probably constitutes the “fragments” of *Sitio* that Ortega Zapata mentions he had heard before the full-fledged work was introduced by Gottschalk on 13 June 1852. Although the ten-piano score is lost, two unsigned accounts in the

press provide us with descriptions of *El Sitio*, encompassing the “grand fantasy and fugue.” One depicts *El Sitio*’s contents as the composer probably related them in person;⁶⁶ the other published two weeks later fully describes the form, *with score in hand* (see Appendix 2). The latter rebuts a negative notice by Eduardo Velaz de Medrano, Ortega Zapata’s counterpart at *La España*. Although not conserved in the scrapbooks, Velaz’s review is quoted in the rebuttal in *El Orden* on 27 June, in all likelihood by Ortega Zapata himself. In this rebuttal we find a fairly detailed analysis of the form.

El Sitio contains an exposition of five strains, the first introductory in nature, and concludes with an amalgam of the more important two: the *Marcha Real* and the *jota*. This exposition is followed by a set of variations on the *jota* concluding with the returning theme, crescendo, then *Marcha Real* in fugue and canon(!), and finale. *El Sitio* evokes the actual siege of Zaragoza, a city 212 miles northeast of Madrid, that took place during the Peninsular War, Napoleon’s invasion of Spain and Portugal. Zaragoza was one of the last cities to continue to resist the French, and the siege lasted for two and a half months during the winter of 1808–1809 and attracted worldwide attention. The townspeople of Zaragoza, after their local government had fled the poorly fortified town, placed red cockades in their hats and began a patriotic resistance that continued even as the walls of the city were destroyed and the citizens were left to fight in the street. Although the city fell, Napoleon’s forces were not to stay in Spain much longer and were eventually driven out by the English army under Wellington in 1813.⁶⁷ One of the heroes of the siege was Maria Augustin, the “Maid of Zaragoza,” who worked a gun after all the men beside her were killed. Byron wrote these verses about her in his epic poem *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*:

Her lover sinks—she sheds no ill-tim’d tear;
 Her chief is slain—she fills his fatal post;
 Her fellows flee—she checks their base career;
 The foe retires—she heads the sallying host:
 Who can appease her like a lover’s ghost?
 Who can avenge so well a leader’s fall?
 What maid retrieve when man’s flush’d hope is lost?
 Who hang so fiercely on the flying Gaul,
 Foil’d by a woman’s hand, before a batter’d wall?
 (Canto 1, stanzas 56–57, lines 576–84)

According to the account in *El Orden*, *El Sitio* begins with a musical representation of the tumult and disarray of a besieged Zara-

goza, an effect created with innumerable (*un sinnumero*) descending chromatic octave scales alternating with incisively rhythmic melody. Soon, a hint of the *Marcha Real* in the minor suggests those families suffering from the rigors of war but bound to defend both honor and home, all realized on the pianos in an “inexplicable but highly philosophical way.” The march into the fray is denoted by “far-off fanfares playing the *Marcha Real*.” Then “for a while, the noise of battle prevails, only to subside gradually as if to signal a temporary halt to the fighting.” There follows a kind of interlude with the *Marcha Real* and the *jota* exchanging fugue-like sections followed by “moments of rest,” apparently connoting the tranquility of the city when the day’s battle is over. As those besieged realize that their first danger is past, their subdued joy is reflected in a “fantasia” on the *jota*, at first played softly then crescendo to a *tutti*. The ensuing return to the noisy introduction signals the next day’s siege with descending chromatic octaves “imitating high bugles.” The finale “puts the already ‘fugued’ *Marcha Real* together with *tutti* chords and a renewed crescendo of trumpets with the lower notes producing a new fugue on the first notes of the *Marcha Real*.”

The effect of the *Marcha Real* against the *jota* is striking because the former is in a binary meter, while the latter is in ternary meter; this accomplishment in the composition prompted the reviewer for *La Ilustracion* to call *El Sitio de Zaragoza* a tour de force.⁶⁸ The effect of the fervently nationalistic music and the crescendo of ten thundering pianos on a packed theater of adulatory fans on that hot night of 13 June is not impossible to imagine. Napoleon’s invasion must have been a vivid memory for many of the people present, and the riotous acclaim that Gottschalk received that evening is not surprising.

Fame is fleeting, however, and none more fleeting than the fame of a widely acclaimed musical virtuoso whose greatest achievements, appearing as they did before the advent of recording technology, vanished without a sound. Virtuosos who are also composers suffer in comparison to the great composers of their time, and the public’s demand for material from these musical sensations often outstripped their sources of inspiration. Almost a hundred years after Gottschalk had so completely won the hearts of his Spanish listeners, the late Spanish musicologist José Subirá y Puig observed: “Curious thing: the impulse toward Spanish nationalism was given many years earlier by foreign artists seduced by our country during their passage through it: the Hungarian Liszt, the Belgian Gevaert, the Russian Glinka, discounting others of lesser stature, among them the pianist Gottschalk whose pseudo-Iberian compositions . . . were published in various



Figure 5. A later caricature of Gottschalk, after illness and constant worldwide touring had prematurely aged him. Iconographic Collection, New York Public Library Performing Arts Research Center.

countries with fervent acceptance on the part of philharmonic societies of that time, although today almost no one remembers them."⁶⁹

The centennial of the death of Gottschalk in 1969 inspired a surge of renewed interest and even a performance of *El Sitio de Zaragoza* in New York with a full complement of ten pianos. Recently, however, there has been a dearth of any new material on this romantic figure of nineteenth-century music, a situation that, one hopes, will soon be reversed.⁷⁰

Appendix 1

Madrid, El Porvenir musical, 11 December 1851; ascribed to José Ortega Zapata (misspellings in this article were later corrected by Ortega Zapata writing in La España, January 1852, in rebuttal to a criticism from El Pasatiempo Musical, No. 52)

Pianist Gtots halke—In recent days we have had the pleasure of hearing this young artist whose colossal genius is so high, like that of Liszt and Thalberg. The fantastic and the poetic in all his inspired compositions can only be understood by hearing them [played] by him. *Le Mancenillier*, *La Dama* [sic] *ossianica*, *Le Bananier* are American subjects, in which you see painted the most melancholy land, his own witness of this truth. One cannot really imagine deeper sentimentality or more refinement than that which all these original compositions contain, and which, as played by young Mr. Gottschalk, please and move the soul in a delightful way. The artist's fingers print upon the sound of the piano so congenial an ink, so sweet that they do not seem anything but magic wands that touch the heart, striking it in a truly magnetic way.

Mazzeppa [sic], Mr. Gottschalk's favorite work, is a philosophical composition of high rank, one that tests the richness of his fantasy. You clearly and distinctly hear the gallop of horse, the roars of wild beasts that pursue, the final groan of the dying, all so true to life, so strongly colored, [that] the passive [person] wonders deep within if all this is reality or only an illusion created by genius. Harmony hurled in torrents in each of the metallic and vibrating blows of the piano produces in what you are hearing an indefinable and unexplainable, yet sensed, electric charge.

[The remainder deals with *Jerusalem*, second pianist Adolfo Quesada, the repeat performance for Count de Velle's salon, and Gottschalk's attempts to perform in public.]

Appendix 2

A portion of a review article from El Orden, 27 June 1852 [23/71]

Music Review

(Second Concert of Gottschalk at the Principe)

[The first third of this article reviews Gottschalk's program as performed]

A *propos* EL SITIO DE ZARAGOZA, we must take into consideration today the way in which the illustrious critic of *La España*, Sr. Eduardo Velaz de Medrano, in his *Review* of the 20th of this month has judged it, however much we recognize his great competency in matters of musical criticism and however much we struggle to our disadvantage for this same reason.

After speaking of [how] confused compositions for several pianos have always seemed and the bad effect that the uniting of many of these instruments brings about in playing a piece, Sr. Velaz de Medrano adds:

Mr. Gottschalk got around this quagmire, and the *El Sitio de Zaragoza*, grandiose composition for ten pianos, caused a great sensation these last nights in the concert which took place in the Principe Theater. The composer has taken very special care not to overload the instruments too much in such a way that, so far from blaming him for what many others could not avoid, we must perhaps take into consideration that excessive economy has been demonstrated in the use of ten pianos. Thus it is that, fleeing from the monotony of noise, he proceeds to fall into the opposite deficiency: his pianos are almost continuously silent, and the excessive simplicity at given moments damages the effect desired. Without fear of appearing jumbled, he would have profited more by certain passages which he need no more than hint. The theme of the jota, for example, ably handled just so, would have produced [a] better effect if the composer had also stopped and not caused the nine pianos which served him as accompaniment to be silent when clearly the audience is most captivated.

In order to prove to the well-informed *music critic* of *La España* that his estimations are baseless, we shall make a detailed analysis of this composition, from which will result:

1. that there has not been parsimony on Gottschalk's part in the use of TEN PIANOS,
2. that the latter are not silent so much all along, as Sr. Velaz de Medrano affirms,
3. that certain themes, like the JOTA, are appropriately developed, and
4. that in this same motive the NINE PIANOS, which serve as accompaniment to Gottschalk's, are not covered up.

Let us see if [these results are] not so.

The first motive of the fantasy, in E-flat major, is a tutti.

The second, which is a reminiscence of the Marcha Real in E-flat minor, also begins tutti, and continues on with three pianos.

Third motive: Song of love [?] in F-sharp major for four pianos.

Fourth motive: *Jota* and *Marcha Real* simultaneously fugued and producing a pleasantly surprising combination in E-flat major for all the pianos.

Fifth motive: *Jota*, introduced in the same key for all pianos.

Variation I: Two pianos carrying the tune [presumably the *Marcha Real*]; two others accompanying it. Gottschalk making variations (modulando) on his. Total, five pianos.

Variation II: Same as the preceding, only differing in that here *two pianos* make variations. Total, six.

Variation III: *Three pianos* making variations; *four* accompanying. Total, seven.

Melody of the *jota*. *Two pianos* carry it and *two others* accompany and make variations over it. Total, *four*.

In this melody is heard the magnificent modulation [from E-flat] to F-sharp major, and vice versa, prepared with as much finesse as good effect.

Crescendo of the *jota*. It begins with *four pianos*. The sound keeps augmenting and later *four* more enter which, uniting with the first, play the same passage in octaves with one hand, and, finally, this passage prepares the *fortissimo*, as the *two pianos* remaining enter and play together with the *eight* that are already playing, but with the distinction that *all* have octaves in each hand.

With the *jota* ended in this fashion, there begins the *fugue* of the *Marcha Real* for *all pianos* and changing key up until by means of a chord on the dominant of B-flat major; i.e., the chord of F natural, the *Marcha Real* ensues, *attaca*, in which you hear A minor [text partially obliterated by the prominent ghost of the opposite side of the page] whose imitative effect Gottschalk produces in a way that astonishes, the melody of the former [*jota*?] being played by two pianos and two others accompanying. Total, five [sic].

Canon of the *Marcha Real* for two groups of *five pianos* each.

Finale. Harmonies imitating bugles/high trumpets for *all pianos crescendo*, which prepare a new explosion, *fortissimo*, [at] which the *Marcha Real*, *attaca*, returns. During its execution for the *ten pianos*, Gottschalk gives in to all his imagination causing a downpour of notes to spring forth from his [piano] with a marvelous effect.

The artistic analysis which, with *the score in our hand*, we have just made of EL SITIO DE ZARAGOZA—what we wrote in our last *Review* of the 13th, was only the philosophical [part] of the plan and development of the work—proves extremely clearly that the critical judgment of Sr. Velaz de Medrano is not exact. And [it is] much less so, respecting the *Jota* on which he concentrates, since, *q.e.d.*, it has

introduction, three variations and two or three airs playing in it, along with at least four pianos in the air, and five in the variations.

And it could not be—Gottschalk, least of all, would have ignored the simple effects of instrumentation—anything but the *chiar-oscuro* of his work and the progressive expansion of large harmonic masses at given moments.

Beethoven himself in his symphonies for full orchestra dispenses with entire *tempi* [i.e., sections], sometimes for brass, others for strings. Rossini in that [overture] of William Tell, for us his greatest, has the grandiose andante played first by cello, then oboes, flute, [English] horn, without leaving for a single moment, the existence of violins or brass to be guessed.

And if these masters, like so many [who] have composed for instruments, omit so many instruments so frequently, how was it possible that . . . [the rest, consisting of the last line of the column, is worn away and not restorable].

Notes

For the facilitation of my research, I am indebted to Christopher Newport College for the provision of two faculty development grants: the first for two weeks of study in Madrid in 1986, the second for three weeks of study in Spain outside Madrid, partly undertaken in Madrid, in 1989. All translations are by me unless otherwise indicated. To the memory of José Subirá y Puig.

1. *La Conciliacion*, Tarbes, France, 9 Aug. 1851. See the New York Public Library, Performing Arts Research Center, Gottschalk Family Collection, scrapbook number 7. Newspaper titles and datelines head each clipping with pen in an unidentified hand, not Gottschalk's own. I am accepting these labels as factual. A number of periodicals are represented in this scrapbook source: *El Clamor público*, *La Epoca actual*, *El Heraldo*, *El Diario español*, *El Orden*, *El Constitucional*, *La France musicale*, *Correo de los Teatros*, *Las Novedades*, *La Ilustracion*, *La Esperanza*, *La Tribuna del Pueblo*, *La España*, *La Nacion*, *Pasatiempo musical*, *Gazeta de Madrid*, *El Observador*, *La Opinion pública*, *El Porvenir musical*, *Diario oficial de Avisos*, and *El Teatro español*. Neither pages nor clippings are numbered on the microfilm, but the original scrapbooks have page numbers. The original materials remain, in their original form, in the hands of Gottschalk's great-great-nephew Lawrence Glover. He is preparing a computer-generated catalog of clippings from Europe and the West Indies. He has generously copied his chronological index of scrapbook 7, which I have compared to my own listing, in order of appearance, from the microfilm. The page numbers, therefore, are accurate. To them I add the consecutive number of the clippings from my notes. These are given in the notes, page number first, clipping number second. Many originals, some of which are not in the scrapbook, are in the Hemeroteca Municipal, Madrid.

2. There are two secondary sources that refer to the newspapers by date and title but do not quote from them: Mercedes Agullo y Cobo, ed., *Madrid en sus Diarios*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1965), vol. 2 (1845–59), 133–38

(under the subject heading "Toros"), 206–21 ("la Corte: Real Familia"), 273 ("Bellas Artes—La Musica"); and John Godfrey Doyle, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk 1829–1869* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1983), 179–80 ("Paris—newspapers") and 181 ("Madrid—newspapers"). The Spanish references in Doyle come from research notes by David James. I have abbreviated these as, respectively, MsD and LMG. Manuscripts from scrapbook 7 are designated 'ms' and given a microfilm number. Where there is reason to suspect that a manuscript is attached to a page of the scrapbook and not loose, I indicate that page. There are, additionally, copies of seventeen of Gottschalk's notices made for him by the Spanish consulate in New York, dated 24 Sept. 1864. These are designated "c," followed by the item number in the sequence preserved. The comparison to Liszt and Thalberg is from *La Nacion*, 16 Oct. 1851 (LMG).

3. 86/189, 190.
4. 86/195.
5. Ms 22.
6. Clara Gottschalk Peterson, "Biographical Sketch," in Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed Clara Peterson, trans. Robert Peterson (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1881), 59. Queen Isabel's antipathy was derived from the unofficial U.S. support of Narceso Lopez's mission to invade Cuba and wrest it from Spain. The last such expedition, unsuccessful, was launched in 1851. See Libby Antarsh Rubin, "Gottschalk in Cuba" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1974), 13.
7. "Musical," *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch*, 27 Feb. 1853, 2.
8. Peterson, 59–61.
9. Robert Stevenson, "Liszt at Madrid and Lisbon: 1844–45," *Musical Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (Oct. 1979): 497–99; and "Liszt in the Iberian Peninsula, 1844–1845," *Inter-American Music Review* 7, no. 2 (1986): 5–6. Concerning Guelbenzu as the king's instructor, see José Subirá y Puig, *El Teatro del Real Palacio (1849–1851)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950), 146. Guelbenzu also taught the future Alfonso XII and his three sisters; he was admired as an organist as well. See Higino Anglés and Joaquín Peña, eds. *Diccionario de la Música* (Barcelona: Labor, 1954), 2: 1167. Stevenson adds, "His third appearance with Liszt established his reputation in the Spanish capital and ensured his primacy during the next generation." The name Guelbenzu appears in notices from the 1850s without a diaeresis.
10. 89/Ms 6.
11. Peterson, 61; also reported by Paul Arpin, *Biographie de L. M. Gottschalk* (New York: Imprimerie du Courrier des Etats-Unis, 1853), 47. A Señorita de Casa Valencia was in the audience for the performance of the first opera in the *camara* of the Palace—Emilio Arrieta's *Ildegonda*, on 10 Oct. 1849. See Subirá y Puig, 206.
12. Subirá y Puig, 157–59.
13. 92/217. For information on Sanchez Allú and his music, see Mariano Vázquez Tur, "El Piano y su música en el siglo XIX en España" (Ph.D. diss., University of Santiago [Spain], 1988), 539–46. Gottschalk announces his solo repertory for Madrid in *El Heraldo* of 27 Nov. 1851: *Le Bananier*, *Le Mancenillier*, two ballades of Ossian,

La Danse ossianique, *La Moissonneuse*, *La Savane*, *Bamboula* (called his first composition), *La Chasse du jeune Henri*, and several mazurkas.

14. 87/205.

15. Richard Jackson, "More Notes of a Pianist: A Gottschalk Collection Surveyed and a Scandal Revisited," *Notes, Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 46, no. 2 (1989): 353.

16. 92/214, 216.

17. 93/218, 219, 94/222, 96/233, 234.

18. 92/217.

19. 96/234, 98/236.

20. *El Heraldo*, 13 Dec. 1851. This reference is neither listed in MsD nor included in Scrapbook 7. It does, however, appear, dated 16 Dec., in LMG, 326. Unfortunately, my repeated attempts in 1986 to examine issues of *El Heraldo*, as listed in LMG, at the Hemeroteca Municipal in Madrid were refused because of the fragile condition of the paper, and there was not time to press for an inspection of this binding in 1989. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Doyle, who has sent me the transcription of this *El Heraldo* (no. 2945) notice made by David James, the documentation of this program is complete. Less complete references to the concert or its program are found in 93/221, 94/223, 95/228, 229, 230, 231, 96/232, 233, 97/237, 98/238.

21. 95/230, *La Nacion*, 18 Dec. 1851 (LMG).

22. 95/230.

23. 96/233.

24. H. D. [Edward Henry Durrell], *Biography of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, The American Pianist and Composer* (Philadelphia: Deacon and Peterson, 1853), 19. Accounts of how Gottschalk broke his finger are incomplete and may be exaggerated; in any case they are beyond the scope of this article.

25. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Library, Madrid, legal section, file 11378, no. 45, 1–2.

26. Ms. 28; c. 17.

27. Ms. 24; Gottschalk's performances for the Circulo filarmonico are reported in 2/16, 100/256, 257.

28. 2/16; J. G. Miralles, a composer about whom there is scant information, composed a serenata and a waltz for piano. See Vázquez Tur, 429. Vázquez Tur also names Julian Aguirre, the last minute replacement for the second pianist in Gottschalk's first public concert in Madrid, as a café pianist who played with Gottschalk in the Principe in 1852. Both men, although not the most famous or respected pianists in Madrid at the time, were to become close friends with Gottschalk during his stay in Madrid and play duos and trios with him on many occasions.

29. The pianists who accompanied Gottschalk were, in order, Miralles, Mir, Aguirre, Inzenga, Mata, Allú, Toledo, Garcia, and Pastor (18/65). Many of these pianists are referred to in Vázquez Tur.

30. *La France Musicale*, 27 June 1852, carries the comprehensive review quoted by most biographers; Arpin, 50–51; Peterson, 64; H. D., 20–21. Also, 4/24, 6/32, 33, 18/65.
31. H. D., 21. Escudier reports that several “speech” were made by Gottschalk.
32. 6/35.
33. *El Clamor público*, 24 June (LMG).
34. *El Clamor público*, 26 June (LMG); also see 20/72, 26/96.
35. Ms. 29; c. 18.
36. 20/71.
37. 20/74. See also 35/101a, 101c.
38. From Chiclana, a town south of Cadiz and several miles inland. Redondo died on 28 Mar. 1853, reportedly the consequence of illness and not from any occupational injury he might have sustained during a corrida.
39. *El Heraldo*, 30 June (LMG).
40. Carlos Gomez Amat, *Historia de la Música española* (Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1984), 71; also 24/85–93; *El Heraldo*, 30 June (LMG). Peterson, 65, translates “autograph from your hand.”
41. *La España*, 30 June (MsD).
42. LMG. Original copies of *El Heraldo* are at the Hemeroteca Municipal in Madrid.
43. Rubin, 47. Here Rubin quotes the *Gaceta de la Habana* and publishes the program of the entire concert (182–83). Evidence (Cadiz, *El Comercio*, 10 Oct.; Madrid, *El Heraldo*, 31 Oct. and 17 Nov. 1852) hints that the ten-piano work was performed, as a solo only, in Cadiz on 10 Oct. and Sevilla on 24 Oct. and 11 Nov.
44. 19/67, 22/78.
45. 69/153, 87/205; see LMG, 293–94.
46. 68/149, 152.
47. 87/205.
48. New York Public Library of the Performing Arts Special Collection, in folder *MNY AMER. See LMG, item C-19/4, 191, and item D-39, 278. The piece was still *Danse des Ombres* in mid-August when Gottschalk played in Tarbes (76/166) but was transformed into a *Danza ossianica* by the date of this 23 Oct. letter and a 27 Nov. report in *El Heraldo*. See note 12. For a facsimile reprint of *La Danse ossianique*, see Vera Brodsky Lawrence and Richard Jackson, eds., *The Piano Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, 5 vols. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 2:119–26.
49. Luis Ricardo Fors, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (Havana: Propaganda literaria, 1880), 77; see Offergeld, *The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Ziff-Davis, 1970), 17, Nos. 53, 54. The facsimile reprint is found in Lawrence and Jackson, 2:21–40.
50. *La Nacion* 18 Dec. 1851 (LMG).
51. Peterson, 61.

52. Subirá y Puig, 151. Pedro Albeniz (1795–1855) was the teacher of Queen Isabel and her sister, the Infanta Luisa Fernanda.
53. *La Nacion* 18 Dec. 1851 (LMG).
54. LMG, item D-122, 314. The score is in the Biblioteca Nacional, sign M C^a 291(42). The score of *Le Mancenillier Sérénade* (LMG, D-85; Offergeld, 142) is in Lawrence and Jackson, 3:261–72; and also in Richard Jackson, ed., *Piano Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk: 26 Pieces from Original Editions* (New York: Dover, 1973), 133–43. The page numbers included with all “b” examples are drawn from this edition. Sources for its three melodies appear in Doyle, “The Piano Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829–1869)” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 132–35; and LMG, 298.
55. Offergeld, 28–29, no. 244.
56. *El Orden*, June 15 (18/65) unsigned, probably by Ortega Zapata. These operas are named in the same order in a less complete description in *El Orden*, 30 May (2/16), annotated “J. O. Z.” by the scrapbook’s compiler.
57. Offergeld, 20, no. 105.
58. *La Nacion* 18 Dec. 1851 (LMG).
59. Fors, 443. See Offergeld, 24, no. 162. The story of Ivan Mazeppa (1632?–1709) that formed the basis for Gottschalk’s programmatic music deserves recounting. Voltaire describes the tale:

The person who then filled that station was a Polish gentleman named Mazeppa, born in the palatinate of Podolia. He had been brought up as a page to John Casmir and had received some tinctures of learning at his court. An intrigue which he had had in his youth with the lady of a Polish gentleman, having been discovered, the husband caused him to be bound stark naked upon a wild horse and let loose in that condition. The horse, which had been brought out of the Ukraine, returned to his own country and carried Mazeppa along with him, half dead with hunger and fatigue. Some of the country people gave him assistance and he lived among them for a long time, and distinguished himself in several expeditions against the Tatars. The superiority of his knowledge gained him great respect among the Cossacks; and his reputation daily increasing, the Czar found it necessary to make him prince of the Ukraine. (Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (1772), 196).

Mazeppa later defected to Charles XII of Sweden, fought against Czar Peter the Great in the Northern War, was routed in the Battle of Pultowa (8 July 1709), and died a few months later in Moldavia, where the Ottoman emperor had granted him asylum. Gottschalk was familiar with Lord Byron’s poem “Mazeppa,” having read it in France a few years earlier, as well as *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, which contains a long passage about the siege of Zaragoza.

60. Nicolás Ruiz Espadero, preface to editions of several posthumous Gottschalk works published by Ditson, reprinted in Fors, 311.
61. C. Monier Press is cited in José Gosálvez Lara, *Índice de Editores y Impresos españoles de Música*, Biblioteca Nacional (in press), which compares Spanish plate numbers and addresses with years of publication.

62. Copies of music from the 1870s, depending on legal requirements, often bear the publisher's signature, but this appears on covers, not on the music pages (as far as I have seen); in no case has the ink been observed to have browned or run.
63. Lawrence and Jackson, 5:211, and Jackson, 99.
64. See Doyle, *LMG*, item D-79, 294; Offergeld, no. 130, the facsimile editions in Lawrence and Jackson, 3:223–28; and Jackson, 69–74.
65. Fors, 240–44.
66. The content description is in *El Orden*, 13 June, undated in the scrapbook (4A/25a) but mentioned in the feature on the *Sitio* two weeks later and copied by *La Ilustración* (22/79). Where Gottschalk found his Spanish material is not known. In the case of *El Sitio*, we have no proof that Gottschalk knew the pianist-composer Cristóbal Oudrid who, around 1852, composed a set of *Variaciones sobre el jaleo de Jerez* and later wrote the score to the zarzuela *Sitio de Zaragoza*. See Andrés Ruiz Tarazona, "Luis Moreau Gottschalk," [músicos extranjeros en España] *Temporadas de la Música* (No. 20, 1989), 69. I am grateful to Dña. Maria Isabel Morales Vallespin, subdirector of the Royal Palace Library–Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, for her interest in my work and her sending me that article. I have inspected the autograph of the solo-piano version of *El Sitio of Zaragoza* in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Gottschalk Family Collection, item 108, "ca. 1854." This version seems to represent the composer's earliest concept and follows the published descriptions quite closely.
67. Carr, *Spain 1808–1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 89, 107.
68. 22/79.
69. Subirá y Puig, *Historia de la Música*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Salvat, 1947), 2:366.
70. Only in 1989 has new literature on Gottschalk appeared in Spain, yet without substantive new facts: Ruiz Tarazona's "Luis Moreau Gottschalk." Before its appearance, the latest information was confined to encyclopedias whose biographical summaries are deficient and misleading. The most recent, in *Diccionario de la Música* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1988), the Spanish edition of Marc Honegger, ed., *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, 2 vols. [n.p.], 1979, 1:431, translates from the French edition that Gottschalk remained for ten years in France and returned to his own country never setting foot in Spain.

Editor's Note: As this article goes to press, news has been released of a forthcoming biography written by music historian Steven Frederick Starr to be published by Oxford University Press in the fall of 1993.