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Louis Moreau Gottschalk, John Sullivan Dwight, and the Development of Musical Culture in the United States, 1853-1865

Laura Moore Pruett



THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF MUSIC

LOUIS MOREAU GOTTSCHALK, JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT,
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSICAL CULTURE
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1853-1865

by
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the relationships between the lives and works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-69) and John Sullivan Dwight (1813-93). It demonstrates that the points of intersection were influenced not only by musical concerns – composition, performance, and criticism – but also by larger social and cultural issues that shaped mid-nineteenth-century America, including race, religion, politics, and philosophy. A broader goal of this project is to gain a fuller understanding of the culture of America at mid-century and most specifically of its musical life. This was a crucial time for the formation of the musical styles and tastes that prepared the way for the current conditions of American musical culture. The final purpose of this dissertation is to reveal the far-reaching influence of the connections explored here.

Through the combination of social and cultural research, style analysis, and reception history, I demonstrate that the music composed and performed by Louis Moreau Gottschalk and the critical writings of John Sullivan Dwight were shaped by a variety of social forces, including the cult of virtuosity, blackface minstrelsy, exoticism, nationalism, sentimentalism, and New England Transcendentalism. The effects of the careers of Dwight and Gottschalk can still be felt in the ways music is seen, heard, and performed in America. The two men were connected within a web of cultural intersections that thrives in the diversity of American music today.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation has been shaped by personal experiences not only during the years of its creation but since my childhood. Growing up in Lafayette, Louisiana, I spent two weeks each summer with my grandparents in New Orleans. At the time, it was simply a way for my parents to have some respite from their four daughters. For us New Orleans was just the place where M'mère and P'père lived. It was not until I entered my high school years that I realized how special the city was. My grandparents took us to some of its most historic restaurants – Arnaud's, Armande's, and Brennan's among them – to experience the cuisine the rest of the nation craved. We often visited the French Quarter, dancing to the sounds of the street musicians. In college, I discovered another side of the city: the darker, seedier world that emerged after sundown on Bourbon Street. Drinking hurricanes at Pat O'Brien's and enjoying the concerts at Tipitina's, I never imagined that my doctoral dissertation would one day take me back to New Orleans for scholarly research.

Nor would I have believed that I would ever feel so deeply connected to the northeast, an area of the country I had heard about but had never visited. In a master's seminar at Florida State University, I began exploring the music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk and the critical writings of John Sullivan Dwight. As Dwight was from Boston, I felt much farther removed from his experiences and perspectives than from those of Gottschalk, who had been born and raised in New Orleans. Yet when I finally had the opportunity in 2004 to travel to Massachusetts, I took time not only to conduct my research in the area libraries but also to explore Beacon Hill, where Dwight had his home for most of his life; Concord, home to the Alcotts and Emerson; and Walden Pond, where Thoreau built his cabin. I experienced a feeling of connection with history back to the American Revolution as well as an understanding of the Transcendentalist union with Nature. The physical closeness led me to begin identifying on a personal level with Dwight. His affinity for Beethoven was easy for me to appreciate, as well.

The personal connections I now feel with Gottschalk and Dwight are just one manifestation of the many intersections that connect in this dissertation. The two men were inextricably linked, as can be seen by their frequent appearance in each other's writings. A careful investigation of their lives and works reveals numerous connections among the various cultural modalities that are the interlocking themes of this study. These include race, religion, education, politics, and philosophy. A broader goal of this project is to gain a fuller understanding of the culture of America at mid-century and most specifically of its musical life. This was a crucial time for the formation of the musical styles and tastes that have culminated in the current conditions of American musical culture. The final purpose of this dissertation is to reveal the far-reaching influence of the discourses explored here. Both Dwight and Gottschalk sought to inspire their audiences to a higher cultural consciousness, and their efforts toward this goal are still resonant today.

In many ways Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-69) is a unique figure in American music history; in other ways he epitomizes the universal promise of nineteenth-century America. His Haitian heritage and New Orleans childhood distinguished him from the majority of his audiences. From the age of twelve he studied piano and composition in France, and upon his return in 1853 he traversed the entire North American continent. He concertized in New York, New England, and in numerous towns along the Mississippi River, performed in parts of Canada, and traveled to San Francisco. He entertained both Northern and Southern soldiers during the Civil War. As a subject of research, Gottschalk is simultaneously an extraordinary individual and a representative of America's emergent musical culture.

Whereas Gottschalk embraced and was embraced by much of America, John Sullivan Dwight (1813-93) lived within a more circumscribed domain. After growing up in Boston and graduating from Harvard College in 1832, he remained in New England for the rest of his life, only occasionally traveling to New York for concerts and once venturing to Europe in 1860-61.¹ His Transcendentalist associations and passion for German culture further focused his interests: he read the works of his friends Henry

¹ Dwight's European trip included travel to Berlin and other German cities, as well as London, Paris, and Switzerland. See Walter Fertig, "John Sullivan Dwight: Transcendentalist and Literary Amateur of Music" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1952), 212-20.

David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, he studied the music of Beethoven, and he spent time at the utopian community Brook Farm. In his role as editor of *Dwight's Journal of Music* from 1852 until 1881 Dwight was among the most influential music critics in America.² The *Journal* is one of the most significant collections of nineteenth-century music criticism, although it is admittedly a reflection of the personal opinions, perspectives, and life experiences of one man. Dwight's writings have had a lasting impact on American musical culture, specifically the ambiguous boundaries that have since been formed between high Art and popular music. Taken as clear articulations of his aesthetic ideas and vision for the future of an American music as well as a representation of life in New England, they make Dwight worthy of focused research.

Gottschalk and Dwight are connected, however, in their roles as musician and critic. Their printed works – compositions and critical reviews – illuminate their individual beliefs and experiences in addition to larger social concerns. Race, religion, nationalism, and politics as well as questions about high Art versus popular or “lowbrow,” exoticism, and the cult of virtuosity all affected Dwight and Gottschalk, sometimes resulting in similar responses and often producing contrasting positions. These influences manifested themselves quite differently: they emerged richly in Gottschalk's multifarious compositions, while Dwight's writings reveal how they shaped his aesthetic position.

The various interactions and intersections among Dwight, Gottschalk, and their social milieus are themselves the complex, often murky, and unquestionably resonant themes of this dissertation. I am interested in the places of connection, the grey areas, that portend the rest of American music history, with its blurring of lines and softening of boundaries. Herein lies one of the complications of this study: the tension between writing a narrative and reflecting a world that can be viewed as a series of interlocking spheres. The viewpoints of Dwight and Gottschalk were not necessarily opposed but

² Dwight's *Journal* was, and remains, a crucial repository of critical writings on music during the nineteenth century. However, as Michael Broyles comments in *“Music of the Highest Class”: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 306, “The extent of Dwight's influence . . . is unclear. The precise circulation of the journal has never been ascertained.” The journal featured new articles written by Dwight and sometimes other music critics, but he also reprinted essays and reviews by other writers, sometimes in his own translations, from American and European publications.

represented two distinct yet often overlapping positions along a continuum of perception about nineteenth-century American music, forming a Hegelian dialectic of understanding.

With few exceptions, a majority of musicological studies have considered Gottschalk and Dwight separately. Except for a brief article by William Mowder for the *Journal of American Culture* and a controversial chapter in S. Frederick Starr's biography of Gottschalk, the men are studied individually.³ This approach, while allowing for great depth of research, often serves to champion the subject, sometimes ignoring the influence or impact of others. In both Starr's and Mowder's writings an agenda is clear. The authors set Gottschalk and Dwight in strict opposition, evident in Mowder's title: "America's First Composer vs. America's First Critic." In both cases, Gottschalk is defended as, in Mowder's words, an "authentic innovator," while Dwight is portrayed as a "stringent idealist."⁴

I have instead studied Gottschalk and Dwight together and in tandem; my agenda is demonstrating that they shared many common goals. Both men realized that they were principal players in shaping a nation's musical culture and consciously strove to contribute to its formation. This parallel investigation of Gottschalk and Dwight results in a fuller understanding of nineteenth-century American music. It clarifies the connections they had with American culture and each other, as well as their contributions to the national musical condition.

In existing research not only are Dwight and Gottschalk often considered separately, but they are also cast as representing opposing goals for American music. Gottschalk is portrayed as a forward-looking visionary who stood for the new, the exotic, and the unexplored, while Dwight is depicted as a backward-looking musical and cultural conservative, who, espousing tradition, believed in a Germanic ideal. In their writings, both Gottschalk and Dwight reveal a desire for a new American music that would inspire its listeners, enhance cultural refinement, and epitomize a rising Western nation. Their

³ William Mowder, "Gottschalk and Dwight: America's First Composer vs. America's First Critic," *Journal of American Culture* 4 (1981): 160-6, and S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995). Starr's chapter entitled "Mr. Dwight's Crusade" has been criticized for its "unjustifiably mocking" tone and the manner in which some of Dwight's negative reviews of Gottschalk are transformed "into an anti-Gottschalk manifesto." See Victor Fell Yellin's review of *Bamboula!* in *American Music* 15:2 (Summer 1997): 233-8.

⁴ Mowder, 160 and 165.

approaches were different, however; while Dwight eschewed popular music in favor of the classical European tradition, Gottschalk focused on a synthesis of diverse influences in his character pieces. Over time both perspectives have had a continuous significant impact on music in America and have flourished in various manifestations and degrees of importance until today.

Much has already been written about the lives and works of both men. One of the first works to survey Gottschalk's life and career was published in 1870 by Mary Alice Ives Seymour, writing under the pen name Octavia Hensel. Seymour was a piano student and likely a lover of Gottschalk's; her maudlin text leaves many gaps in his biography. It is indispensable, however, for its collection of letters to, from, and about the composer, many of which are no longer extant in any other form. The most recent and comprehensive biography of Gottschalk is S. Frederick Starr's *Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (1996). Starr's book is exhaustively researched, and it includes English translations of materials heretofore only available in French, Spanish, or Portuguese. It traces Gottschalk's entire career, from his birth in New Orleans to his death in Rio de Janeiro. As Victor Fell Yellin noted in a 1997 review, however, there are problems with the volume. Sources are often accepted without rigorous examination, allowing factual errors and inconsistencies to undermine the authority of the account. Yellin also observed that Gottschalk's compositions, while occasionally discussed, are not subjected to serious musical analysis, harmonic, stylistic, or otherwise. An earlier biography is Vernon Loggins's *Where the Word Ends* (1958). Although Loggins includes some entertaining tales of Gottschalk's childhood experiences and personal life, the book is generally viewed by scholars as romanticized and unscholarly.⁵

For Gottschalk's own writings, the primary sources are his journals. Only three of his original diaries (written in French) are extant; they are located at the Music

⁵ Vera Brodsky Lawrence comments on Loggins's "largely fictitious Gottschalk biography," noting that he often "gives no corroborating source." S. Frederick Starr states that as Loggins was "convinced that he had the makings of a Hollywood spectacular, he milked his subject for drama and filled inconvenient gaps in evidence by fabricating conversations and events." Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, vol. 2, *Reverberations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995): 394 and 406; Starr, *Bamboula!*, 452.

Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.⁶ These are often difficult to decipher; the handwriting is careless and sometimes illegible, the result of their having largely been written on trains. A transcription of these journals was made in French in the 1870s by Gottschalk's sister Clara Gottschalk Peterson; this is also available at the Music Division of the NYPL. Clara's husband, Dr. Robert E. Peterson, translated her text into English in 1881, titling the published work *Notes of a Pianist*. This edition poses many problems, especially in its translation and organization.⁷ A later edition by Jeanne Behrend (1969) offers a better organized and corrected translation.

The majority of Gottschalk's music manuscripts – mostly fragments of unidentified pieces but including a number of complete works as well – are housed in the Gottschalk Collection at the Music Division of the New York Public Library of Performing Arts. Sheet music printings of Gottschalk's piano compositions published during his life and posthumously have been consulted when available. *The Piano Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (1969), edited by Vera Brodsky Lawrence, and *Louis Moreau Gottschalk: Collected Works* (1995), edited by Louis Oesterle and Arthur Hochman, are both critical editions of his compositions. Philip Martin's comprehensive eight-disc recording of Gottschalk's solo piano music added another layer of interpretation to many of the works analyzed in this dissertation.⁸

Biographical sources on John Sullivan Dwight include two from the nineteenth century: George Willis Cooke's *John Sullivan Dwight: Brook-farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music: A Biography* (1898), and an extended essay in *Musicians & Music-Lovers and Other Essays* (1894) by William Foster Apthorp. Walter Fertig's 1952 dissertation, "John Sullivan Dwight, Transcendentalist and Literary Amateur of Music," contains the most recent full-length critical study of Dwight. A book that treats Dwight's position specifically within Boston's musical culture is Michael Broyles's "*Music of the Highest*

⁶ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, "Pocket Diaries, 28 June – 31 July 1863, 22 February – 1 April 1864 and 20 April – 11 May 1864," holographs in pencil, Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York.

⁷ In her Acknowledgements, Behrend reports obvious faulty translations on Peterson's part, including *prédiquer* translated as "predicted" rather than its true meaning, "preached." Clara also misspelled personal names and places and compiled the journal in a "jumbled sequence of entry." Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, Jeanne Behrend, ed. (New York: Knopf, 1964), v.

⁸ *Gottschalk Piano Music*, Philip Martin, piano, 8 CD vols. (London: Hyperion Records, 1990 – 2005).

Class": *Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (1992). Another, *Beethoven's Symphonies and J. S. Dwight* (1995) by Ora Frishberg Saloman, investigates Dwight before the founding of the *Journal* and has provided valuable insight into his biography and aesthetic position, especially regarding Beethoven's compositions.

The principal source of Dwight's writings is available in *Dwight's Journal of Music*, published in Boston 1852-1881. During Gottschalk's performing career in America, from 1853 until 1865, over fifty articles about him appeared in the *Journal*, most of them unsigned. The majority of articles that were not signed in the *Journal* were most likely written by Dwight himself, as he was the general editor and oversaw every article that went into its pages. Other articles by Dwight, mostly written before the launching of the *Journal*, are recorded in Irving Lowens's 1957 *Journal of the American Musicological Society* article "Writings about Music in the Periodicals of American Transcendentalism (1835-50)." These include an 1841 address to the Harvard Musical Association, numerous articles in the *Harbinger*, and an essay titled "Music" for Elizabeth Peabody's *Aesthetic Papers* in 1849, which Lowens calls the "clearest and most succinct statement of the Transcendental view of the art [i.e., music] which had appeared until then."⁹

As cultural and social history are the main methodologies for this dissertation, basic research in areas of study both inside and outside the field of musicology have been necessary. The individual themes of each chapter have necessitated explorations into nineteenth-century virtuosity, race and minstrelsy, exoticism, the Civil War, sentimentalism, and Transcendentalism. Each field of study possesses a wide variety of primary and secondary literature. In researching the cult of virtuosity, biographies of European virtuosos including Alan Walker's three-volume *Franz Liszt* (1983-1996) and Jeremy Siepmann's *Chopin, the Reluctant Romantic* (1995) have proven helpful. More general works such as *The Piano in Concert* (1982) by George Kehler and *Nineteenth-Century Music* (1980) by Carl Dahlhaus provide a broader view of the period. Allen Lott has traced the American tours of five European pianists in *From Paris to Peoria: How*

⁹ John Sullivan Dwight, "Address, Delivered Before the Harvard Musical Association, August 25, 1841," *Hach's Musical Magazine* 3 (1841): 265; "Music," *Aesthetic Papers*, 1:1 (1849): 25-26. See Lowens for further citations, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10 (1957): 71-85.

European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland (2003), including Sigismond Thalberg, with whom Gottschalk performed on occasion.

The most comprehensive source on Stephen Foster, whose tunes Gottschalk incorporated into his own compositions, is Ken Emerson's *Doo-Dah! Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture* (1997). Another important work that investigates specific Foster works is William W. Austin's "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home": *The Songs of Stephen Foster From His Time to Ours* (1987). Foster's niece, Evelyn Foster Morneweck, compiled the *Chronicles of Stephen Foster's Family* in 1944, thus providing an insider's look at the life of her family.¹⁰ The critical edition of Foster's works was prepared by Steven Saunders and Deane L. Root in 1990. Earlier editions, featuring original cover illustrations, have also been consulted at the Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State University and online at the Library of Congress website *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music*. Most recently, Matthew Shaftel's article, "Singing a New Song: Stephen Foster and the New American Minstrelsy" in *Music and Politics II* (2007) focuses on the shifts that occurred in Foster's minstrel and plantation music in the 1840s in response to his changing perceptions regarding slavery.

Dale Cockrell's *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (1997) focuses on pre-1840 minstrelsy, while W. T. Lhamon's *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (1998) includes minstrelsy within a discussion of the phenomenon of "black" cultural marketing. In addition, Eric Lott's *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (1993) and William Mahar's *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask: Early Blackface Minstrelsy and Antebellum American Popular Culture* (1998) examine the social and cultural environment of minstrelsy during the early- to mid-nineteenth century.

The theme of exoticism in nineteenth-century music has also received scholarly attention of late. Gottschalk's compositions often incorporate foreign source material,

¹⁰ Foster's brother Morrison published the first biography of Foster and was apparently the driving force behind Morneweck's *Chronicles* as well. See note 20 of Matthew Shaftel, "Singing a New Song: Stephen Foster and the New American Minstrelsy," *Music and Politics II* (2007) [<http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2007-2/shaftel.html>], first accessed 14 September 2007. While helpful, such sources must be read with skepticism. Histories by family members often provide little or no documentation, may be fraught with errors of memory, and can be misleading due to personal agendas. For example, Clara Gottschalk Peterson's edition of her brother's journal not only confounded dates and spellings, but she also prevented some of the contents from being printed. See Chapter 2, note 51.

but he himself was also seen as an exotic individual by his audiences and critics. Edward Said's classic work *Orientalism* (1979) provides context for such a discussion of the Other in the nineteenth century. An article by Ralph Locke, "Exoticism and Orientalism in Music: Problems for the Worldly Critic," was published in 2000 in *Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power*, edited by Paul A. Bové. Also in 2000 Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh edited *Western Music and its 'Others': Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music*, which includes articles on exoticism in music from the eighteenth through the twenty-first centuries. This collection and Locke's article both lay the foundation for analysis of compositions that feature musical exoticism and help to nuance an understanding of how such works were created, heard, and valued within their cultural environments.

The Civil War has been continually documented and examined from the years immediately following until today. Early sources include John William Draper's *History of the American Civil War* and Horace Greeley's *The American Conflict*, both from 1867, that offer personal viewpoints on the then-recent struggle. A very useful resource is Emerson David Fite's 1909 publication, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, which enumerates the effects of war upon a variety of cultural fields. As a touring virtuoso during the war, Gottschalk came into direct contact with many regions of the nation, its people, and their conflicts. He responded by writing works and tailoring his programs to suit his audiences on either side of the Mason-Dixon line: variations on "Dixie's Land" in the South and *L'Union* in the North. A fuller understanding of the conditions in which Gottschalk performed has required consultation of more specialized works such as Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (1995), and Thomas H. O'Connor, *Civil War Boston: Home Front and Battlefield* (1997). Both books utilize historical documents like letters and journals to shape an understanding of the war's effects in geographical areas that played significant roles in the lives of Gottschalk and Dwight. Amy Murrell Taylor treats a common but tragic effect of the war on family life in *The Divided Family in Civil War America* (2005). Irwin Silber's *Songs of the Civil War* (1995) was also essential in the discussion of Gottschalk's works that employ patriotic tunes.

The topic of nineteenth-century sentimentalism or sensibility has been extensively

investigated by scholars of literature and religion. Significant works include Michael Bell's *Sentimentalism, Ethics, and the Culture of Feeling* (2000), which specifically references the "cult of sentiment" and discusses the roles of Friedrich Schiller and William Wordsworth in the aestheticizing of sentiment. Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility* (1998), and Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (1993), both examine literary works and their connections with sensibility. The association of sentimentalism with the female experience is dealt with in two very different ways by Ann Douglas in *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977) and J. G. Barker-Benfield in *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1996). Anne C. Rose discusses many aspects of nineteenth-century life in *Victorian America and the Civil War* (1994), including religion and the extensive changes in its tenets and practices that occurred over the century.

Rose is also the author of an important source in the study of Transcendentalism. Her *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850* (1981) provides a crucial contextualization on the movement. Perry Miller's classic *The Transcendentalists – An Anthology* (1950) offers background information on and writings by the most significant thinkers associated with Transcendentalism. A book that creates a framework for the Transcendental viewpoint is Daniel Walker Howe's *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861* (1970), as so many Transcendentalists began as Unitarians. Lawrence Buell's *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance* (1973) focuses on the written works of the Transcendentalists, while Daniel Edgar Rider's 1964 dissertation, "The Musical Thought and Activities of the New England Transcendentalists," explores the way music influenced a number of the key players in the movement, including Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth Peabody, as well as Dwight himself. In addition, primary sources such as Emerson's poems and essays, most especially *Nature* (1836), Thoreau's *Walden* (1854), and Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1st ed. 1855) help to refine an understanding of the spirit of the movement, thus illuminating Dwight's beliefs and his responses to Gottschalk's music.

While this dissertation cannot begin to address all aspects of mid-nineteenth-century American culture and society, knowledge of other fields has been key to properly

locating both Gottschalk and Dwight within their larger milieu. Gottschalk and Dwight were influenced by a number of distinctive, contemporary musical genres that were associated with specific performance venues such as the parlor, the minstrel hall, and the concert stage. However, the effects of such genres manifested themselves differently for each man. Blackface minstrelsy, parlor songs, patriotic songs, and musics from Central and South America all found new voice in Gottschalk's compositions. Dwight commented upon them in his writings; they in turn shaped his position regarding the cultivation of a native American music. In order to understand how these influences affected Gottschalk, Dwight, and the larger cultural milieu, basic research into the cult of virtuosity, blackface minstrelsy, exoticism, the Civil War, sentimentalism and New England Transcendentalism, and social structures in the various regions of the United States including the northeast, more specifically New York, and New Orleans has been necessary.

Research on the reception of Gottschalk's music and performances illuminates larger issues as well. Gottschalk was reviewed by a number of musicians, amateurs, and professional critics, from all regions of the country, who held very different opinions of his compositional and performance achievements. Their reviews reveal both the specific musical and larger cultures that characterized America before and during the Civil War. These writings provide a context in which to understand Dwight's published criticisms.

Compositions such as Gottschalk's *American Reminiscences* (no opus, c. 1854) and *The Banjo* (op. 15, c. 1855) quoted the songs "Camptown Races," "Oh! Susanna," and "Old Folks at Home." These songs, composed by Stephen Foster, were familiar from the blackface minstrel stage and conveyed significant cultural messages of race and class to listeners. In an attempt to more fully comprehend the impact of Gottschalk's borrowings at the time, the original songs were studied within their earliest contexts.

Style analysis of Gottschalk's music is interwoven throughout the dissertation and exposes specific influences on his unique compositional voice.¹¹ While also investigating basic harmonic language, key organization and large-scale form, such

¹¹ Specific analytical methodologies are naturally determined by the music itself. Taking Carl Dahlhaus's classification of analysis as a model, his fourth and separate category of hermeneutics, "the interpretation of music in terms of emotional states or *external meanings*," has been most significant to the present study (my emphasis). Ian D. Bent and Anthony Pople, "Analysis," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, 1 (New York: Grove, 2000): 528.

analysis ultimately focuses on Gottschalk's intertextual borrowings from various musical sources. His most famous work, *The Banjo*, provides an entrée into discussions about slavery, musical borrowing and mimicry, and racial perceptions and misconceptions. A deeper understanding of blackface minstrelsy and its complicated cultural contexts results from such an investigation. Specific musical studies anchor the discussion of larger issues being considered.

Chapter 1 provides brief biographical sketches for Dwight and Gottschalk, converging on the events of 1852-53, the inauguration of Dwight's *Journal of Music* and Gottschalk's New York debut. Subsequent chapters focus on select compositions by Gottschalk that were in some way influenced by a cultural issue. Chapter 2 discusses the nineteenth-century cult of virtuosity and its manifestation in Gottschalk's piano fantasias on themes from operas by Verdi. Chapter 3 focuses on the complicated role of blackface minstrelsy within American popular culture, specifically its impact upon the compositions of Stephen Foster and, through them, on Gottschalk's *The Banjo* and *Bunker Hill*. Exoticism and nationalism and their relationship to the works of Gottschalk and Dwight are treated in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively. The study of Gottschalk's use of indigenous sources from Latin America and patriotic songs during the Civil War demonstrates that while the two styles seem at first disparate due to their different source materials, exoticism and nationalism were closely related approaches for Gottschalk. Finally, religion and philosophy are discussed in Chapter 6 in connection with Gottschalk's sentimental works and Dwight's Transcendental affiliations. Throughout the dissertation, his critical reviews of the compositions, along with those of other newspaper and journal writers whose opinions variably support or contrast Dwight's, enhance our understanding of the formation of musical culture in nineteenth-century America. Chapter 7 presents my general conclusions and final thoughts on how the two viewpoints on American music represented by Gottschalk and Dwight have both become major elements in the many, often overlapping circles of the music scene in the United States.

CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUND: A YEAR OF BEGINNINGS

10 April 1852

John Sullivan Dwight published the first number of *Dwight's Journal of Music* in 1852. Dated 10 April, it featured a "Prospectus" prominently positioned on page 1 that introduced readers to the ambitions of the journal and prepared them for what to expect in its pages:

Its contents will relate mainly to the art of Music, but with occasional glances at the whole world of Art and of polite Literature, indeed at every thing pertaining to the cultivation of the Beautiful; including from time to time:

1. Critical reviews of Concerts, Oratorios, Operas; with timely analyses of the notable works performed, accounts of their composers, etc.
 2. Notices of new music published at home and abroad.
 3. A summary of the significant Musical News from all parts, gathered from English, German, French, as well as American papers.
 4. Correspondence from musical persons and places.
 5. Essays on musical styles, schools, periods, authors, compositions, instruments, theories; on musical education; on Music in its moral, social, and religious bearings; on Music in the Church, the Concert-room, the Theatre, the Chamber, and the Street, etc.
 6. Translations from the best German and French writers upon Music and Art.
 7. Occasional notices of Sculpture, Painting, Architecture, Poetry, aesthetic Books, the Drama, etc.
 8. Original and selected Poems, short Tales, Anecdotes, etc.
- A brief space will also be devoted to Advertisements of articles and occupations literary or artistic.¹

The advertisements in the first number included music books, paintings, sheet music, pianos, method books, and art supplies for sale; and one announcement of lessons in

¹ *Dwight's Journal of Music* 1:1 (10 April 1852), 1.

singing, piano, guitar, oboe, and flute by Mr. and Mrs. de Ribas on Ash Street in Boston.² Although rarely specifically attributed, most of the critical reviews, essays, and translations were written by Dwight himself. The journal was, from the first, a forum for his own ideas and opinions on music and society, as well as assessments of contemporaneous performances and compositions. Its appearance in 1852 was the culmination of many years' effort.

John Sullivan Dwight, 1813-1893

Dwight was born in Boston on 13 May 1813 to Dr. John and Mary Corey Dwight. In his autobiographical entry in the 1836 Harvard University graduating class book he wrote that "My father, a Harvard graduate of the Class of 1800, was a physician in Boston, where I went to Grammar School in Derne St., and thence to the Latin School, where I was fitted for College, carrying thither perhaps more Latin and Greek (technically, as to Grammar, at least) than I brought away."³ An 1874 genealogy by Benjamin W. Dwight traces the family line back to John Dwight, who settled in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1634.⁴ John Sullivan's grandfather, a strict Calvinist and a stonecutter and farmer, sent his eldest son also named John to Harvard, apparently for theology; however, John became interested in medicine and pursued it instead. According to the family history, his practice was modestly successful.⁵ On 18 May 1812 John married. His wife Mary, of West Roxbury, was "simple, modest, child-like . . . fresh in her feelings and instincts and of a lovely disposition."⁶

John Sullivan Dwight entered Harvard in 1828, where he became a member of the Hasty Pudding Club and two music societies. The Arionic Society was a preparatory club comprised of members not quite talented enough for the more established Pierian Sodality. Dwight, an amateur flutist and clarinetist, was not inducted into the Pierian

² *Ibid.*, 8.

³ Harvard University Archives, Class Book of the Class of 1832, n.p.

⁴ Benjamin W. Dwight, *The History of the Descendants of John Dwight, of Dedham, Mass.* (New York: published by the author, 1874); cited in Fertig, 3.

⁵ Benjamin W. Dwight, cited in Fertig, 5.

⁶ Benjamin W. Dwight, cited in Fertig, 7.

until 1831. Comprised mostly of wind players, both groups were devoted not so much to music in the abstract sense as to drinking and “the serenading of young ladies.”⁷ During his senior year, 1831-32, he interrupted his studies to work at a school in Northborough, Massachusetts, and taught music to the students there.⁸ He returned to Harvard and finished his degree in 1832. It appears that Dwight was a favorite among his peers; he was named class poet and wrote a valedictory poem of thirty Spenserian stanzas that was included in the class book.⁹ The first words, “We are bounding on,” expressed the universal commencement theme of embarking on the sea of life. Uncertainty about the future echoed in the lines:

Here gathered on the shore we trembling stand;
Here look our last; here struggle to conceal
The burning teardrop; here we press the hand
In solemn parting; here thrice deeply feel
The thrilling presence through our heart blood steal. . .

Memories of the college years are presented with a musical metaphor:

Here meet we round the magic fire to raise
The lengthened chorus; and to pledge the bowl
Of harmony and love; while flickering plays
The clear blue light of memory o’er the whole.¹⁰

The poem was an ambitious undertaking for the nineteen-year-old graduate. Although poetry continued to be one of Dwight’s passions, as evidenced by his translations of the

⁷ “History of the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra” [<http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~hro/history.html>], accessed 2 July 2007. The Pierian Sodality was the forerunner of the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra, which got its new name in 1942 with the merger of the Pierian and Radcliffe groups.

⁸ George Willis Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight, Brook-farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music: A Biography* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1898), 8: “His letters do not indicate that he fully enjoyed the occupation or that the pupils he had under his were such as to enlist his intellectual sympathies. He introduced music into his school, and he found such comfort as he could in the social life of the place.”

⁹ Each stanza has eight lines in iambic pentameter followed by a single line in iambic hexameter, and the rhyme scheme is “abab-bcbc-c.” This follows the example of Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* (1560), a structure that was revived in the 1800s in works including Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812-1818), John Keats’s *The Eve of St. Agnes* (1820), Percy Bysshe Shelley’s *The Revolt of Islam* (1817) and *Adonais* (1821) and Sir Walter Scott’s *The Vision of Don Roderick* (1811). See E. Cobham Brewer, “Spenserian Metre,” *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1898); available on Bartleby.com [www.bartleby.com/81/], accessed 28 May 2007.

¹⁰ John Sullivan Dwight, Valedictory Poem, 17 July 1832, stanzas 6 and 8, Class Book of the Class of 1832, Harvard University Archives.

poetry of Goethe and Schiller, there are few extant examples of his own later poetical attempts.¹¹

Although uncertain about a career path, upon completing his undergraduate degree Dwight enrolled in Harvard's Divinity School in 1832. The Edward Hopkins Fund underwrote each year of his graduate study: \$150 for the first three years and \$108 in 1836.¹² He spent 1833 in Meadville, Pennsylvania, as a private tutor, but returned again to Harvard to finish his studies and dissertation, "The Proper Character of Poetry and Music for Public Worship," in 1836. Published, in full, in the *Christian Examiner* in November of that same year, it reflects Dwight's twin interests in music and literature that endured for the rest of his life.¹³ In the dissertation, Dwight endeavored to put into words his viewpoint on music: that even within a religious service, the "essential characteristics of music" must be preserved.¹⁴ These "essential characteristics" include the absolute qualities of Art that, granted an excellent performance of a masterwork of music, can lead a listener towards transcendence. This idea, and the difficulty of expressing it in words, occupied Dwight throughout the rest of his life.

Upon graduation Dwight occasionally substituted for Unitarian ministers in the Boston area, but he also pursued his literary interests, translating German poetry for a volume in George Ripley's series *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature* (1838-45).

¹¹ One exception is a poem from 1840 published in *The Dial*, vol. 1 (July 1840), 22, called "Rest." Another later instance is a song text entitled "Ode: Integer vitae scelerisque purus," attributed to J. S. Dwight, for the historic 1865 Harvard College Commemoration Day that honored all living and deceased Civil War soldiers from Harvard. It can be found in the published proceedings with music by F. F. Flemming (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1865), 3. See Hamilton Vaughan Bail, "Harvard's Commemoration Day July 21, 1865," in *The New England Quarterly* 15:2 (June 1942), 256-79 for a discussion of that day that especially focuses on James Russell Lowell's well-known eleven-stanza "Ode."

¹² Harvard University Archives, College Papers, Second Series, Vol. 5, p. 284. Edward Hopkins (1600-57) was born in England but migrated to North America, where he became governor of the Connecticut colony in 1640 and was governor, assistant governor, or deputy governor every year until 1656, the law not allowing the office of governor to be held two years in succession. Upon his death, Hopkins left 1000 pounds to found Hopkins School and 500 pounds to Harvard College, which led to the establishment of the fund in his name. In 1726 the executors of the Hopkins legacy designated the funds to be used to support divinity scholars at the college and Latin students at the grammar school. See John D. Burton, "Philanthropy and the Origins of Educational Cooperation: Harvard College, the Hopkins Trust, and the Cambridge Grammar School," in *History of Education Quarterly* 37:2, Special Issue on Education in Early America (Summer 1997), 141-61.

¹³ *Christian Examiner*, vol. 21 (November 1836), 254-63.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 254.

Dwight's *Select Minor Poems Translated from the German of Goethe and Schiller* contained not only his translations of eighty-five poems but eighty pages of critical notes. The book was a success, garnering praise from Thomas Carlyle, its dedicatee; abolitionist and Transcendentalist Theodore Parker, and social activist and writer Julia Ward Howe, as well as from critics writing for numerous journals and newspapers.¹⁵ His translations have had continuing relevance through the twentieth century, as evidenced by J. Wesley Thomas's 1950 article "John Sullivan Dwight: A Translator of German Romanticism."¹⁶ Publishing, however, was not sufficiently remunerative, and so Dwight continued to search for a permanent ministerial position. He succeeded when he was appointed to the Unitarian church in Northampton, Massachusetts, in February 1840. His ordination was held May 20; his friend and editor George Ripley preached a sermon titled *The Claims of the Age on the Work of the Evangelist*.¹⁷ Ripley observed, "The true work of the evangelist at the present day is to bring the religion of society into accordance with the religion of Christ;" that he "may discover new and more effective modes of discharging duties; but the truth as it is in Jesus will still remain the instrument for the reformation of society, and the salvation of man."¹⁸ The sermon, preached just months before Ripley began the utopian community experiment at Brook Farm, foreshadows his decision, and later Dwight's, to leave the pulpit for other ways of sharing truth. The Reverends

¹⁵ For example: "In most instances Mr. Dwight has come nearer his ideal than his modesty has permitted him to confess. Some of the versions seem to have sprung out of the original at the command of a magician." From an unsigned review in *The Boston Quarterly Review*, 2:2 (April 1839), 194. Also see *The New York Review*, 4:8 (April 1839), 393-400; *The North American Review*, 48:103 (April 1839), 505-14; the *Christian Examiner and General Review*, 26:3 (July 1839), 360-78; and *The New-Yorker*, 7:10 (23 May 1839), 157: "A judicious discrimination was displayed by the Editor in intrusting the poetical rendering of the fugitive pieces of the two great masterspirits of German poetry to the competent hands of Mr. Dwight. He has succeeded wonderfully well in making his translation both literal and elegant. His drapery of English words falls gracefully into the folds of the German thoughts and idioms." Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) is perhaps most famous for penning the words to "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

¹⁶ J. Wesley Thomas, "John Sullivan Dwight: A Translator of German Romanticism," in *American Literature*, 21:4 (January 1950), 427-41.

¹⁷ George Ripley, *The Claims of the Age on the Work of the Evangelist: A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of Mr. John Sullivan Dwight, as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Northampton, May 20, 1840* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Co., 1840).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* See also Sterling F. Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2004), 14-15.

William Ellery Channing, Samuel Osgood, and Edward B. Hall also spoke at the occasion; significantly, both Channing and Osgood had ties to Transcendentalism.¹⁹

In Northampton, Dwight acted as both preacher and music teacher. He instituted a Glee Club, directed the church choir, and held a children's singing school on Saturdays. For the next year, he worked towards making Northampton his home. His letters, however, betray his unhappiness there. The church was small and remote, but Dwight continued to maintain ties with Ripley and his other mentors, including Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Elizabeth Peabody.²⁰ Alone and isolated, he became depressed and frustrated by his congregation's "worldliness and narrow-mindedness."²¹ In a 22 June 1841 letter to an unidentified recipient, possibly Peabody, Dwight wrote:

From all that I have discovered of the character of the individuals of whom my society is composed, I feel more and more convinced that the relation between us never could have been lasting. . . . The truth is, the true state of things was from the first concealed from me. The enthusiasm of that ordination time deceived us. . . . Very nearly all the women, and a majority of the men, I count upon confidently. But the favor with which I am looked upon by the female portion seems to be one chief offence.²²

The complications of Dwight's relationship with his congregation are clarified by Walter Fertig: "Dwight was becoming an object for the busy affections of the strong-minded, enthusiastic women who left such a heavy mark on the New England of this time. To them he seemed a delicate, feminine spirit who needed sympathetic, feminine

¹⁹ Channing (1780-1842) was the foremost Unitarian preacher in the early nineteenth century. Two of his nephews were prominent Transcendentalists: poet Ellery Channing (1818-1901) and William Henry Channing (1810-84). Samuel Osgood (1812-80) was a Unitarian minister who edited the influential Transcendental periodical the *Western Messenger* and belonged to the Transcendental Club. He also reviewed Emerson's first published work, *Nature*.

²⁰ Elizabeth Peabody (1804-1894) was a teacher, educational reformer, Transcendentalist writer, and publisher of the 1849 *Aesthetic Papers*, to which Dwight contributed. She was sister-in-law to author Nathaniel Hawthorne and also established the first formally organized American kindergarten in Boston in 1860. See Bruce A. Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer on Her Own Terms* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

²¹ Walter L. Fertig, *John Sullivan Dwight: Transcendentalist and Literary Amateur of Music* (Ph.D. diss, University of Maryland, College Park, 1952), 28.

²² Quoted in Cooke, 44-45. Fertig speculates that Peabody might have been the recipient on the basis of a letter she wrote to Dwight dated 24 June, two days later. Fertig, 28.

guidance.”²³ Although he worked diligently to create a congenial atmosphere for himself and his flock in Northampton, his frustration and disappointment coincided with the burgeoning intellectual stirrings of the Transcendental movement that eventually drew him out of the pulpit altogether. Understanding Dwight’s early experiences at Harvard and in Northampton helps us appreciate his goals for the *Journal*. Dwight’s upbringing, schooling, and early ministry reveal a sensitive, poetic mind already puzzling over questions regarding his place in society and music’s role as not just entertainment but as an aesthetic and religious experience.

In 1841 Dwight left his Northampton congregation and, indeed, the Unitarian church altogether. He followed in the footsteps of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who also questioned and ultimately rejected the Unitarian practices. Emerson’s and Dwight’s lives and careers mirror each other in a number of ways: Emerson was also born and raised in Boston, matriculated at Harvard, and became a Unitarian minister before leaving the church, he nine years earlier in 1832.²⁴ Transcendentalism, the loosely-defined philosophical and social movement, was in its initial stages; Emerson’s 1836 publication “Nature” was the first systematic exploration of its ideas. In his writings he introduced such personal beliefs as the concept of an Over-soul, or omniscient awareness to which all humans should aspire.²⁵ Whereas Emerson eventually made a name and career for himself through his writings and lecturing on the lyceum circuit, Dwight had a more difficult time after leaving the church. By the time of Dwight’s appointment at Northampton, Transcendentalism’s prominence in Boston had increased. Emerson and Ripley were among those thinkers who envisioned a new society built on freedom from organized religion, materialism, and slavery. Ripley’s experimental community Brook Farm emerged out of this vision in 1841, the same year Dwight left the Unitarian church.

²³ Fertig, 23-24.

²⁴ See Allen Gay Wilson, *Waldo Emerson* (New York: Penguin, 1982), Barbara L. Packer, *Emerson’s Fall: A New Interpretation of the Major Essays* (New York: Continuum, 1982), and Robert D. Richardson, Jr., *Emerson: The Mind on Fire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

²⁵ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The Over-Soul,” in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Brooks Atkinson (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 236-51.

From June 1841 until early 1844 Dwight struggled to find a suitable career. He went to Brook Farm in November and taught music and Latin in the school there. The community was based upon ideas expressed by French philosopher Charles Fourier (1772-1837), who believed in the possibility of a utopian society where people could work and live cooperatively.²⁶ Fourierism was known in the United States through the work of Albert Brisbane (1809-1890), who studied in France under Fourier and then returned to America, naming the movement there Associationism.²⁷ Both Fourier and Brisbane envisioned idealized socialist communities, believed in the goodness of human passions, and critiqued existing social structures that unjustly empowered an upper class. Agriculture and education were the main endeavors of the Brook Farm phalanx, the latter much more successful than the former due to West Roxbury's poor soil and topography for farming. The influential but short-lived periodical *The Harbinger* (1845-49) was another product of Brook Farm that was spearheaded by George Ripley. It contained articles on industrial reform, women's rights, political events, original poetry, and critical reviews of literature and music, the latter of which were principally written by Dwight.²⁸

For almost three years Dwight lived and worked in the society but chose not to be elected a full member.²⁹ It appears from his activities, both on and away from the farm, that he was still trying to find a place for himself outside of the Unitarian ministry. In February and March 1842 Dwight delivered a series of eight lectures "on the Life and

²⁶ See Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors* (Sacaucus, NJ: The Citadel Press, 1961), and Sterling F. Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia*. (Cambridge: Belknap, 2004).

²⁷ For more on the reception of Fourierism in America, see Carl J. Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), and William H. Brock, "Phalanx on a Hill: Responses to Fourierism in the Transcendentalist Circle" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University Chicago, 1996). In 1840 Brisbane published a compendium of Fourier's writings entitled *The Social Destiny of Man: Association and Reorganization of Industry* (Philadelphia: C. F. Stollmeyer, 1840).

²⁸ See Sterling F. Delano, "*The Harbinger*" and *New England Transcendentalism: A Portrait of Associationism in America* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983).

²⁹ Anne C. Rose has catalogued the members of Brook Farm by date of admission in an appendix to her *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 234-8. She states: "I have used the following criteria for membership: signature of either edition of the Articles of Association (dated Sept. 29, 1841, and Feb. 17, 1842, respectively) or signature of the Constitution (dated Feb. 11, 1844) or admission recorded in the minutes of meetings. All these documents are located in the Massachusetts Historical Society." *Ibid.*, 132, n. 58.

Genius of some of the great Musical Composers, and on the style and departments of music which they represent” at the “Saloon” of the Odeon, the concert hall of the Boston Academy.³⁰ Topics included Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, and Bach, with talks that focused on *Messiah* and Beethoven’s fifth and sixth symphonies. In June of that year he declined an invitation from Reverend James Flint in Salem to preach in his church.

He wrote:

My dear Sir, I owe you an apology for letting your letter remain so long unanswered. My first impulse was to accede at once to your proposal, as it would have given me pleasure to serve you. But the truth is, my mind has been for some time past verging more and more away from the clerical profession; – already I had resolved never again to be *settled* (even if I *could* be, which is doubtful); – and now, just as I received your request, I was seriously deliberating the question, whether to preach again at all. I have doubts about the church. . . . I have less sympathy than I had with the prevailing spirit of the churches, and less hope of ever being able to mould the church and the profession to my idea, so that I could be true to my conviction while continuing in them; – and in this state of mind, while I cannot go heartily and with my whole soul into a pulpit, I feel that it would be false to do it at all, either from old habit, or for the sake of the livelihood or respectable connexion which I might derive from it. For the present, therefore, I decline all invitations to preach. . .

What pangs this costs me, what breaking of old hopes fondly cherished, and what plunging upon a new sea of uncertainties, I have not time or spirit to detail to you. But I know you will approve my course of action, *such being my state of mind*; and will give me credit for all willingness and desire to help you, were it only consistent with my sense of duty.³¹

Although Dwight was disinclined to completely dismiss organized religion as a whole, his doubts about the church reflected his increasing shift towards Transcendentalism. He had spent his early adulthood preparing for a career in the ministry; acknowledging his ambivalence was unsettling. Dwight’s early training for the ministry, however, left its mark on his mature writings on music and informed the often moral tone of his critical reviews in the *Journal*.

³⁰ See Ora Frishberg Salomon, *Beethoven’s Symphonies and J. S. Dwight: The Birth of American Music Criticism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 140-3. Salomon quotes from the advertisements for the series in the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*.

³¹ John Sullivan Dwight, Brook Farm, West Roxbury, to James Flint, Salem, 18 June 1842, A.L.S. (Boston Public Library, Rare Books Department, Dwight Brook Farm Papers). Emphases Dwight’s.

Dwight became a full member of Brook Farm in February 1844; his mother Mary and sisters Marianne and Francis were inducted in June. In January of that year the community had adopted a Fourierist constitution; in order to become a member each individual had to sign this document.³² Over the next three years, Dwight dedicated himself to the utopian society: he became the director of education in 1845; he worked in the garden (as did all the members); he supervised nightly entertainments; and he lectured on Fourierism and music on occasional trips to Boston and New York. While declining opportunities to preach, Dwight had aspired to lecture in New York as early as 1841. In a 17 November 1842 letter to Rev. Henry W. Bellows Dwight again expressed his interest:

A year ago we spoke of the possibility of finding an audience for my musical lectures in N. York. What do you think of it *now*? I am in great need of some income in that way, since I can no longer preach. I should like to give a course of *four* or *six* lectures, pretty early in the winter, on the lives and musical styles of some of my heroes such as Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, the “pianists” &c. – They are not scientific in their character, but calculated to awaken an interest in those men, to make the *musical character* appreciated, and to prepare people with little knowledge to hear great music more understandingly. Could you do anything to get me an audience?³³

While this effort failed, a later attempt culminated in a series of four lectures in March 1846 at the New York Society Library. In this series he discussed not only specific composers from the Baroque, Classic, and Romantic eras but also the expressive qualities and technical elements of music.³⁴ Dwight occasionally contributed articles on music to various journals such as the *Dial* and *Aesthetic Papers*, in addition to his work on *The Harbinger*.

The community endured normal vicissitudes, but when on 3 March 1846 the half-finished building called the Phalanstery burned to the ground, the society never regained its momentum. Dwight’s sister Marianne wrote a friend about the fire’s glorious beauty and called it a blessing in disguise, declaring, “I was calm, felt that it was the work of

³² Rose, p. 132, n. 58. The members also had to provide biographical information for the records of the organization, whereas earlier inductions were more loosely structured and incompletely documented.

³³ Dwight, ALS to Henry W. Bellows, Bellows Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Quoted in Salomon, 142-43.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 148-62.

Heaven and was good; and not for one instant did I feel otherwise.”³⁵ Anne C. Rose observes that Marianne’s characterization was typical of the emotions following the fire: “Deep down, they [the Brook Farmers] were still the children of evangelical Protestantism who could not help seeing signs of divine judgment on their presumption to redeem the world by themselves.”³⁶ This event was a turning point; Brook Farm was abandoned in 1847, and the *Harbinger* ceased publication just over a year later. Dwight was forced to turn elsewhere.

Over the next few years Dwight intermittently wrote for the *Daily Chronotype*, Elizabeth Peabody’s *Aesthetic Papers* (which lasted only one volume), *Sartain’s Magazine*, and *The Commonwealth*.³⁷ On 12 February 1851, at thirty-seven years of age, Dwight married Mary Bullard, a fellow Brook-Farmer, who had been nicknamed “the Nightingale” for her lovely singing voice. William Henry Channing officiated at the ceremony conducted at the home of Thomas and Anna Parsons.³⁸ The next year Dwight embarked on a project that would last almost thirty years of his life, longer than his marriage to Mary (which ended with her death in 1860), and that became the most enduring vocation of his adulthood: the *Journal of Music*.

The Harvard Musical Association and Dwight’s *Journal of Music*

Music was a central avocation for Dwight from his earliest years. He played clarinet and flute as a child but was also competent enough in piano by the time he entered college to play through Beethoven sonatas. At Harvard he was an influential member of two informal groups for amateur music-lovers. The Arionic Sodality was a group of freshmen and sophomores, first organized in 1813. Dwight was simultaneously

³⁵ Mary Ann Dwight, *Letters From Brook Farm 1844-1847* (Poughkeepsie, New York: Vassar College, 1928), 145-49; cited in Rose, 160.

³⁶ Rose, 161.

³⁷ Among his many contributions was his well-known and significant essay on “Music” in *Aesthetic Papers* 1:1 (1849), 25-26; he was also responsible for more mundane items such as the selection and arrangement of vocal and piano music for *Sartain’s* and musical notices and reviews for *The Commonwealth*.

³⁸ Thomas William Parsons (1819-1892) was a dentist and poet, best known as one of the earliest American translator of Dante’s works. His wife was born Anna (or Hannah) Maria Allen (1821-1881). See Cooke, 143.

admitted to the society and elected its president in September 1829, a sign of his continuing devotion to both music and musical organizations that would last the rest of his life. The Pierian Sodality, founded in 1808, was a forum for both serious music making and conviviality. Ultimately, its systematic pressure upon University leaders convinced them to add music to the curriculum.

In July 1837 the Pierian Sodality elected a committee to coordinate efforts to promote the cultivation of music and the establishment of a music professorship at Harvard. Dwight recalled it years later:

This society sprang up at Harvard College at a time when music was but stolen joy for the collegians. The ruling powers, faculty and overseers, had small respect for the divine art, - thought it anything but divine except in church. For a young man to get a character for singing, fluting, or what not, was frowned upon as severely as the lower dissipations. The little club, "Pierian Sodality," was barely tolerated. It was a very small and shifting affair, nearly all composed of flutes; and, it must be confessed, amusement was its motive more than any aspiration to high art.

One day, after a college exhibition, the Sodality, which made the music in the hall on such occasions, entertained a number of us ex-members who had graduated a few years before. The talk was lively, the mood genial, and it occurred to some one, 'What a nice thing it would be if we formed,' etc., etc. Agreed!³⁹

Dwight was on the committee, and a group was formed on 30 August 1837 with the cumbersome name "General Association of Members of the Pierian Sodality of Harvard University." The goals of the society were threefold:

1. To make music respected and cherished in the University as one of the "humanities" of a liberal education; to have it made a regular branch of the curriculum; perhaps even to accumulate funds for the endowment of a musical professorship, leading some day to a full faculty of music.
2. To collect a library of music and musical literature.
3. To exercise in all practicable ways a wholesome, elevating, and conservative influence on musical taste around us. In short, the central vitalizing ideal of the

³⁹ HMA, *The Harvard Musical Association, 1837-1912* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis Co. Press, 1912), 16-7.

Association has been the union of musical culture with all true gentlemanly culture.⁴⁰

In 1840 the name was shortened to the “Harvard Musical Association.” The seat of command was moved from Cambridge to Tremont Row in Boston, and undergraduates were excluded from the society, thus weakening the ties to the University.⁴¹ While this shift appears to contradict the first goal, the association continued to play an important role in Harvard’s musical life. The group was incorporated in March 1845.

The Harvard Musical Association (HMA) became Dwight’s vehicle for initiating music events in Boston. Beginning in 1844 the HMA sponsored an annual series of chamber music concerts in the Chickering Piano warehouse (Jonas Chickering was an honorary member). Although the series lasted only six seasons before interest waned, the HMA later established a symphony orchestra.⁴² The HMA also backed the construction of the first large concert hall in Boston. The hall, conceived in part because P.T. Barnum had no arena in Boston large enough to accommodate an audience for Jenny Lind, opened on 20 November 1852. In 1871 the HMA achieved yet another success: Harvard University instituted a policy whereby students could select music as an elective; Harvard also appointed John Knowles Paine, an HMA member, as the head of the Music Department and later as Professor of Music.⁴³

Thus was the first goal of the association realized; the second – a music library – became an ongoing project that continues today with donations of musical scores and other volumes to the HMA headquarters, now located at 57-A Chestnut Street on Beacon Hill. The third aim, to influence musical taste, was undoubtedly the most important to Dwight. Toward this end he conceived of a periodical devoted to music to be supported and financed by the HMA.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 18-9.

⁴¹ Tremont Row was at the time an upper-class neighborhood of Boston that included restaurants, offices, and shops. See David Kruh, “A Brief History of Scollay Square,” [<http://bambinomusical.com/Scollay/History.html>], first accessed 29 May 2007.

⁴² The Harvard Orchestra sponsored by the HMA performed for seventeen seasons in the 1860s and 70s and was the direct forerunner of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

⁴³ Paine (1839-1906) was the first music instructor at Harvard, teaching organ and composition there from 1862.

On 17 February 1852 a “specially called” meeting of the Harvard Musical Association heard the report of a committee on the subject of a “Musical Journal.” Six days later a circular was sent out by the recording secretary of the HMA, Francis Lowell Batchelder, that detailed the unanimous resolve by the Association: “That we heartily approve the plan of our associate, Mr. John S. Dwight, for establishing and editing a Musical Journal, and that every member of the Association is earnestly called upon to use his best endeavors to ensure his success, by procuring subscribers, or by becoming responsible for a certain number of copies, or by any other means.”⁴⁴ This circular was sent out to all members of the HMA. It included a form with columns for “Names,” “Residence,” and “No. of Copies” on the opposite page that could be returned to Dwight with a list of prospective subscribers.⁴⁵

Thus Dwight’s *Journal of Music* had originated in a discussion among the members of the HMA, and its original subscription list was made up of the same men. That HMA members were encouraged to support the journal by ordering multiple copies of the publication hints that the actual circulation was not nearly as widespread as print runs suggest. While there is no way to know for certain how many readers did have access to the *Journal*, this fact should be taken into consideration when estimating its potential influence, especially in light of the much larger distribution of daily and weekly newspapers.⁴⁶ As will become obvious, however, Dwight’s publication, and through it his ideas and opinions, had significant impact on the development of a musical culture not only in Boston and New England but the entire country.

The first issue of the *Journal* contained in addition to its prospectus an “Introductory” printed on page 4. Here Dwight expanded on his personal hopes for the paper and revealed his Transcendentalist vision of Music:

We here present, some days in advance of date, the first number of a new weekly Journal of Music and the fine Arts. . . . Without being in any sense a thoroughly educated musician, either in theory or practice, we have

⁴⁴ Circular addressed to Ezra Weston, Esq., of Boston, 23 February 1852 (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ For statistics on newspaper circulation in the mid-nineteenth century, see Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and City Systems in the United States, 1840-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), especially Table A.41.

found ourselves, as long as we could remember, full of the appeal which this most mystical and yet most human Art, (so perfectly intelligible to feeling, if not to the understanding,) has never ceased to make to us. From childhood, there was an intense interest and charm to us in all things musical; the rudest instrument and most hacknied [*sic*] player thereof seemed invested with a certain halo, and saving grace, as it were, from a higher, purer and more genial atmosphere than this of our cold, selfish, humdrum world. We could not sport with this, and throw it down like common recreations. It spoke a *serious* language to us, and seemed to challenge study of its strange important meanings, like some central oracle of oldest and still newest wisdom. And this at a time, when the actual world of music lay in the main remote from us, shooting only now and then some stray vibrations over into this western hemisphere. We felt that Music must have some most intimate connection with the social destiny of Man; and that, if we but knew it, it concerns us all.

A few years have passed, and now this is a general feeling. Music is a feature in the earnest life and culture of advanced American society. It enters into all our schemes of education. It has taken the initiative, as the popular Art *par excellence*, in gradually attempering [*sic*] this whole people to the sentiment of Art. And whoever reflects upon it, must regard it as a most important saving influence in this rapid expansion of our democratic life. Art, and especially Music, is a true conservative element, in which Liberty and Order are both fully typed and made beautifully perfect in each other. . . .

Our motive, then, for publishing a Musical Journal lies in the fact that Music has made such rapid progress here within the last fifteen, and even the last ten years. . . . Very confused, crude, heterogeneous is this sudden musical activity in a young, utilitarian people. A thousand specious fashions too successfully dispute the place of true Art in the favor of each little public. It needs a faithful, severe, friendly voice to point out steadfastly the models of the True, the *ever* Beautiful, the Divine. . . . This paper would make itself the “Organ” of no school or class, but simply an organ of what we have called the musical *movement* in this country; of the growing love of deep and genuine music. It will insist much on the claims of “Classical” music, and point out its beauties and its meanings; – not with a pedantic partiality, but because the enduring needs so often to be held up in contrast with the ephemeral.⁴⁷

Music for Dwight is a “*serious* language,” a “central oracle” inviting study. While the “actual world of music” lies outside our everyday existence, it nevertheless has an

⁴⁷ *Dwight's Journal of Music*, 1:1 (10 April 1852), 4.

“intimate connection with the social destiny of Man.” Music had of late become a significant part of daily life, at least for the “advanced American society.”⁴⁸ In Boston the efforts of Lowell Mason resulted in music becoming part of the curriculum in the city’s public schools in 1838.⁴⁹ Dwight saw it as his duty to assess the intrinsic value of musical compositions. He became the “faithful, severe, friendly voice” that would not only hold up the “models of the True, the *ever* Beautiful, the Divine,” but contrast them to the “ephemeral” new compositions that would not, in his assessment, stand the test of time. His intentions were admirable, but not necessarily representative of a majority of mid-nineteenth-century Americans.

Dwight was, in fact, biased toward Classical, abstract, instrumental works. A recognition and understanding of that bias is essential to a critical reading of his writings, which represent one entry point into nineteenth-century American musical culture. This study recognizes their value as historical documents while acknowledging both their influence and partiality.

10 January 1853

Louis Moreau Gottschalk stepped off the steamer *Humboldt* in the New York harbor on 10 January 1853. His father and brother greeted him at the pier. It had been eleven years since he had last seen them when he left his birthplace, New Orleans, Louisiana. After training in Paris and performing all over Europe, Gottschalk was returning to the United States as a national hero: a successful, native composer and performer. The newspapers in New York and beyond had followed his burgeoning

⁴⁸ Dwight’s reference to “advanced society” echoes the sentiment quoted in the title of Michael Broyles’s book on music in Boston, *“Music of the Highest Class”: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). Broyles takes the quote from John Rowe Parker (1777-1844), who founded the *Euterpeiad or Musical Intelligencer* in Boston in 1820. Much like Dwight, in its pages he championed instrumental music and differentiated between what he viewed as “refined . . . music of the highest class” and “musical trash” that was “quite deficient in solemnity, dignity, and decency.” *Euterpeiad* 1 (June-July 1820), 39 and 70.

⁴⁹ Lowell Mason (1792-1872) was also a composer, the president of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, 1826-1832, and the first superintendent of music in the American public school system, 1838-1845. He founded the Boston Academy of Music in 1833 in order to teach music to adults, children, and teachers as well as to publish and perform new music. See Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

career; the press and the public were primed for his return. His American debut, for which he had been preparing all his life, was imminent.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk, 1829-1869

In the 1830s New Orleans was a city birthing itself. Before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 it was little more than a port town surrounded by swamps, its population suffering from periodic outbreaks of malaria, smallpox, and yellow fever. Once Louisiana gained statehood in 1812, however, New Orleans grew more quickly than seemed possible. The city expanded beyond its original boundaries in a few years, more than doubled its population from 1820 to 1830 and faced an influx of Anglo-Saxons who settled uneasily next to the original French-Spanish Creole citizenry.

In 1831 Edward Gottschalk, two-year-old Moreau's father, bought a house at 88 Rampart Street, between Bienville and Conti Streets. This property was in the *vieux carré*, as were all the houses in which Gottschalk lived during his childhood, and was just two blocks from the old "Congo Square," often cited as a source for Gottschalk's Afro-Creole inspired compositions such as *Bamboula*. When first Edward, and then his wife Aimée, declared bankruptcy in 1833, the family moved to a small cottage at the corner of Royal and Esplanade, which marked the edge of the French Quarter. By Gottschalk's fifth birthday they shared a four-story house at 518 Conti Street with several relatives. While this house was further away from Congo Square, it still stands only a few steps from the levee; it is now and was then situated in the heart of the city, both physically and culturally.⁵⁰ The Gottschalks had easy access to a variety of entertainments. Not only were there numerous opera companies who sang in French, English, and Italian, but there was music everywhere from concert halls to the street.⁵¹ Gottschalk spent his childhood absorbing these varied influences.

⁵⁰ The levees in New Orleans were begun by French settlers in Louisiana in the 18th century to protect the city; they are constructed earthen walls that parallel the Mississippi River. The New Orleans levee system has of course become infamous since the breach that occurred in the wake of Hurricane Katrina on 29 August 2005, causing catastrophic damage and flooding 80% of the city. See Ivor Van Heerden and Mike Bryan, *The Storm: What Went Wrong and Why During Hurricane Katrina: The Inside Story From One Louisiana Scientist* (New York: Viking, 2006).

⁵¹ Operatic activity in New Orleans began in the 1790s; by the 1840s there were three different resident opera troupes as well as frequent touring companies. See Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), especially

At age four Gottschalk began piano lessons with a local instructor, François J. Narcisse Letellier. In 1840 Letellier and his friend Felix Miolan, concertmaster of the Théâtre d'Orléans, convinced Edward Gottschalk to allow his eleven-year-old son to appear in a benefit concert for Miolan. The performance on 21 May 1840 was held at the new St. Charles Hotel in the Anglo-Saxon section of the city. Rather than consenting to a formal debut, Edward insisted that his son be identified on the program only as “young X, a Creole.”⁵² In addition to three appearances on the program as the pianist in chamber ensembles, Moreau performed a series of solo variations on a Latin dance called *La Cachucha*.

When he could teach the young pianist no more, Letellier advised Gottschalk's parents to send him to Paris. This was common for young men from upper-class New Orleans families. In fact, even the children of *plaçage* were occasionally given this opportunity dependent upon the financial situation of the family.⁵³ The Gottschalks, while not destitute, had continuing financial difficulties; the bankruptcies in 1833 had had their effect. Nonetheless, in April 1841 a benefit concert was arranged at the ballroom of the St. Louis Hotel in an attempt to raise the necessary funds. The program featured the orchestra and soloists from the Théâtre d'Orléans; Moreau's solo performances included variations on themes from Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* and Meyerbeer's *Il Crociato in Egitto*.⁵⁴ The concert was an overwhelming success and guaranteed a triumphant homecoming when he eventually returned to New Orleans years later.

In May 1841, at age twelve, Gottschalk sailed to Paris on the ship *Taglioni*. Once there, he boarded with the family Dussert who arranged for his lessons, and housed, fed,

Chapters 3-9, and Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), especially 218-20 and 288-91; Preston states, “Outside of Manhattan and New Orleans, American performance of opera in Italian . . . was nonexistent between 1844 and 1847,” 220.

⁵² *New Orleans Bee*, 20 May 1840, p. 2; quoted in S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 43-44.

⁵³ *Plaçage* was a system by which white Creole men maintained the equivalent of common-law marriages with women of color. See Joan M. Martin, “Plaçage and the Louisiana Gens de Couleur Libre: How Race and Sex Defined the Lifestyles of Free Women of Color,” in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 2000), 57-70.

⁵⁴ Starr, 44.

educated, and clothed him.⁵⁵ While in Paris, Gottschalk studied piano with Camille Stamaty and composition with Pierre Maleden. He had applied to the Paris Conservatoire but was turned down by its director Pierre Zimmermann due to an irregularly-enforced provision banning foreigners from admission.⁵⁶ Gottschalk remembered later, “Without hearing me [he] refused to receive me because ‘*l’Amérique n’était qu’un pays de machines à vapeur*’ (America was only a country of steam engines).”⁵⁷ Ironically, seven years later Gottschalk’s composition *Bamboula* was made part of the Conservatoire students’ mid-term examination, which he himself judged.⁵⁸ While his parents could not make the original trip with him, his mother joined him in Paris two years later with his six siblings, including Clara, who spent her later years collating her brother’s music and diary. Aimeé remained in Paris for the rest of her life, excepting one return visit to New Orleans in 1846 that produced another son, Gaston.⁵⁹

Gottschalk’s debut concert occurred at the Salle Pleyel in Paris on 2 April 1845. His great success was attended by such luminaries as Sigismond Thalberg and Frédéric Chopin and favorably reviewed in the *Revue et gazette musicale* and *Le Ménestrel*, who spoke of his “brilliant qualities” and placed him “in the first rank of our virtuosos.”⁶⁰ He then concertized in increasingly wider circles, traveling to Switzerland and then to Spain always to great acclaim. He was known as “the young American,” and he capitalized on that fame by performing such Creole-based works as *Bamboula*, *La Savane*, *Le Mancenillier*, and *Le Bananier*. In Europe these works were viewed as exotic, as coming

⁵⁵ The entire first page of a letter from young Moreau to his parents dated 8 June 1842 focuses upon a new outfit he was given for a masquerade ball. He describes in detail (in his native French) the blue velvet jacket with silver trim and the beautiful purple color of the culottes. Gottschalk, ALS, 8 June 1842, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁵⁶ This rule had prevented Franz Liszt from entering the Conservatoire in 1824, but Jacques Offenbach was admitted as a cellist despite his German origin in 1833, and Victor-Eugène Macarty from New Orleans was accepted in the voice department a year before Gottschalk’s rejection. See Starr, 50.

⁵⁷ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 52.

⁵⁸ Starr, 80. Gottschalk himself wryly commented, “Perhaps it is not out of place to say here that *le petit Américain*, refused as a pupil in 1841 [*sic*: actually 1842], was appointed in 1849 to sit as a judge on the same bench as Zimmermann at the examination for prizes at the Conservatoire.” *Notes*, 52.

⁵⁹ Starr, 64. Gaston was the seventh and final child of the marriage; he later followed his brother into a musical career, becoming an operatic baritone and voice teacher in Chicago, IL.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Starr, 61.

from the New World, the Other; they were widely accepted, enjoyed, and published across the continent.⁶¹

Gottschalk's American Debut

Gottschalk returned to America in January 1853 and made his official debut in New York. Within seven days of his arrival he presented his first private performance, which was arranged by his father and given at the Irving House, where they were staying. He performed a number of works by Chopin and his own compositions, including *Bamboula* and *Carnaval de Venise*, for a small audience. The success of the soirée was noted in the *New York Herald* as well as the *Evening Mirror*. The critic for the *Mirror* stated:

We yesterday had the pleasure – and a very great one it was – of hearing this young American pianist and composer at his rooms at the Irving House. . . . [We are] satisfied, from a first hearing of Gottschalk, that he is destined to great success in his native land, both as a pianist and a composer.⁶²

In the next few weeks two biographies of Gottschalk were rushed into print, one in French (then translated into English) by Paul Arpin and the other by H. Didimus, the pseudonym of Edward Henry Durell. Durell's account included the apocryphal story about Gottschalk's encounter with Chopin in Paris: "Chopin . . . advanced from a side-door, exclaiming – "Bien, bien, mon enfant, tres bien; donnez-moi encore la main" [Good, good, my child, very good; let me shake your hand again] – the triumph was complete."⁶³ Such publicity stirred interest in Gottschalk's forthcoming public debut. His father booked Niblo's Saloon for 4 February, but the concert was delayed because

⁶¹ *Bamboula* was first published by the Bureau Central de Musique in April 1849; *La Savane* and *Le Bananier* followed subsequently. All of these pieces as well as others were also published in pirated editions immediately thereafter. See Starr, 79-82. *La France musicale* reported of *Bamboula* on 11 March 1849, "The *Bamboula* is at its height. One must have lived under the burning sky from whence the Creole draws his melody; one must be impregnated with these eccentric chants, which are little dramas in action; in a word, one must be a Creole, as composer and executant, in order to feel and make others understand the whole originality of *Bamboula*." Quoted in Starr, 79, from a translation by Clara Peterson, Gottschalk's sister.

⁶² *Evening Mirror*, 18 January 1853. Quoted in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: Reverberations, 1950-1956* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 395.

⁶³ Edward Henry Durell [H[enry] D[idimus]], "Biography of Louis Moreau Gottschalk," in *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art* 42:1 (January 1853), 62. Translation mine.

Gottschalk fell ill.⁶⁴ Finally, he performed on 11 February, along with accompanying pianists Richard Hoffman and George Frederick Bristow, flutist John Kyle, tenor John Fraser, and soprano Rose de Vries.⁶⁵ Simultaneously the renowned German soprano Henriette Sontag was performing *La sonnambula* next door, and Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, with Mendelssohn's incidental music, was premiering at Burton's Theater. Even so, the concert, which included Gottschalk's own *Jérusalem*, *Danse ossianique*, and *Le Bananier*, was a triumph noted in a variety of newspapers. George William Curtis, writing for *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, asserted that Gottschalk was

essentially an artist – howbeit the poor word is sadly abused. We mean that he is not merely a player, who glides skilfully [*sic*], and with the utmost facility, through all the difficulties of every style. . . but that he has a marked individuality in composition and in the interpretation of his composition. . . . [A]n artist, even a piano-artist, is more than a good player. Gottschalk has a colossal style that surprised us. Best of all, however, was the profound sense of a musical enthusiasm and devotion which pervaded all the performance, and removed it from the merely “astonishing” and “sublime,” and all the other proper terms of star-playing, into a realm of pure music and the highest art.⁶⁶

Reviewers from the *Evening Mirror* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Richard Grant White for the *Courier and Enquirer*, Charles Bailey Seymour for the *New York Daily Times*, Richard Storrs Willis for the *Musical World and Times*, and William Henry Fry for the *New York Tribune* also reported on the concert. While most commented favorably on Gottschalk's performance and compositions, some had minor objections to his playing

⁶⁴ An announcement in the *New York Daily Times* entitled “Postponement” stated, “The continued indisposition of Mr. Gottschalk has rendered it necessary for him to postpone his Concert, which was announced for this evening. The Concert will take place on Friday, the 11th inst., at Niblo's Saloon. Seats secured for this evening will be good for the 11th inst., or the money returned.” *New York Daily Times* (4 February 1853), 5.

⁶⁵ Gottschalk's accompanying musicians had been busy. Bristow, Kyle, and de Vries (1828-1889) had also been performing for William Henry Fry's lecture series on music that had begun in November 1852. The final three lectures occurred on 25 January, 1 and 8 February 1853. On these occasions de Vries sang excerpts from Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* and *Le Prophète* and Donizetti's *Les Martyrs* as well as Fry's own opera *Leonora*. Bristow and Kyle both also performed for the 25 January lecture, and an unidentified double quartet composed by Bristow was played on 1 February. See Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, vol. 2, 380-6.

⁶⁶ George William Curtis, *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art*, 1:3 (March 1853), 348.

style or the works performed. Fry, a self-avowed American composer himself, remarked that “Mr. Gottschalk is emphatically a great artist. We must deal with him as an American. . . [I]n the national point of view he stands above. Who compares with him? No one.”⁶⁷ But the *Home Journal* focused on the concert’s impact on the audience:

Mr. Gottschalk, the American pianist, made his *debut* at Niblo’s Saloon, on Friday, the 11th instant. We mention the date, because we are convinced that the musical history of the country will require that it be preserved. To say that his success was of the most unequivocal description can convey to the reader’s mind no idea of the *frenzy* of enthusiasm which his playing excited. His playing is precisely of the kind which most palpably hits the popular taste. His efforts are strong and powerful. He dashes at the instrument as Murat charged the enemy, and has a command of its most latent possibilities. His playing has the effect of an orchestra and the modulation of a single instrument. He is the only pianist we have yet heard who can electrify and inflame an assembly. He produces the same sort, and the same degree, of effort as that which oratory sometimes has, in times of public commotion. This is not an exaggeration, as everyone will bear witness who has heard him perform, but a simple statement of facts. A sober judgment of his powers, as compared with other eminent pianists, we are not prepared to give, since it was impossible not to be carried away with the enthusiasm of the occasion. But we hope to hear him again, at an early day, and to consider his performances more coolly.⁶⁸

At a concert on February 17 in Niblo’s Garden, he performed with an orchestra led by William Vincent Wallace.⁶⁹ Again, he was lauded in the press, but the concerts did not make much money.

At that time P.T. Barnum, who was managing the soprano Jenny Lind, approached Gottschalk with an offer to manage his performing and touring career, as well. On his father’s advice, Gottschalk turned down Barnum’s offer. This fateful decision had long-ranging effects; had he accepted Barnum’s management, Gottschalk

⁶⁷ *New York Daily Tribune*, 12 February 1853. Reprinted in Lawrence, 401.

⁶⁸ *Ladies’ Home Journal*, 12 February 1853. Reprinted in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 2:20 (19 February 1853), 158. Joachim Murat (1767-1815) was a commander in the French army under Napoleon Bonaparte, who later named him King of Naples and Sicily.

⁶⁹ William Vincent Wallace (1812-1865) was an Irish violinist, pianist, and composer who, after first emigrating to Australia, became an American citizen in 1850. Known for his operas, especially *Maritana* (1845), Gottschalk remembered him in his journal: “The excellent Wallace had offered me, with that good-natured kindness which was so natural to him, to conduct the orchestra,” 15 February 1862, *Notes*, 46.

might not have had to trek so relentlessly across the Americas for the rest of his life. Instead, Edward Gottschalk signed William F. Brough to manage his son's career. Brough arranged concerts in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Louisville before taking Gottschalk back to New Orleans for a triumphant homecoming concert series there.⁷⁰

From then on, Gottschalk performed constantly throughout the United States, Canada, and Central and South America, without stopping to return home or take vacations, except for a short respite in Cuba in 1854. The rest of his life was lived on trains and in hotels. He never returned to Europe; he never married, although he definitely had relationships with women and may have had at least one son; he never saw his mother again, and after his brother Edward's and his father's deaths rarely saw any of his family members.⁷¹ In effect, Gottschalk lived the life of a traveling salesman, only in his case, he sold his music and talent to the audiences.

Gottschalk proved successful in the end, although he never achieved financial stability. Rather, his continual engagements and numerous publications in the United States and beyond demonstrate the particular commodification that occurred. Like many other composers, Gottschalk intentionally wrote types of music that would be profitable through their appeal to his concert audiences and through sheet music sales. Yet his compositions were unique because of their employment of unusual source materials, and should thus be studied as historical documents and representations of the culture in which they were produced. Gottschalk's output was not only prolific but diverse: it includes operatic transcriptions, intimate character pieces, etudes, exoticist works based on Creole and Caribbean themes, symphonies, patriotically-themed works, sentimental songs, dances, and much more. The critical consideration of a selection of these works in the following chapters, focusing on his solo piano compositions, informs and illuminates an understanding of not only nineteenth-century American culture but how it both shaped and was shaped by Gottschalk's music.

⁷⁰ Gottschalk performed in Philadelphia on 1 and 3 March, in Cincinnati by 12 March, and in Louisville on 19 March; he was in New Orleans from April to July of 1853.

⁷¹ For a discussion of Gottschalk's romance with actress and writer Ada Clare (1834-1874), see Starr, chapter 16, 244-56. Born Jane McElhenney, her novel *Only a Woman's Heart* (1866) fictionalized their relationship; Gottschalk's paternity of her son Aubrey (b. 1857?) was never verified.

CHAPTER 2
THE CULT OF VIRTUOSITY IN AMERICA:
ITALIAN OPERA AS PIANO TRANSCRIPTION

In Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60 Katherine Preston demonstrates that there was an attempt in the late 1840s by the New York elite to make Italian opera exclusively a high class entertainment. The Astor Place Riot in May 1849, “an altercation ostensibly prompted by a feud between the British actor William Charles Macready and the American star Edwin Forrest,” was the dramatic culmination of the building uneasiness between classes. Discriminatory tactics by the elite – location of theatres and dress codes among them – were employed to convince the working classes that Italian opera was something to avoid.¹ This separation between classes was mirrored by similar shifts occurring in the major cities of Europe, as William Weber has argued in *Music and the Middle Class*. The nobility and the wealthy higher-middle class in Paris, London, and Vienna merged into a single public for concerts between 1830 and 1848, forming a common identity at odds with the lower-middle class who could not afford to attend the same performances.²

Yet in 1853, when Gottschalk returned to the United States, opera melodies were still heard and enjoyed by all classes of people, not only within the opera house themselves but in various guises at burlesques and minstrel shows, in published sheet music, and even in the tunes of the organ-grinders and church bell towers.³ Operatic transcriptions held a unique position within mid-nineteenth century Europe and America. By writing and performing such works, composers consciously linked diverse musical

¹ Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 134-41.

² William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975). See especially pp. 8-9 and Tables 5-10 (pp. 160-62).

³ Preston, 305-12.

styles: Italian and French opera melodies, also heard in minstrel shows and burlesques, were merged with technically challenging solo piano writing to create musical works remarkable for their inclusiveness. Understanding the place of piano transcriptions in the performance practice of the period is essential to developing a fuller picture of American musical culture.

European Roots

Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) called nineteenth-century Paris the “capital not just of France but of the entire civilized world.”⁴ Stirred by the spirit of utopianism then sweeping the city, the German poet moved to Paris in 1831. Just one year earlier France had overthrown the conservative king Charles X in the bloodless July Revolution. The “citizen king” who replaced him, Louis Philippe, understood the careful compromise that had to be negotiated between the landed nobility and the ascendant bourgeoisie. Throughout the course of his reign (1830-1848), however, Louis Philippe’s popularity suffered, in part due to the increasingly conservative position of the ministers he appointed to the Chamber of Deputies. Repeated challenges to the regime during the 1830s reflected the unrest that culminated in the 1848 Revolution, which led to Philippe’s abdication and escape to England, where he lived until his death in 1850.⁵

Thus, when young Moreau Gottschalk first arrived in Paris in 1841, the political climate in the city was growing increasingly unstable. The artistic environment at Louis Philippe’s ascendancy, however, was thriving. French grand opera was at its peak; Daniel François Auber’s *La muette de Portici* (1828) and Gioacchino Rossini’s final opera *Guillaume Tell* (1829) had prefigured such successes as Fromental Halévy’s *La juive* (1835), Giacomo Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots* (1836) and Gaetano Donizetti’s *La favorite* and *La fille du régiment* (both 1840). There was interest in the new virtuoso solo performer, primarily due to the influence of the Italian violinist Niccolò Paganini, who first performed in Paris in February 1831. Violinists such as Henri Vieuxtemps and the

⁴ “Paris ist nicht bloß die Hauptstadt von Frankreich, sondern der ganzen civilisirten Welt,” Heinrich Heine, 10 February 1832, in the *Düsseldorfer Heine-Ausgabe* (DHA), ed. Manfred Windfuhr, 12/1: *Französische Maler, Französische Zustände, Über die französische Bühne* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1980), 103. Translation mine.

⁵ See André Maurois, *A History of France* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1973).

Norwegian Ole Bull followed Paganini's lead, but more prominent were the legions of virtuoso pianists, mostly from central and eastern Europe, who gathered in Paris to perform and compose.

Since grand opera was the center of musical life in nineteenth-century France, most pianists specialized in solo or sometimes duo transcriptions of themes from the greatest of French and Italian operas. Performers such as Henri Herz, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, and Sigismond Thalberg composed variations on favorite arias and overtures by Rossini and Meyerbeer, as well as Verdi. Their bravura works featured dazzling figurations, exploiting the individual performer's talents while maintaining the integrity of the tunes for the listeners. Simplified versions of the operatic fantasies were often marketed to the developing body of amateurs, who enjoyed performing these as well as smaller, more intimate character pieces in their parlors. Significantly, many piano makers entered into agreements with individual composer-performers, who would then perform only on their instruments. Such pairings included Franz Liszt and Érard, Frédéric Chopin and Pleyel, and Gottschalk and Chickering. The practice has continued to today; such varied performers as Sergei Rachmaninoff, Vladimir Horowitz, Paul McCartney, and Billy Joel have all been part of the Steinway Artist Program. The connections among piano manufacturers, performers, and consumers created a climate of supply and demand, in the concert hall as well as the salon. Musicians looking to be financially and popularly successful had to write works that appealed to listeners in either or both settings. Many European composers, some of whom are discussed below, answered this challenge in ways that highlighted their own talents and personalities.

Virtuosi in Europe

The cult of virtuosity in Europe was in many ways paradoxical. The hero-like status of its most prominent artists and their astonishing technical prowess was a manifestation of Romanticism, while neglect of emotional expression in favor of often empty talent contrasted with the romantic philosophy. Musicians were emerging from the ranks of salon amateurs to become professionals, who regularly assumed the dual roles of entrepreneur and performer. According to William Weber, "By 1848 amateurs might perform at salons . . . but had to acknowledge that performances in public were the

central events in concert life. The professional now had unchallenged authority in his field.”⁶ Yet virtuosi were not viewed by all as true artists. Robert Schumann, writing in 1854, recalled the less-than-ideal atmosphere at the founding of his journal, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, twenty years earlier:

The musical situation in Germany at the moment was anything but inspiring. Rossini reigned in the opera-houses, and nothing was to be heard on the pianoforte but Herz and Hünten. Yet only a few years had passed since Beethoven, C. M. von Weber, and Franz Schubert had lived among us.⁷

Schumann here contrasts the new authority of the German classics with both the virtuosity of Henri Herz and Franz Hünten and the operas of Gioacchino Rossini, which were in fact connected through the composition and performance of operatic transcriptions for public concerts. In *Music and the Middle Class*, William Weber elucidates how each of the three styles or currents played different roles in the development of a concert repertoire. He too links the virtuosic style and Italian opera, and sets them in opposition to the works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert. While the German classical style later arose to become the central component of concert performances, it was the other two styles that were most prominent and popular in the first half of the century.⁸

Chief among the composer-pianists in 1830s France was Franz Liszt (1811-1886), a Hungarian-born musician, who made his Parisian debut in 1824 and signed a contract with piano maker Pierre Érard in the same year, agreeing to play only on Érards from then on.⁹ Inspired by a concert given by Paganini in 1831, Liszt achieved a comparable level of virtuosity at the piano. He is credited with being the first performer to abandon the traditional concert format, which included performances by additional instrumental and vocal soloists and usually an orchestra, in favor of a solo “recital.” His first use of

⁶ Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 39.

⁷ Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, transl. Paul Rosenfeld, ed. Konrad Wolff (New York: Pantheon, 1947; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 25.

⁸ See Weber, 18-20.

⁹ See Alan Walker’s comprehensive three-volume biography, *Franz Liszt* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983-1996).

the term was an event in London on 9 June 1840 at the Hanover Square Rooms.¹⁰ Beginning in 1842 Liszt played not only his own works but also compositions by Beethoven, Bach, Handel, and Scarlatti, simultaneously canonizing these earlier masters and balancing his own virtuosic skills with serious interpretation of their works.

Liszt was a master entrepreneur, or as Dana Gooley sees it, an “opportunist.”¹¹ Gooley points to Liszt’s subscription series of four concerts featuring Beethoven’s chamber music in early 1837 as an example. By utilizing connections with the press, including his friend Hector Berlioz at the *Revue et gazette musicale*, and capitalizing on the popularity of Beethoven, Liszt simultaneously asserted himself as a serious artist and advanced his own fame to the detriment of his rival Sigismond Thalberg, who is discussed below. Richard Leppert also acknowledges how Liszt “repeatedly reinvented himself – and was by others reinvented – throughout his long professional life.”¹² Such continuous adaptation, both in his career and in his compositions, assured Liszt’s success.

In his works for piano Liszt utilized both innovative playing techniques and unique harmonic and formal structures. His hands, long and narrow with little webbing between the fingers, could reach a span of a fifteenth.¹³ He wrote right-hand figurations that encompassed up to two octaves, asking the performer to pivot around the third finger. The best-known compositional technique in Liszt’s music is his use of thematic transformation, in which a melody is altered in character while the essential identity is

¹⁰ Before the mid-nineteenth century, a concert program usually featured a series of shorter items that presented a variety of performing forces and genres; for example, *Gewandhaus* concerts in the late eighteenth century included an overture, an aria, a solo instrumental work and a vocal or choral finale in each half. The concerts of Gottschalk, Thalberg, and other virtuosi in the nineteenth century usually followed similar patterns, featuring vocalists, other solo performers, and, sometimes, conducted orchestras. See George Kehler, *The Piano in Concert* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982).

¹¹ Dana Gooley, “Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso as Strategist,” in William Weber, ed., *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 145.

¹² Richard Leppert, “The Musician of the Imagination,” in William Weber, ed., *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 26. Leppert includes a number of satiric caricatures and cartoons to reinforce his point about the changing images of musicians in the nineteenth century.

¹³ Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 301-3. See the passage from *Au Bord d’une source* (1835) on p. 303, which calls for a right-hand interval of g’ to e-flat’”.

retained. It features prominently in one of Liszt's best-known works for solo piano, the Sonata in B minor (1853).

From early in his career Liszt performed original transcriptions of orchestral and vocal music in concerts. In 1833 he composed and performed a piano transcription of Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, which had premiered three years earlier. Other transcriptions include his *Konzertstück* for two pianos on Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*, overtures by Beethoven, Berlioz, Mozart, Rossini, and Weber, and symphonies by Beethoven. While these pieces are transcriptions of complete works, Liszt also wrote loosely-constructed fantasias on memorable themes from pre-existing works, beginning with a fantasy on Auber's *La fiancée* in 1829 and a Fantasia on Paganini's *La campanella* in 1832. Throughout his career, Liszt continued to compose grandiose solo piano fantasias on operatic works by composers as widely varied as Halévy, Donizetti, Rossini, Weber, Mozart, Bellini, Meyerbeer, Gounod, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, and Wagner. As late as 1882 he published *Réminiscences de Boccanegra* on Verdi and *Feierlicher Marsch zum heiligen Gral aus Parsifal* on Wagner.¹⁴

Liszt's compositions often draw inspiration for their structure and content from extra-musical sources, including literature (e.g., the *Faust-Symphonie*, 1854, after Goethe), painting (*Hunnenschlacht*, 1857, after Kaulbach), and nature (*Années de pèlerinage*, 1835-55, especially works from the *Première année*, "Suisse," 1854). In each of these works the form is impacted by the source material in different ways. The *Faust* Symphony, for example, is structured in three movements that are sketches of Goethe's characters Faust, Gretchen, and Mephistopheles. Rather than telling the story in a continuous narrative, Liszt chose to convey the personalities of the characters from the dramatic poem, interweaving musical themes among the movements to illustrate Faust's

¹⁴ Liszt's operatic transcriptions include pieces based on the following operas: Auber's *La Fiancée* and *La muette de Portici*; Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and *Maometto II*; Halévy's *La Juive*; Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Parisina*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, and *La favorite*; Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, *Robert le diable*, *Le Prophète*, and *Le moine*; Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*; Bellini's *La sonnambula*, *I puritani*, and *Norma*; Weber's *Der Freischütz* and *Oberon*; Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro*; Verdi's *Simon Boccanegra*, *Aida*, *Don Carlos*, *I Lombardi*, *Il trovatore*, *Rigoletto*, and *Ernani*; Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *Rienzi*, *Der Fliegende Holländer*, *Die Meistersinger*, and *Parsifal*; Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* and *Benevenuto Cellini*; Gounod's *Faust* and *Roméo et Juliette*; Spohr's *Zemir und Azor*; and Tchaikovsky's *Evgeny Onegin*. See the list of works following Alan Walker's article on Liszt in the *New Grove Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, available at *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy [<http://www.grovemusic.com>], accessed 2 August 2007.

descent into hell.¹⁵ In *Hunnenschlacht*, or “Battle of the Huns,” he included instructions for the musicians to “sound like ghosts” and for the organ to be placed “out of sight, behind curtains.”¹⁶ The two volumes of the *Années de pèlerinage* for solo piano paint aural portraits of Switzerland and Italy. Quotations from Schiller and Byron serve as prefaces to pieces that evoke water (*Au Bord d’une source*) and bells (*Les Cloches de Genève*). The works are simultaneously programmatic and virtuosic, using techniques like crossed hands, chromatic progressions, and rapid scales in octaves to represent the extra-musical subjects.¹⁷ According to Carl Dahlhaus, Liszt understood “that virtuosity . . . was capable of participating in the Romantic revolution.”¹⁸ His inventive structures and experiments in orchestral color were complemented by the technical abilities required to perform his works, both orchestral and solo piano.

Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849) was known primarily through his performances in private salons, rather than the public concerts associated with Liszt.¹⁹ Originally from Poland, Chopin moved to Paris at age twenty, never to return. Rather than compete with the grandiose compositional style of Liszt, Chopin embraced a more intimate style in his works that mirrored his preference for smaller venues. His pieces are generally shorter and smaller in dynamic and range in comparison to Liszt’s inclination towards robustness and vigor, although he also explored more extended forms in his ballades, scherzi and sonatas, most of which were composed between 1834 and 1843.²⁰ Chopin rarely based a composition on a preexisting work like the operatic transcriptions of Liszt, although his well-known variations on Mozart’s “Là ci darem la mano,” op. 2 (1827), were an early exception.

¹⁵ See Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years, 1848-1861* (New York: Knopf, 1989), 326-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 311-12.

¹⁷ Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847*, 217-19 and 273-79. In addition, *Au Bord d’une source* features rhythmic ostinati and cascading seconds that represent the flowing water; *Les cloches de Genève* opens with the chiming of bells, marked “cloche” in the score.

¹⁸ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, translated by J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 135.

¹⁹ See Jeremy Siepmann, *Chopin, the Reluctant Romantic* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1995).

²⁰ A list of the published works of Chopin can be found as the Appendix in Tad Szulc, *Chopin in Paris: The Life and Times of the Romantic Composer* (New York: Scribner, 1998), 413-16.

Whereas Liszt's compositional style is often identified with the symphonic poems of his later career, Chopin can best be represented through his character pieces. A specifically romantic genre, Maurice Brown has defined the character piece as "a piece of music, usually for piano solo, expressing either a single mood or a programmatic idea defined by its title."²¹ In addition to such character pieces as nocturnes, waltzes, impromptus, and ballades, he also wrote works based on genres that reflect his cultural heritage: the polonaise and the mazurka, two Polish dances, appear frequently (totaling 16 and 61 respectively) in his oeuvre.²²

Chopin also exploited the sonority of the modern piano, albeit in a very different manner from Liszt. He favored the more intimate sound of the Pleyel piano to Liszt's preferred Érards. A contemporary account noted:

[The Pleyel piano has a] special satisfying quality, the upper register bright and silvery, the middle penetrating and intense, the bass clear and vigorous. The striking of the hammers has been designed to give a sound that is pure, clear, even, and intense. The carefully made hammers produce – when one plays piano – a sweet and velvety sound that gradually increases in brightness and volume as one applies more pressure on the keyboard.²³

On such a piano, Chopin could easily utilize *rubato* in the right-hand cantilena melody over a steady left-hand accompaniment. This tempo flexibility allowed the composer to highlight significant moments in the music, such as an unusual non-harmonic tone or the pinnacle of a phrase, and thereby imparted an even more heightened expressivity to his compositions.

²¹ Maurice J. E. Brown, "Characteristic piece," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie, ed., vol. 4 (New York: Grove, 2001), 154.

²² The four ballades are a special case; arguments exist that they were influenced by the literary works of Polish author Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), particularly by his ballad poems *Switezianka*. According to this view, the ballades simultaneously embody both Polish patriotism, like the mazurkas and polonaises, and the influence of literature on character pieces. See Lubov Keefer, "The Influence of Adam Mickiewicz on the *Ballades* of Chopin," *American Slavic and East European Review* 5:1-2 (May 1946), 38-50, and John Rink, "Chopin's Ballades and the Dialectic: Analysis in Historical Perspective," *Music Analysis* 13:1 (March 1994), 99-115, especially 101.

²³ Claude Montal, *L'art d'accorder soi-meme son piano* (Paris: Meissonnier, 1836), translated by Stephen Birkett, "Pleyel," [http://real.uwaterloo.ca/~sbirkett/pleyel_info.htm], accessed 31 May 2007.

European Pianists in America

Born in Vienna, Henri Herz (1803-1888) entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1816, studying piano with Louis-Barthélémy Pradher (1782-1843), harmony and composition with Victor-Charles-Paul Dourlen (1780-1864), and counterpoint and fugue with Antoine Reicha (1770-1836).²⁴ Herz soon emerged as one of the reigning virtuoso pianists of the first half of the nineteenth century, performing mostly his own compositions in his concerts, until his fame was partially eclipsed by both Liszt and Thalberg in the 1830s and 40s. Herz was also a piano manufacturer, and he used his knowledge of the inner workings of the new modern instrument in his compositions, exploiting its ability to allow rapid passagework and dramatic dynamic changes. His compositional output was dominated by opera transcriptions, variations, and simple pieces written for the parlor performers throughout Europe and America.

Herz was one of the first European pianists to tour in the United States, giving almost two hundred concerts in fifty-eight cities across the eastern seaboard and in California between October 1846 and April 1850.²⁵ His technique was universally lauded. In his fantasias on operas by Donizetti, Bellini, Auber, Méhul, Rossini, and Meyerbeer, and graceful variations on tunes such as “The Last Rose of Summer,” Herz appealed to his audience’s emotions. A critic from Mobile, Alabama, compared Herz with Leopold de Meyer, the flamboyant and dynamic Austrian pianist who toured the United States in 1845-47, thus: “De Meyer may break a piano, but Herz can break a heart.”²⁶ During his American tour Herz also composed works based on patriotic songs and minstrel tunes. Herz, and de Meyer before him, were important predecessors to the native son Gottschalk, who returned from Europe for his New York debut three years after Herz’s departure from the United States; in creating an audience for virtuoso pianists they paved the way for his favorable reception.

²⁴ For information on Herz and Thalberg as well as three other pianists who traveled to the United States – Leopold de Meyer, Anton Rubinstein, and Hans von Bülow, see R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendix A, 296-7.

²⁶ *Alabama Planter* (Mobile), 15 February 1847. Quoted in Lott, 59. Leopold de Meyer (1816-1883) was an Austrian pianist who toured the United States from 1845 to 1847. Today he is largely forgotten. See Lott, 11-51, for a carefully researched account of Meyer’s performances in America.

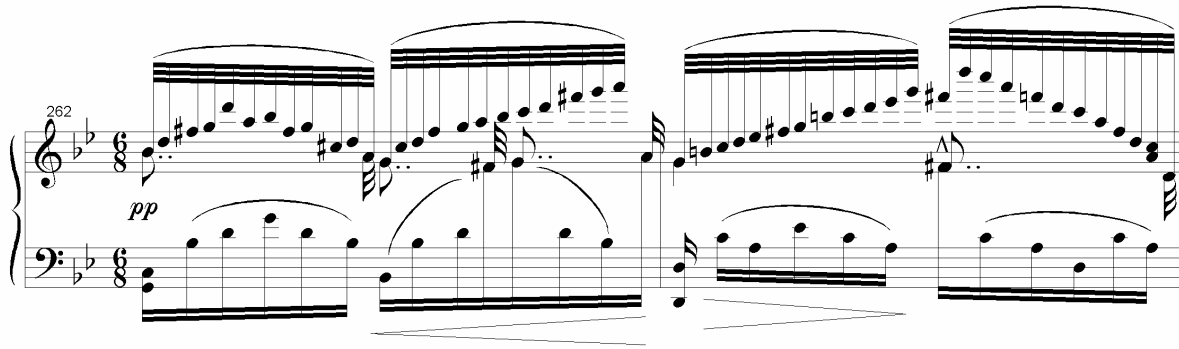
Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871) was both praised and reproached for his technical perfection. Thalberg cultivated his performance career early, and, in a famous 31 March 1837 competition with Liszt in a royal Parisian salon, was deemed his equal in performance technique.²⁷ Thalberg's technique was described as without error, perfect; some viewed this flawlessness with awe, while other reviewers found it maddening.²⁸ All, however, considered it extraordinary. When Bernard Ullman offered to manage a concert tour in the United States, Thalberg agreed. He toured America from 1856 to 1858, performing to acclaim in cities from New York and Boston to New Orleans and Vicksburg. Thalberg is especially significant not only because his U.S. concert tour was simultaneous with Gottschalk's but because both men performed in the same cities, sometimes at the same time. Thalberg and Gottschalk even performed together in 1856, playing Thalberg's two-piano fantasia on *Norma* and their jointly-composed two-piano fantasia on *Il Trovatore*, which will be discussed below.²⁹ Although Thalberg's music is little studied now, it is generally remembered for such fantasias, large, showy works featuring a great deal of virtuosity.

Thalberg's performance style included a special "three-handed" technique, in which a melody shared by both hands dominated the central area of the keyboard, while both above and below figurations appeared at the outer limits of the piano's extreme range. The following excerpt, illustrating this technique, comes from Thalberg's 1839 fantasy on Rossini's *Moïse et Pharaon, ou Le passage de la Mer Rouge*, the 1827 French adaptation of his *Mosè in Egitto*.

²⁷ See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, vol. 1: *The Virtuoso Years, 1811-47*, 241-43.

²⁸ See Lott, 120, who quotes critics that said, "It would be a sort of relief to hear a discordant note," and that Thalberg played "with a great deal of expression, but rather little feeling." One called his performances "dry and monotonous."

²⁹ Thalberg's *Fantasia on Norma*, op. 12, was performed on 20 and 21 November 1856; the fantasia on *Il trovatore* was performed on 26 December 1856. See Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music, Vol. 2: Reverberations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 705, and Lott, 129.



Example 2.1. Thalberg, *Fantaisie sur themes de Moïse et Pharaon*, op. 33, mm. 262-3.

Much like those of other romantic virtuosi, Thalberg's concerts consisted primarily of his own works, with focus mainly on his opera transcriptions and other bravura-style compositions. These lent themselves beautifully to demonstrating his keyboard technique while engaging the audience with familiar tunes from popular works. Thalberg rarely performed works from the emerging canon of classical works by earlier composers.

Gottschalk's Bravura Works

Throughout his childhood in New Orleans, and during his twelve-year period of study and concertizing in Europe, Gottschalk absorbed music from an array of sources. New Orleans was not only the most important mainland site for Creole culture and music, but also boasted the first resident opera company in the country, Louis Tabary's French-language troupe, which gave over 350 performances between 1806 and 1810.³⁰ English and Italian-language companies also performed in the Crescent City as early as the 1830s, at the St. Charles Theatre owned by James Caldwell. In 1846 the *New Orleans Bee* reported that operas "amuse our citizens more than any form of public amusement – except balls."³¹ A memorial sketch written by Marguerite F. Aymar after Gottschalk's death and reprinted in part in Mary Alice Ives Seymour's *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* claimed, "The first opera he ever heard was *Robert le Diable*; and,

³⁰ Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 62-74. Among the operas Tabary's troupe presented in 1808-09 were Mehul's *Une Folie*, Gretry's *Sylvain and Richard*, *Coeur de Lion*, Della Maria's *L'Opera Comique*, and Dalayrac's *Adolphe et Clara*.

³¹ Quoted in Preston, 114.

upon his return from the theatre, he sat down and played all the principal airs with a miraculous exactitude.”³² After Meyerbeer’s death Gottschalk reportedly said that this opera had “filled my early years with ineffable joy.”³³ *Robert le Diable* was first performed in New Orleans in March 1835, when Gottschalk was five years old.³⁴ Other operatic composers whose works were heard in New Orleans in the 1830s were Weber, Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, and Auber; Gottschalk later wrote operatic fantasias on the works of all of these excepting Auber.³⁵

Fantasias on arias, overtures, and themes from operas by French and Italian composers became a mainstay of solo piano concerts in the first half of the nineteenth century. Every concertizing virtuoso, from Herz to Thalberg to Liszt, composed variations on works by Verdi, Rossini, Bellini, and Meyerbeer in order to demonstrate their technical prowess and connect with their opera-loving audiences. Gottschalk contributed his own works to the genre, including *Italian Glories* on Donizetti’s *Don Pasquale*, *La fille du regiment*, and *Lucrezia Borgia* (1853), a grande morceau on the overture to Rossini’s *Guillaume Tell* (c. 1854), and many others.³⁶ These compositions made up a significant percentage of the works played on his American concerts, as can be seen from the following program for a concert in Boston, 16 October 1862:

³² Mary Alice Ives Seymour [Octavia Hensel], *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (Boston: Ditson, 1870), 195.

³³ *Ibid.*, 195.

³⁴ Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 133.

³⁵ See Kmen, 135-66. Among the numerous operas performed in the various theaters during the 1835-40 seasons were Bellini’s *Il Pirata*, *La Straniera*, *La sonnambula*, *I Capuletti e Montecchi*, and *Norma*, Rossini’s *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *La Cenerentola*, *Otello*, and *Zelmira*, Auber’s *La Muette de Portici*, Weber’s *Der Freischütz*, Donizetti’s *Parisina*, and Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots*.

³⁶ See James E. Perone, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk: A Bio-Bibliography*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), for a bibliography of all of Gottschalk’s compositions. Other operas referenced in Gottschalk works, both extant and lost, include Bellini’s *La Sonnambula*, *I Puritani*, and *Norma*; Verdi’s *Rigoletto*, *La Ballo in Maschera*, and *Il trovatore*; Weber’s *Oberon*; Gounod’s *Faust*; Donizetti’s *La favorita* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*; Wagner’s *Tannhauser*; Flotow’s *Martha*; and Mendelssohn’s *Athalia*.

MELODEON!

ADMISSION 50 CENTS!

SATURDAY EVENING, Oct. 18,

Mr. GOTTSCHALK'S

MOST POSITIVELY LAST CONCERT IN BOSTON!

NOTICE.—The Management regrets to announce that in consequence of the sudden indisposition of Miss CALISTE HUNTLEY, she cannot appear this evening, and the vocal selections of the Programme have undergone a change.

Mr GOTTSCHALK will be assisted at this Concert by

Mrs. J. M. MOTTE,

(Formerly Miss WASHBURN.)

Mr. B. J. LANG,

The Distinguished Pianist, has consented to assist MR. GOTTSCHALK, in this Concert.

Thursday Evening, October 16, 1862.

PROGRAMME. PART I.

1. GRAND DUETT—for two Pianos—from William Tell. Arranged by.....L. M. GOTTSCHALK
Performed by **L. M. GOTTSCHALK and B. J. LANG.**
2. IL MIO ANGELO
Sung by **Mrs. MOTTE.**
3. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE QUARTETTO, from Rigoletto.....Composed and performed by
L. M. GOTTSCHALK
4. DI TANT' PALPITI— "Tancredi"ROSSINI
Mrs. MOTTE.
5. APOTHEOSE—Fragment of Marche Triumphale.....Composed and performed by
L. M. GOTTSCHALK.

PART II.

6. A—HOME, SWEET HOME, }
B—THE BANJO, } Composed and performed by
L. M. GOTTSCHALK.
7. JEANNE D' ARC.....BORDESE
Mrs. MOTTE.
8. A—LAST HOPE—Religious Meditation.....}
B—MURMURES EOLIENS—(By request).. } **L. M. GOTTSCHALK.**
9. IL SEGRETO PER ESSER FELICE—Lucretia Borgia.....DONIZETTI
Sung by **Mrs. MOTTE.**
10. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE MISERERE—Trovatore.....Composed and Performed by
L. M. GOTTSCHALK.

☞ In order to afford all classes of the musical public an opportunity to attend these brilliant Entertainments, the price of admission has been fixed at

FIFTY CENTS!

☞ RESERVED SEATS, at 25 cents extra, can be secured at OLIVER DITSON & CO.'S on and after WEDNESDAY, at 9 o'clock A. M.

☞ As Mr Gottschalk's engagements in New York re-commence October 21st, it will be impossible for him to give any more Concerts in Boston at present.

☞ The Grand Pianos used by MR GOTTSCHALK, are from the celebrated manufactory of Chickering & Sons, Boston, Mass.

☞ NEW PUBLICATIONS at HALL & SONS.—"Di Gioia Insolita," "Oh, With What Ecstasy Waltz," sung with distinguished success by M^{lle} Adelina Patti, in London, and M^{lle} Carlotta Patti, in New York, composed by Maurice Strakosch.

☞ CARD VISITES OF MR GOTTSCHALK for sale at the Hall.

Figure 2.1. Program for Gottschalk's concert at the Boston Melodeon, 16 October 1862.

On this program Gottschalk played a Grand Duet from *Guillaume Tell* with B.J. Lang on second piano; a transcription of the quartet from *Rigoletto*, and a transcription of the *Miserere* from *Il trovatore*, which were interspersed with five other solo piano works and four arias sung by Mrs. J. M. Motte.

Like those composed by Liszt, Gottschalk's bravura works were meant to amaze audiences with technically demanding feats of agility and brilliance, while also providing listeners with something familiar – a melody from a favorite opera. Some of Gottschalk's opera fantasias were never written down, improvised anew at each performance; others were published for mass consumption, frequently including simplified versions of the most difficult passages, facilitating performance by amateurs.

In contrast to current attitudes towards the artistic value of opera transcriptions for piano, these works played a significant role in the musical life of many nineteenth-century Europeans and Americans; they bridged the gap between the opera theatre and the domestic parlor. Fluid movement between now carefully delineated contrasting cultural spaces was then ubiquitous and assumed. Transcription also served educational ends. For any pianist who had not yet heard the original operatic work, transcriptions provided an opportunity to learn the music before attending. Finally, and probably most evidently, these works gave their composers an outlet for displaying their pianistic abilities in concert and were lucrative in selling both tickets and sheet music. Study of opera transcriptions is essential to understanding Gottschalk's music and its place within nineteenth-century American culture.

Jerusalem, op. 13

Louis Moreau Gottschalk's composition *Jerusalem, Grande fantasia triomphale*, op. 13 (1850), was based on themes from Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Jerusalem*, which was a reworking of his earlier opera *I Lombardi alla prima Crociata*; it had premiered in Milan at La Scala in February 1843. The French-language *Jerusalem* opened at the Paris Opera in November 1847. Considering his exposure to Italian and French opera during his youth in New Orleans, a teenaged Gottschalk was likely in the audience at the

premiere of the French reworking.³⁷ Such transformations from Italian to French were typical: both Rossini and Donizetti had created French versions of their works for Parisian audiences.³⁸ Verdi's reworking, however, was so different from the original composition that it was subsequently retranslated back into Italian as a new work, although performances of the Italian-language *Gerusalemme* have been infrequent. Modern critics have commented upon the differences between *I Lombardi* and *Jerusalem*, remarking upon the clarification of the dramatic action and greater musical coherence.³⁹

The action for the four-act opera *Jerusalem* is set during the first crusade at the end of the eleventh century, and features holy battles, conversions, and numerous prayers. Adhering to convention, Verdi also included a ballet in Act III for the French audiences. The love story between the two main characters, Gaston and Hélène, anchors the plot, which moves from Toulouse to Palestine during the course of the crusade.

During 1849-50 Gottschalk composed his fantasy on two major themes from *Jerusalem*, the love aria from Act II, Scene 2, "Une pensée amère me rappelle mon père," and the "Marche des Croises," or "March of the Crusaders," from Act II, Scene 1. It was simultaneously published in 1855 by Hall, Ditson, and Schott, with the Parisian publisher Escudier following in 1856. While no records have been found of the premiere of the solo piano version of *Jerusalem*, it can be assumed that it was performed in Paris during the early 1850s, before Gottschalk returned to the United States, considering Verdi's popularity, the opera's success, and the numerous concerts Gottschalk gave there in 1851-53. A review in *La France musicale* reveals that Gottschalk premiered a two-piano version of this work on 20 July 1851 in Bordeaux, France.⁴⁰

³⁷ According to Starr, "Gottschalk had almost surely been present at the premiere of this opera (retitled *Jérusalem*) in Paris in 1847 and probably knew the variations on the famous trio published by his friend the pianist Alexandre Gorla." S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!: The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 87.

³⁸ Rossini's *Maometto II* was presented for the Académie Royale de Musique as *Le siège de Corinthe* (1826) and *Mosè in Egitto* became *Moïse* (1827); Donizetti's *Poliuto* was presented at the Opéra with the title *Les martyrs* in 1840.

³⁹ See John J. Church, "When Reworking an Earlier Score Pays Off," *Opera America* [<http://www.operaamerica.org/audiences/learningcenter/special/jerusalem.shtml>], first accessed 26 July 2005.

⁴⁰ *La France musicale* (27 July 1851), referenced in Starr, 100. See also James E. Perone, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 231. The second pianist

By the time Gottschalk arrived in New York in January 1853, audiences there were familiar with, if not all fans of, the operas of Giuseppe Verdi. The Italian-language version of *I Lombardi* had been premiered in New York at Palmo's Opera House in spring 1847 by the Sanquirico-Patti Company. This was in fact the first Verdi opera performed in the United States. Not favorably received at its premiere, it did little better after a revival at Niblo's Garden in September 1853. In a review of that performance by Maretzek's company, *New-York Daily Times* critic Charles Bailey Seymour described Verdi as "the best abused composer of the day. . . . [He is] one of those unfortunate men of genius who fail to excite the sympathy of a general audience."⁴¹ While records do not indicate any performances of Verdi's French-language *Jerusalem* in New York during the 1850s, it was produced in New Orleans at the Theatre d'Orléans on 2 January 1850, and at least once more there in January 1853. Northeastern music lovers read about this later performance in the 22 January issue of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, where it was reported "well-received, but the house was by no means full. [The vocalists] sang with much spirit, and were in good voice, but the opera went off heavily."⁴² Verdi was not yet universally appreciated in America.⁴³

At Gottschalk's 11 February 1853 concert debut in New York, Richard Hoffman, a pianist whom Gottschalk viewed as "a conscientious artist, a perfect musician, [and] a distinguished and modest man," performed as the second pianist in the two-piano version of *Jerusalem*.⁴⁴ Critic for the *Courier and Enquirer*, Richard Grant White, observed that "the introduction to the 'Jérusalem Fantasy' was striking, bold, almost grand, and worked

was a local citizen, Emile Forgues. This version was published posthumously by Escudier in 1875; however, no copies have been located.

⁴¹ Charles Bailey Seymour, *New-York Daily Times* (18 October 1853); reproduced in Lawrence, 353.

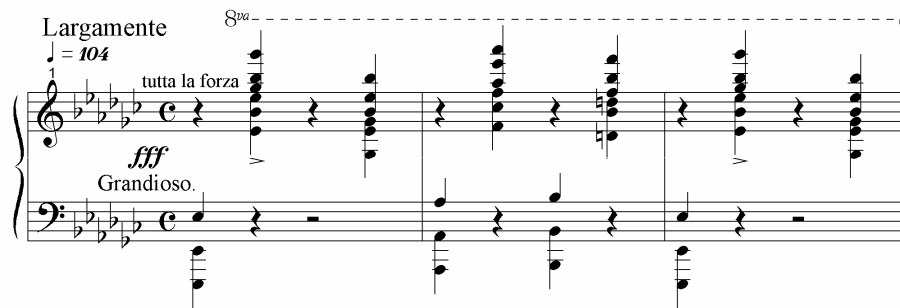
⁴² *Dwight's Journal of Music* (22 January 1853), 126. Note that this performance immediately precedes Gottschalk's arrival in the United States and his first New York concert, which included the two-piano version of his *Jerusalem* fantasy.

⁴³ Verdi was, however, warmly received in San Francisco in the 1850s; see George Martin, *Verdi at the Golden Gate: Opera and San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, Jeanne Behrend, ed. (New York: Knopf, 1964), 44.

out with a coherence of thought.”⁴⁵ William Henry Fry characterized it as “excessively brilliant” and noted its immediate reprise in response to the audience demand.⁴⁶

In many ways, the stylistic musical elements of Gottschalk’s fantasia reflect the influences of the European virtuosi, especially Liszt, where the basic sectional formal structure is guided by the plot of the source material. The fantasy opens in E-flat minor with a 64-measure introduction, thus designated in the score, in common time and with numerous performance markings: *Largamente*, *Grandioso*, and *tutta la forza*, in addition to the dynamics and metronome marking ($\bullet = 104$). It begins *fortississimo*, with octaves in the bass and three-octave chords in the treble, exploiting the farthest reaches of the keyboard’s range, as in Example 2.2:



Example 2.2. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 1-3.

These imposing chords are loosely related to the “Marche funèbre” that opens Act 3, Scene 2, of Verdi’s *Jerusalem*. The march, which does not appear in *I Lombardi*, features the same time and key signatures but a *pianississimo* dynamic and a theme that Gottschalk does not employ. At measure 23 the left hand begins a repeated chromatically descending pattern, which becomes the accompaniment figure for the first main Verdi-derived melody. Appearing in the right hand in octaves along with an off-beat accent, this tune is the first half of the love duet in Act 2, Scene 2, Gaston’s “Dans la honte et l’épouvante.” Hélène’s response, “Une pensée amère,” is reproduced later in Gottschalk’s transcription and is discussed below. The three-part texture of this

⁴⁵ Richard Grant White, *Courier and Enquirer* (12 February 1853), reprinted in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (19 February 1853), 154-55.

⁴⁶ William Henry Fry, *New York Tribune* (12 February 1853), reprinted in Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, Vol. 2, 402.

introduction – left hand accompaniment, right hand off-beats, and melody – is reminiscent of Thalberg’s technique, as seen in Example 2.3.

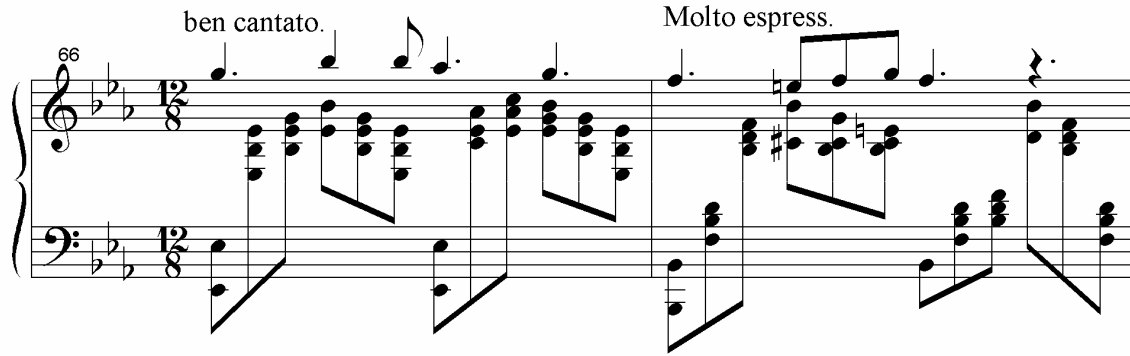
il canto sostenuto.

Con passione.

Example 2.3. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 24-27.

The melody then moves to the left hand, this time complemented by continuous sixteenth-note figuration in the right hand two octaves above the treble staff. The introduction ends with a two-measure cadenza, marked *leggierissimo* as the melody softly dies away.

The second main section of this piece, which begins at measure 65, is based on the “Grand Duo du 2nd Acte, Une Pensée Amère.” Gottschalk notes this title in the score. The original duet between the two protagonists, Gaston and Hélène, is a bittersweet reunion; Hélène has come to find Gaston a prisoner of the Emir of Ramla and wishes to die with him. She remembers with sorrow her father, who is waiting for her to return. Gottschalk’s *Andante* (♩ = 42) love song shifts to a rolling 12/8 meter and the parallel major key. Marked *tranquillo*, the soft accompaniment features arpeggiated chords in the mid-range of the instrument punctuated on beats 1 and 7 by octaves in the bass register. The melody floats above, marked *ben cantato* and *molto espressivo*, illustrated in Example 2.4.



Example 2.4. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 66-67.

To the final pitch of the eight-bar melody Gottschalk adds a *leggierissimo* chromatic flourish, which prepares listeners for the challenging variation that immediately follows.

Over a steady eighth-note accompaniment, the right hand features chromatic runs of thirty-second notes while the melody remains centrally placed within the texture, as per Thalberg's signature three-handed technique. Among the performance markings here are those that underscore the virtuosity of the music, such as *rapido*, *scintillante*, *volante*, and *leggiere*, and repeated occurrences of *marcato il canto*, reminding the performer to keep the melody as the principal focus of the texture. The section ends in tonic on a fermata, again *ppp* and *morendo*.

In the published score, the final part of the second section beginning at measure 95 has no descriptive title. However, a manuscript copy in Gottschalk's hand includes a marking of "Marche triomphale," which announces another complete shift of the music's character, here indicated by a 2/4 time signature and $\bullet = 120$.⁴⁷ Opening harmonic ambiguity eventually resolves to C major, and the twenty-eight measures form a transition into the new key area and melodic and rhythmic character of the final section of the work. Above a *pianissimo* pedal point marked *misterioso*, a martial rhythmic gesture appears in the right hand, featuring a triplet on the second half of the first beat of the measure:⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, *Grande fantasia triomphale*, MS fragment, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

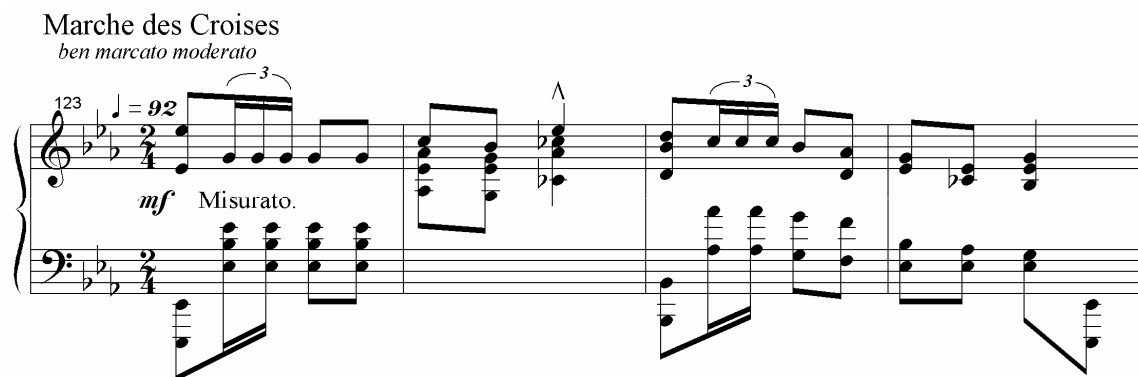
⁴⁸ This is the same rhythmic motive that Tchaikovsky later used for his "March" in *The Nutcracker* (1891-92); it was likely understood as a military-style pattern by the mid-nineteenth century.



Example 2.5. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 99-102.

The rhythm of this newly-composed transition, which increases in loudness to culminate in another triple forte, anticipates that of the primary melody of the next section. The final cadence is on B-flat, which becomes the pivot chord in a modulation to the original tonic, E-flat major.

Titled “Marche des Croises,” the final section is based strictly on the “March of the Crusaders” from Act II, Scene 1 of Verdi’s *Jerusalem*. A group of French pilgrims, stranded in Palestine near Ramla despair of their imminent death; but hopelessness is replaced by joy and gratitude when the army of crusaders appears from over the mountain. A slower metronome marking of $\text{♩} = 92$ and softer mezzo-forte dynamic accompany the key change and performance instructions *misurato* and *ben marcato moderato*. The right-hand triplet-focused rhythm from the interlude is juxtaposed with steady eighths and sixteenths in the left hand.



Example 2.6. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 123-26.

At measure 147, the key shifts again to A-flat major for a triple *forte*, *grandioso* ascending chordal melody.

Grandioso.

147 *fff*

151

Largamente.

Example 2.7. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 147-54.

Thirty-two measures later this grand march is interrupted by a return to the E-flat major, triplet-based motive. Growing ever more *appassionato* and *streppito*, the piece accelerates in intensity to its end on the tonic E-flat major.

193 *8va* *3* *Con fuoco.* *3* *8va* *ff*

198 *ff* *6* *8* *Streppito.*

Example 2.8. Gottschalk, *Jerusalem*, mm. 193-204.

The episodic form of *Jerusalem* is characteristic of Gottschalk's opera fantasies. There is little recall of earlier ideas or motives except within individual musical sections; key changes are often unprepared, although key relationships, aside from the interlude in C major, are typical of the time period (parallel major/minor, subdominant). The piece has no strict formal structure other than its own internal narrative, similar to the opera from which its themes were taken.

Gottschalk played the *Jerusalem* fantasy at his first performance in Boston on 18 October 1853. In his *Journal of Music*, John Sullivan Dwight pronounced the composition Gottschalk's "most imposing piece" of the program, yet his comments suggest ambivalence, perhaps toward Verdi as much as Gottschalk:

The most imposing piece of Mr. Gottschalk was called 'Jerusalem,' – a triumphal fantasia for two pianos, in the great difficulties of which he was ably seconded by Mr. J. Pychowsky, who played at disadvantage from a hastily-made manuscript copy.⁴⁹ In portions of this there was a certain De Meyer-like pomp and breadth of harmony; but the ideas seemed commonplace, and the work as a whole left but a heavy and confused impression.⁵⁰

Octavia Hensel, pseudonym of Mary Alice Ives Seymour (1837-1892), was Gottschalk's romantic liaison during July 1862 and later his biographer.⁵¹ She offered her own comments on the piece in her 1870 *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*. Seymour refers to the first American performance of the *Jerusalem* fantasy on 17 February 1853 as "the gem of the evening." She goes on,

This fantasie had been composed at the request of Her Imperial Highness, Madame la Grande Duchesse, Anne de Russie, and was played for the first time at a *fête* which this princess gave in the summer-palace of La Boissiere, in honor of

⁴⁹ It seems curious that Mr. Pychowsky used a "hastily-made" copy, when the piece had already been performed by Richard Hoffman in New York in February. It could be that Gottschalk and Hoffman actually improvised the piece or played it from memory.

⁵⁰ Dwight's *Journal of Music* (22 October 1853).

⁵¹ Mary Alice Ives was born on 21 October 1837. She married William Wood Seymour (1824-1874) on 13 November 1855. At the time of her flirtation with Gottschalk, she was still married and had a two-year-old son named Edward. Richard Damon, "The Damon and Taber Family Connections," [<http://www.richard.damon.name/genealogy/p6235.htm>], first accessed 1 August 2005. Gottschalk's original journals from the time, now preserved in the Music Division, New York Public Library for Performing Arts, New York, include a group of pages that were at one time pinned together (by Clara Gottschalk Peterson?). These pages offer specimens of the handwriting from two authors, who were playfully flirting back and forth on paper during a train ride to Buffalo. In Gottschalk's hand reads, "I love M.S. She does not love me." The feminine hand writes, "How do you know?" He replies, "It looks very much like it," but she answers, "I don't think so."

their majesties the Queen of Sardinia, Prussia, Saxony, Prince Albert of Prussia, and Russian princesses innumerable.

Its grand procession of harmonies works out a unity of thought that wraps a dreamland of Eastern splendor about those who hear it, bearing them far away among the rosy oleander blooms on the banks of the Jordan, the rippling murmurs of Brook Kedrom, the glorious temple-services of the earthly type of “Jerusalem the Golden,” the calm moonlight of Olivet, and the mournful desolations of the Roman Legions under the Emperor of the West.⁵²

Seymour’s reference to the commission of the work and her enumeration of its distinguished audience members demonstrates the popularity of opera transcriptions among a variety of listeners. Although there is no reference to the original Verdi opera or its setting, Seymour focuses on the interpretation of the exotic soundscape created by the music and by Gottschalk’s and Hoffman’s performance.⁵³ While not everyone present may have been familiar with Verdi’s original, this did not necessarily preclude their enjoyment of the Gottschalk fantasy.

Il Trovatore, Grand Duo di Bravura, and Miserere du Trovatore

Three years later, at a New York concert on 2 December 1856, Gottschalk and Sigismond Thalberg performed a newly-composed fantasy on themes from Verdi’s 1853 opera *Il trovatore*. Gottschalk and Thalberg had each written numerous operatic fantasias and just days before the December concert, Gottschalk joined Thalberg in his concert series for a two-piano version of Thalberg’s *Fantasia on Norma*. The *Trovatore* duo, however, is an anomaly in that its composition is not attributed to either. The program for the concert lists the work as “composed expressly for this occasion by Mr. Gottschalk,”⁵⁴ but pianist Richard Hoffman, who also collaborated with Gottschalk, described it as a piece “composed by both of them, and which I have never seen in

⁵² Octavia Hensel [Mary Alice Ives Seymour], *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (Boston: Ditson, 1870), 56-57. Seymour is referring to the Grand Duchess Anna Fedorovna, ex-wife of Tsar Nicholas I’s brother Konstantin. La Grande Boissière was a large estate outside of Geneva, Switzerland. See Starr, 86-7.

⁵³ A broader discussion of the exotic qualities in Gottschalk’s music can be found in Chapter 5.

⁵⁴ Lott, 130.

print.”⁵⁵ Hoffman’s remarks bring us to another incongruity: although the work was to be published as a joint endeavor between the two composer-pianists, no manuscript or edition has ever been located. Because of its uncertain authorship, this work offers a unique opportunity to expand our understanding of opera transcriptions.

Giuseppe Verdi’s *Il trovatore* was first performed at the Teatro Apollo in Rome on 19 January 1853. Only two years later it received its North American premiere in New York by the Astor Place Opera Company, directed by Max Maretzek, and in November of 1856 Maretzek produced it again at the Academy of Music. John Sullivan Dwight was present at the American premiere of *Il Trovatore*, and he recorded his thoughts in the *Journal of Music*:

We hate to record our impressions of the new opera, and would fain ascribe them to the imperfect (subjective) conditions of a first hearing. But in all candor we have little hope that any number of repetitions of *Il Trovatore* could increase our liking of Verdi’s style of music. . . . The people liked it. It was really a marvel to us, and discouraging in view of any progress of sound public taste, to witness the almost insane outbursts of applause which uniformly followed every aria, scene and effect last evening (May 2), from that large and fashionable audience at the Academy. We could not account for it, except that everybody had been prepared to think that they *must* like what has been having such a run in Italy, and that the intensities and horrors of the plot, the *red hot* character of so much of the music . . . fastened onto the idle imagination. . . .

Whatever power, whatever beauty, whatever brilliancy it may possess, this never strikes you as *sincere* music. These are not the natural tones and melodies of human loves and griefs [*sic*], and joys and longings, clothed in nature’s sympathetic harmony. . . . Expressive music must give way to *pungent* music. Nothing but spice and red pepper can excite the palate.⁵⁶

A year later, in the 21 June 1856 issue of the *Journal*, Dwight included an excerpt from the 26 May issue of the *London Times*. “It is one of the virtues of that prolific composer [Verdi], that he does not much disturb the equanimity of the public, either by raising expectation or weighing on the memory.”⁵⁷ Dwight himself again took Verdi to task later that year:

⁵⁵ Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1910), 130.

⁵⁶ Dwight, *Journal of Music* (12 May 1855), 46-47.

⁵⁷ Quoted in the *Journal of Music* (21 June 1856), 92.

The vice of the Verdi music, as well as of the modern French plays and novels, is that it resorts to cheap, coarse, sensual stimulus for inspiration. All its dishes must be terribly seasoned with mustard and red pepper. All its plots are harrowing and bloody – a mingling of voluptuousness and terror. The unnatural and monstrous attitudes and complications of human life and passion are sought out for exciting subjects, as if what is simple, natural and harmonious were tame. . . . Not the most effective always is the most true; every false school in literature and art has had its turn in running away with the crows, and for the time being finds it easy to put out the stars with its own noisy blaze of rockets and blue lights.⁵⁸

Dwight's dislike for Verdi's music in its original form likely colored his assessments of any piano transcriptions of his operas.

Regardless of such value judgments, *Il Trovatore* quickly found a foothold in popular music culture, perhaps beginning with Gottschalk and Thalberg's *Grand Duo*. It continued to be heard throughout the decade, both in Europe and in America. In 1858 it was translated into English and produced by the Cooper company in New York. By 1859 the work was so well-known and so frequently performed that Dwight referred to the numerous traveling opera troupes as "Trovatopera" companies.⁵⁹ Many composers employed themes from the opera in their own transcriptions: German composer and critic Joachim Raff published his *Trovatore et Traviata*, 2 salon paraphrases after Verdi, op.70, in 1857; Thalberg's own op. 77 was a fantasia on themes from the work, and Franz Liszt wrote a solo piano transcription of the *Miserere* in 1859. The fantasia performed by Gottschalk and Thalberg in 1856 presaged the increasing popularity of the opera.

Thalberg first met Gottschalk in Paris in 1842. The New Orleans prodigy, only thirteen at the time, related the encounter in a letter to his parents: "Imagine my joy when I finished playing and Thalberg took my hand and said to Madame Dussert, 'This child is surprising! He now needs lessons in composition, for I can see from here what he will become.'"⁶⁰ Thalberg also attended Gottschalk's Parisian debut in April 1845.

⁵⁸ Dwight, *Journal of Music* (23 August 1856), 166. From his several metaphors about spices, it appears as though Dwight's gastronomical preferences leaned toward the bland; whereas New Orleans cooking is well-known for its spicy flavors. Perhaps this detail is not entirely coincidental.

⁵⁹ Dwight, *Journal of Music* (20 August 1859), 166.

⁶⁰ Starr, 48.

By December 1856 Gottschalk had been performing in the United States for three years, except for a sojourn in Cuba in 1854. He was eagerly anticipating another trip to Central America and had begun to prepare for his departure from New York. Thalberg, on the other hand, first came to the city in early October 1856. He visited Gottschalk a week after his arrival. In a letter to his mother Gottschalk described Thalberg as “a good fellow. . .still the same, although a little older. He is beginning to show his age.”⁶¹ Thalberg’s manager, Bernard Ullman, who had also supervised Henri Herz’s successful American tour in 1846-49, and singer Henriette Sontag’s in 1852-54, recognized the possibilities of a collaboration between the two pianists.

Gottschalk appeared on Thalberg’s sixth and seventh concerts in New York, on 20 and 21 November, to perform the two-piano version of Thalberg’s *Fantasia* on Bellini’s *Norma*. The critics and crowds were electrified: Richard Grant White wrote in the *Courier and Enquirer*, “To add Gottschalk to Thalberg is indeed to make honey a sauce to sugar.”⁶² The two performed together again in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia before returning to New York for Gottschalk’s farewell concert before his departure to Havana. On 26 December Niblo’s Saloon opened its doors an hour before the eight-o’clock concert began. Reserved tickets were \$1 and \$1.50. Two Erard grand pianos, supplied by the publishing house of Breusing and Kearsing at 701 Broadway, the New York agent for Erard, were on stage for the occasion. These Erards may have been Thalberg’s own, since he had brought seven with him from France and had them housed at Breusing’s. The tuning and transportation of Thalberg’s pianos was supervised by manager Gustav Schirmer (who later bought out Breusing to form G. Schirmer).⁶³

The program that evening consisted of movements from a Weber concerto, performed with accompaniment by Charles Wels on second piano, solo works by Gottschalk, three arias sung by Madame Patania, and the grand duet on *Il Trovatore* as the finale to Part One. While we will likely never know exactly what was heard, critics’

⁶¹ Starr, 239.

⁶² Quoted in Lawrence, 705.

⁶³ Russell Sanjeck, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years, Vol. 2: From 1790 to 1909* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 85.

comments shed some light not only on the program's reception, but its content. Charles Bailey Seymour reported in the *Times*,

Bravura pieces of this kind do not invite criticism. They are written for a certain purpose, and the test of their excellence is the success they achieve. Judged by this standard, Mr. Gottschalk's duet is an extraordinary production. The audience were electrified with it, and, notwithstanding its length and difficulty, demanded an encore. To this it was entitled, not only as a compliment to Mr. Thalberg and Mr. Gottschalk, but by virtue of its effectiveness as a high-pressure concert piece.⁶⁴

Richard Hoffman, who often himself assisted Gottschalk as second pianist, also attended the concert, and observed that the piece "was wonderfully effective and created the most tremendous furore and excitement. A remarkable double shake which Thalberg played in the middle of the piano, while Gottschalk was flying all over the keyboard in the 'Anvil Chorus,' produced the most prodigious volume of tone I ever heard from the piano."⁶⁵

The concert was, in fact, not Gottschalk's final appearance before his departure; he and Thalberg performed the same piece three nights later at the Brooklyn Atheneum.⁶⁶ Allen Lott reports that the two composer/pianists performed at least twice more together, in Albany and Troy, New York, before Gottschalk left for Cuba at the end of January 1857. It did not take long for Gottschalk to incorporate the work into his standard performance repertoire; the *Grand Duo* was heard at his first and only appearance at the New York Philharmonic on 10 January 1857, with the second part played by Émile Guyon, and again with the same partner three days later at Dodworth's Hall.

After arriving in Havana in early February, Gottschalk again included the piece in a concert on February 20 at the Gran Teatro de Tacón. In a concert that also featured child prodigy Adelina Patti, who sang works by Bellini and Donizetti, Nicolás Ruiz Espadero seconded Gottschalk in the "Gran Duo" on *Il Trovatore*. Espadero was a Cuban pianist and composer who later transcribed and edited a number of Gottschalk's works after his death. The history of the *Grand Duo* becomes unclear at this point; it is

⁶⁴ Quoted in Lawrence, 716-17.

⁶⁵ Hoffman, 130-31.

⁶⁶ R. Allen Lott, Thalberg Itinerary, on the "Companion Web Site for *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland*," [<http://www.rallenlott.info/itin3st.htm>], accessed 1 June 2007.

likely that Gottschalk performed it during his time spent in Central America. Yet it was during this period that he began keeping a diary, which would later become published as *Notes of a Pianist*. Here he kept records of concerts in San Juan, Martinique, Puerto Rico and St. Thomas, among others, but there is no specific mention of the *Grand duo*.

By the time of his return to the United States in early 1862 Gottschalk had composed another work on Verdi's opera. He first performed his *paraphrase de concert*, *Miserere du Trovatore*, op. 52, at his third concert in New York, on 14 February at Niblo's Saloon, likely seconded by Richard Hoffman.⁶⁷ In 1862 Hoffman was living in New York and frequently performed with the New York Philharmonic Society as well as many touring virtuosi, including both Gottschalk and Jenny Lind. Gottschalk's re-entry onto the New York cultural scene was almost universally celebrated by the audiences and critical press. Only Theodore Hagen, critic for the *Musical Review and World*, condemned him for continuing to play his own works and not those of classical composers. The next day's entry in Gottschalk's *Notes of a Pianist* includes a significant paragraph, ostensibly about Hoffman, that in fact confronts such censure and defends his operatic transcriptions:

Of all the pianists who have visited the United States, there is not one whose talent merits more esteem than that of Richard Hoffman. A conscientious artist, a perfect musician, a distinguished and modest man, he has arrived legitimately and without effort at the high position that he occupied. His taste and the moderation of his judgment have preserved him from coteries. He is neither the chief nor the instrument of any clique. He admires and understands the great dead (I mean the classics), but he does not conclude from this that he must kill the living who possess talent. He does not believe that in admiring Schumann he is compelled to believe that Rossini is a fool. He comprehends Bach but does not shrug his shoulders on hearing the name of Bellini. In conclusion, he is an artist and a *gentleman*.⁶⁸

The favorable portrait of Hoffman implicitly compares him to Hagen and Dwight, the understood chiefs of the German classical clique who, in Gottschalk's mind, "kill the living" in order to advance their cause. The references to Rossini and Bellini uphold his choice to write transcriptions based on Italian operas despite their criticism.

⁶⁷ See Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York: Scribner, 1910).

⁶⁸ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 44.

In late March, Gottschalk recorded the negative reaction to his performance of the *Miserere* of one audience member who, ironically, felt the piece was “too learned”:

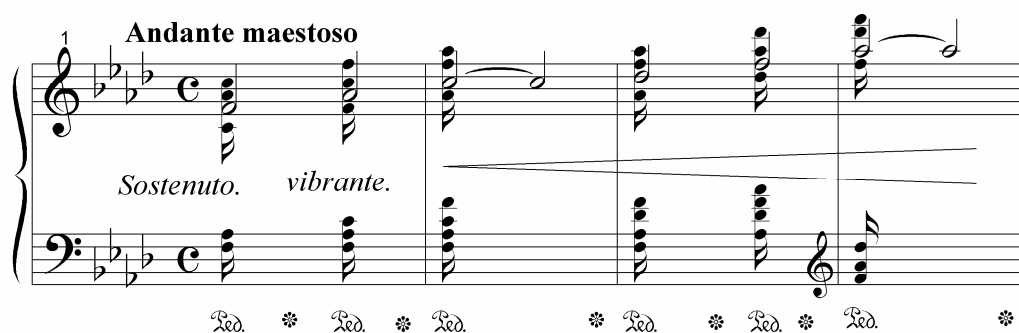
Let us never listen to the public. We should hang ourselves in despair. At St. Louis [Missouri] the wife of a judge said to me that I was deficient in charm, that my music was too learned (I had just played a transcription of the “*Miserere*”), that I ought to play national airs – “Yankee Doodle,” “Hail Columbia,” “Dixie’s Land,” etc.⁶⁹

The reviewer for the *St. Louis Republican*, on the other hand, thought that “his fantasia on the *Miserere* . . . was a brilliant piece of execution.”⁷⁰ Gottschalk continued to play the piece at his concerts in New York and throughout the Midwest.

The *Miserere* paraphrase focuses on the memorable music from Act IV, Scene 1, of *Il trovatore*. The *primo tenore*, Manrico, has been captured and awaits his execution in the tower alongside his similarly doomed mother Azucena. His love, the *prima donna* Leonora, arrives to attempt his rescue. She sings to the breezes to carry her love to Manrico in the aria “D’amor sull’ali rosee.” Bass and tenor voices emanating from within the tower begin to chant the “*Miserere*,” asking for forgiveness for Manrico’s soul. In the opera tolling bells accompany the chant. Leonora sings again, this time about the dread and terror that accompany the chanting, in “Quel suon, quelle preci sonenni.” Manrico sings from the tower a farewell to his beloved Leonora, “Ah! che la morte ognora.” The chorus, Leonora, and Manrico continue to the climax when all three build to a final cadence on A-flat major. Verdi’s themes are recreated, almost note-for note, in Gottschalk’s paraphrase. He begins the piece, however, with a newly composed 32-measure introduction that features a unique timbral effect. Two-handed chords, struck on beats 1 and 3, are notated as thirty-second notes that decay over the length of the half measure except for one pitch, which continues to resonate:

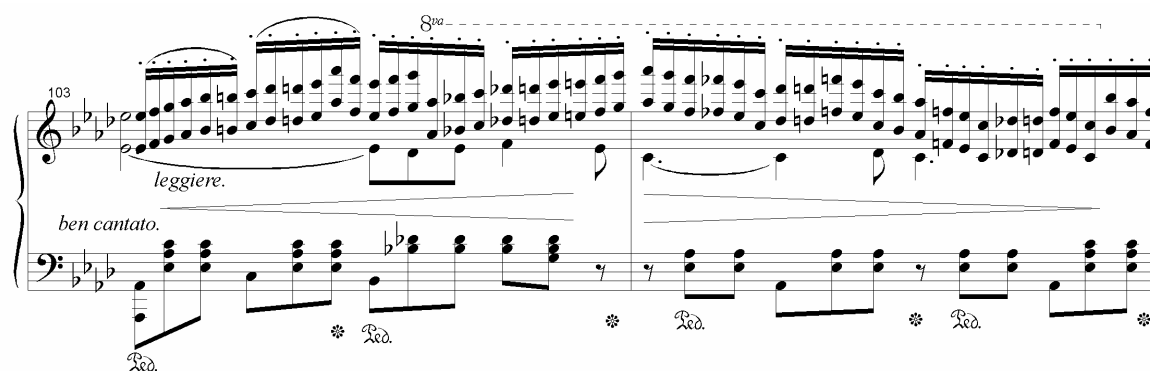
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁷⁰ Robert Offergeld, ed., *The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Ziff-Davis, 1970), 25.



Example 2.9. Gottschalk, *Miserere du Trovatore*, mm. 1-4.

Gottschalk's music recalls the actual tolling bells of Verdi's tower scene. The work increases in technical complexity as Gottschalk embellishes the music of the original scene with virtuosic flourishes, often adding to the accompaniment two-handed interjections between phrases and upper-register flourishes that make use of Thalberg's three-handed technique.⁷¹



Example 2.10. Gottschalk, *Miserere du Trovatore*, mm. 103-4.

The intensity builds to a *tutta la forza* climax in A-flat major that seems to portend hope even as the piece ends, still turbulent, at *fff*.⁷²

While the Grand Duo and the *Miserere* are distinct from one another, Gottschalk played both in concerts throughout the rest of his short career. At a 5 May 1862 concert

⁷¹ Thalberg's fantasia, of course, also uses this technique. It too uses the themes of Manrico's and Leonora's final scene, including the prison farewell, and also features the music of Azucena's evocative aria "Ai nostri monti." An extended section of rapidly descending thirds in the upper register perhaps paints the mountains of her home for which she longs.

⁷² In the published version, simpler *ossia* measures are added for the amateurs who purchased the sheet music to play at home.

in New York, he engaged the pianist Sebastian Bach Mills to join him in the grand two-piano fantasy on *Il trovatore*, the 1856 Thalberg-Gottschalk piece. It was even better received than six years earlier. In the *Musical Review and Musical World*, the piece was deemed not only “the event of the evening,” but also “the event of Mr. Gottschalk’s whole series of concerts so far.” The writer for the weekly *New-York Dispatch*, most likely Charles Jerome Hopkins, reported that the concert was an event “to be remembered in the annals of art in this country, to hear these two glorious artists perform this duet, and the effect on the audience was stupendous.”⁷³ His colorful description captures the excitement it aroused:

Thunderbolts, lightning, clouds, sunshine, poetry, storms, the perfume of violets, the music of rippling brooks, boisterous crashes of mountain torrents, the twittering of innocent birds, the blue-eyed babble of heaven-born and heaven-destined children were all pictured in this masterly composition, and never before have we been so impressed with the utterly perfect union of consummate virtuosity and tender poetic expressiveness as on this occasion.⁷⁴

At least half of the twenty-minute piece was encored immediately at this performance.⁷⁵ Later that year the *Trovatore* duo was performed in New York with a Parisian *pianiste* at the second keyboard, Eugénie Barnetche (November 1862), and again in Philadelphia a year later with a Mr. Wolfson seconding (November 1863).⁷⁶

The number and variety of performances of the *Trovatore* duo suggest that some type of written score existed at the time, although the piece was never published. While the *Miserere* paraphrase was published during Gottschalk’s lifetime (1864), a list of unpublished Gottschalk manuscripts in the possession of Nicolas Ruiz Espadero in 1880 includes a *Gran duo dramático sobre motives de Il Trovatore de Verdi, compuesto para ser ejecutado en los conciertos de Gottschalk con el gran Thalberg en Nueva York*. Richard Hoffman stated in 1909 that he never saw the *Grand Duo* in print.

⁷³ C. Jerome Hopkins (1836-1898) was an American composer and musician who wrote for musical and other papers under his own name and the pseudonyms Timothy Trill and Joseph Swift.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, Vol. 2, 491.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 491.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 510. Miss Barnetche appears to be one of the only women to play piano with Gottschalk. Another female pianist with whom he was later associated was the child prodigy Teresa Carreño (1853-1917) from Venezuela.

Why did Espadero never publish the *Grand Duo* if he had a manuscript copy? It is an unfortunate loss, principally for the opportunity to observe the “Gottschalkian” and “Thalbergian” aspects of the composition. The various performances from its premiere in 1856 through 1863, however, likely utilized different versions of the piece in accordance with the talents of the second pianists involved. What remains are Gottschalk’s *Miserere du Trovatore* and Thalberg’s op. 77 fantasia, both composed and published after the *Grand Duo*. Neither piece incorporates the melody of the “Anvil Chorus,” which was the moment Hoffman found particularly gripping. In fact, Thalberg’s fantasia probably has more in common with Gottschalk’s *Miserere* than either does with the original work.

What separates the *Grand Duo* from other opera transcriptions for piano is its ambiguous authorship. Eyewitnesses like Hoffman stated that it was written by both Gottschalk and Thalberg; therefore, we can assume that there was a certain degree of collaboration in its creation. Based on this evidence, I posit that the composition and performance of transcriptions, at least of this one, was a flexible process, perhaps with changes occurring at each concert. Did the two pianists use sheet music at the first performance? Was it performed differently when Gottschalk used other second pianists? Was it perhaps never published because there was no single “correct” version? These and other questions, though they might never be satisfactorily answered, suggest a fluidity of conception about transcriptions that modern scholars could overlook in researching the genre through study of published scores.

Summary

Carl Dahlhaus states that in the nineteenth century, “virtuosity came to be part of the history of music *as art*. . . . [Its] significance [was] at first cultural but later affected the history of composition.”⁷⁷ Beginning with Paganini and embodied by Franz Liszt, romantic virtuosity was not merely a shallow display of technical prowess, but had the potential to integrate new ideas concerning in harmony, orchestration, and form.⁷⁸ It had

⁷⁷ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 134.

⁷⁸ Franz Liszt also wrote solo piano paraphrases on both Verdi’s *Jerusalem* and the *Miserere* from *Il Trovatore*. His two *Jerusalem* works are both based on the “Salve Maria” (in the original Italian; in the

substance. The cult of virtuosity fostered in Europe, and especially in Paris, crossed the Atlantic ocean and became part of the significant influence of the Old World on American music. This consequence has been observed by historians such as R. Allen Lott, who has traced the American tours of five European virtuoso composer-pianists in *From Paris to Peoria*. The American careers of virtuosic European singers like Jenny Lind and other instrumentalists such as Ole Bull have also been documented.⁷⁹

As the preceding discussion has made clear, Gottschalk was not the only pianist to perform technically virtuosic concerts in the United States or in Europe. Dwight's reactions to other performers, such as Alfred Jaëll (1832-1882), an Austrian pianist who toured the United States in 1851-54, confirm the consistency of his opinions regarding "classical" masterpieces versus empty virtuosity:

Alfred Jaell is now, we suppose, generally acknowledged the foremost pianist who has visited this country. . . . He is master of most that has become classical, from Bach and Beethoven, to Mendelssohn and Chopin, and of all the bewildering brilliancies of the Thalbergs, Liszts, Littofs, Willmerses, and all the minor would-be Titans that try to take the Olympian heights by storm, piling up Ossa upon Pelion of new and frightful finger tasks. No matter how terrifically swift and tortuous and crowded the fantasia, or how learned, closely written, fraught with meaning the sonata, trio, or concerto, he performs it, so that not a note or expressive feature of the work is lost or marred, as if it were mere child's play to him, and as if he never knew or dreamed of knowing any difficulties. . . .

Jaell has not always been true to the mission required of such rare powers; he has been prone to forget himself in the gay sunshine of applause; he has been too willing to play trivial things, as if the piano were a plaything and his debt chiefly to the younger and more thoughtless portion of his audience. . . . Jaell having the power to *make* true audiences, has been too *complaisant* in letting audiences make him. Yet, so far as we know, he has always met a serious

French translation sung as "Ave Maria") sung by Giselda (Hélène) in Act I. His first version was composed in 1848, one year after the premiere of the opera in Paris, and features florid arpeggios in the second verse. Liszt revisited the aria c. 1882, this time softening his approach to allow for a more prayerful quality throughout the piece. Neither piece is related in any way to Gottschalk's *Jerusalem* fantasy, which does not rework the "Ave Maria" at all. Franz Liszt also wrote a solo piano paraphrase on the *Miserere* from *Il Trovatore*. His *Miserere Concert-Paraphrase* was composed in 1859 for a series of Berlin concerts directed by Hans von Bülow.

⁷⁹ See, for example, W. Porter Ware, *P.T. Barnum Presents Jenny Lind: The American Tour of the Swedish Nightingale* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), and Einar Haugen and Camilla Cai, *Ole Bull: Norway's Romantic Musician and Cosmopolitan Patriot* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

challenge manfully and shown that he could “face the music” set before him by the most exacting classicist.⁸⁰

While he concedes that Jaëll plays both “classical” and “trivial” music exceedingly well, Dwight censures the pianist’s occasional pandering for audience approval. He is much more supportive of Jaëll’s adeptness with serious and challenging works. This corresponds with Dwight’s response to Gottschalk’s performances, which featured primarily his own virtuosic works and rarely included abstract compositions by other composers.⁸¹

Gottschalk’s and Thalberg’s operatic transcriptions serve an important purpose within the complex fabric of mid-nineteenth century music in Europe and America. By writing and performing such works, the composers consciously linked diverse musical genres. The existence of a repertoire of opera transcriptions also proves the formation of a canon of “classical music,” that, much to the dismay of some critics, included Italian opera.

In composing and performing opera transcriptions, Gottschalk recognized the legacy of European music. Musical virtuosity is one example of the multifaceted ways in which American musicians shaped a European-modeled style. It was a significant contributing factor in shaping both their thoughts about, and their creation of, music in the United States. As the opera fantasies make clear, Gottschalk was comfortable composing in a European style. He was able to imitate in his music the approaches of Chopin and Liszt, two of the most significant European composers of the romantic period who were just being recognized as such in 1850s America. As will be seen in the following chapters, however, he distinguished himself by moving beyond purely Euro-centric sources and styles. He is remembered less for these derivative works than for his inimitable American compositions.

⁸⁰ Dwight, *Journal of Music* (22 January 1853), 124-5.

⁸¹ Some works by other composers that Gottschalk did perform on his concerts include a “Funeral March” (likely op. 72) and the Grand Scherzo, op. 31, by Chopin; a Sonata in A major for piano and violin (opus unidentified) by Mozart; Weber’s Concertstück; the “Kreutzer” Sonata for piano and violin, op. 47, by Beethoven; and the “Serment et bénédiction” from Berlioz’s *Benvenuto Cellini* by Liszt. See Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, Vol. 2, Appendix 5, 770-85 for a list of programs performed by Gottschalk in his series of concerts in New York, 1855-56.

CHAPTER 3
FROM THE PLAYHOUSE TO THE PARLOR:
THE BANJO AND BUNKER HILL

Race and Class in Gottschalk's New Orleans

The issues of race and class were fraught with emotion and significance in the mid-nineteenth century, and they continue as agitating forces in American politics today. While a complete exegesis of their impacts is beyond the scope of the current study, a consideration of the different ways in which they were understood in New Orleans and New England will inform a discussion of Gottschalk's works that draw upon the music from blackface minstrel shows. By imitating specific banjo performance styles, his music crossed the boundaries between the minstrel stage and home parlors and racial boundaries as well.

The question of race in mid-nineteenth-century New Orleans, where Gottschalk was born and raised, was even more complex than in the rest of the country. Although the city was located in the south and thus engaged in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy,¹ its rich history gave it a unique ethnically diverse population. One could not speak of "black" and "white" in New Orleans, for the term "Creole" could mean either. Deriving from the Portuguese word *crioulo*, meaning "a slave of African descent born in the New World," it later included both whites and blacks of European descent born in the Americas.² By the mid-nineteenth century in New Orleans it had come to mean a native-born New Orleanian, most commonly with ancestors who came to

¹ For a first-person account of the Civil War in New Orleans, including its capture by the Union in early 1862, see Jean-Charles Houzeau, *My Passage at the New Orleans Tribune: A Memoir of the Civil War Era*, ed. David C. Rankin, transl. Gerard F. Denault (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

² Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "The Formation of Afro-Creole Culture," in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, ed. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 60.

Louisiana either directly from France or via the French colonies in the Caribbean but also possibly with other European or African extraction. The Creoles thus differentiated themselves from other Americans who settled in New Orleans following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

Among black residents of the city there were multiple levels of differentiation. As in any other American city, there were free men and women of color (*gens de couleur libre*) who were born free, freedmen and -women, and slaves. But there were also various degrees of race, ranging from the newly-imported slaves, mostly from West African countries such as Senegal and Gambia, to the quadroons and octoroons, with a quarter or eighth of black ancestry, respectively. According to the census of 1820 the number of white males in New Orleans was nearly double that of white females. Seeking other forms of feminine companionship, these men attended quadroon balls, where young women with one-fourth black ancestry, who were otherwise excluded from white society, could aspire to become at least mistresses to white men, thereby securing their future and that of their children.³

Louis Moreau Gottschalk had some knowledge of this practice. His father Edward had a mulatto mistress named Judith Rubio, a free woman of color who was born of mixed white and black parentage. His children with her, Gottschalk's five half-siblings, were considered quadroons. This arrangement of one father with two families, one white and one black (who in this case lived only a few blocks apart), was known as *plaçage*. It was fairly common in New Orleans.⁴ Edward also kept slaves and actively traded them, an accepted occupation in New Orleans at the time. In fact, Judith herself owned slaves whom Edward traded and eventually sold.

The Gottschalk family retained both slaves and servants during Moreau's childhood in New Orleans and afterwards. Among their slaves was a Haitian nurse

³ Albert E. Fossier, *New Orleans: The Glamour Period, 1800-1840* (Gretna: Firebird Press, 1998), 356-65.

⁴ See Joan M. Martin, "Plaçage and the Louisiana *Gens de Couleur Libre*: How Race and Sex Defined the Lifestyles of Free Women of Color," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, ed. Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 57-70. Martin quotes demographic statistics that support the likelihood of such interracial relationships, 63. Not only did white men outnumber white women in nineteenth-century New Orleans but free black women outnumbered free black males about two to one as well.

named Sally, who came to New Orleans with Edward's wife Aimee's family.⁵ During and after his European years, Moreau himself kept slaves and servants, including various valets for his tours in the United States. One of them, Firmin Moras, was an educated, eccentric mulatto, whom Gottschalk had met during his sojourn to the Caribbean in 1857-62.⁶ Gottschalk engaged him as his personal secretary and valet, a position Moras held from 1859 until Moreau's death ten years later. Gottschalk recorded his own views on slavery in a journal entry he made after his return from Latin America to the United States in 1862.⁷ Since the Civil War was already underway, Gottschalk had to sign an oath of loyalty to the Union in order to return and resume a concert tour. In *Notes of a Pianist*, Gottschalk described his "horror of slavery" that had made him release his slaves ten years earlier.⁸ The entry, dated 5 March 1862, continues,

Although born in the South, I recognize but one principle – that of the Constitution. In a republic where universal suffrage is not a chimera, where the citizens are free and intelligent men and not servile machines, where the ambitious never separate their personal glory from that of their country, no honest and republican conscience ought to feel embarrassed. . . .

[T]he South in wishing to destroy one of the most beautiful political monuments of modern times – the American Union – carries with it only slavery.

⁵ The economy of Haiti in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was based upon slavery as well. See Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: London, 1994). Sally was actually put up for sale in 1834 during the Gottschalk family's financial crisis, but Edward's brother George Gottschalk purchased her in Moreau's name for \$283.50. See S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!: The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 30.

⁶ In his journal, Gottschalk wrote of Moras: "My companion in the wilderness of M[atouba], the poor maniac, has followed me to New York. He is wild in the midst of the bustle of a great city. . . . Born at Guadeloupe of parents of whom one was a Negress, the other a European, he developed his taste for music at an early age. . . . He wrote verses and read Voltaire, Rousseau, and the philosophers. But, unfortunately for him, that was before 1848. Slavery still existed in the French colony, and he soon learned that because of the prejudices of caste the sphere in which he must move became more restricted as soon as he tried to become free." Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Knopf, 1964), 53-54.

⁷ Over the previous five years, Gottschalk had spent time in Cuba, St. Thomas, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Venezuela, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. After his final months in Havana, where he staged a number of "monster concerts" featuring over four hundred musicians, he returned to New York in January 1862. See *Notes*, 5-38.

⁸ "I have solemnly taken the oath of allegiance to the government at Washington. My horror of slavery made me emancipate, ten years ago, three slaves that belonged to me." In *Notes*, 55-56. In 1852 when he claims to have freed his three slaves Gottschalk was twenty-three years old, still in Europe, performing in Paris and various cities in Spain. No corroborating details have been found regarding his assertion.

It is, indeed, unbecoming to my fellow-citizens of the South to ask for the liberty of reclaiming their independence, when this independence is to be made use of only for the conservation of the most odious of abuses and the most flagrant outrage upon liberty. I do not have any illusions regarding the Negro. I believe him very inferior morally to the white.⁹

Even this incomplete entry reveals the similar attitudes that Gottschalk and President Thomas Jefferson shared regarding race and slavery.¹⁰

A final aspect connecting Gottschalk with the issue of race concerns his own ethnic background. His maternal French heritage, augmented by his ancestors' time in Haiti, was not unusual in New Orleans or in Paris. Moreau even wrote in French and spoke English with an accent.¹¹ His paternal ancestry, while less immediately apparent, was perhaps to some audience members more contentious. An article by Rabbi Dr. Bertram W. Korn reveals that Edward Gottschalk's lineage contained strong Jewish ties.¹² George Templeton Strong, lover of Mozart, Beethoven, and Haydn, made a point of this connection in relation to one of Gottschalk's New York performances in 1856:

Gottschalk's [seventh] concert Thursday night. . . . Absurd crowd, idiotic excitement, infinite bother in getting seats for the ladies. Any blacksmith excels this wretched, diminutive, Jewish-looking coxcomb in strength of muscle; many mechanics could surpass his nicety and quickness of manipulation, and there was nothing in his performance save his combination of a coalheaver's vigor with an artisan's dexterity. Music there was none.¹³

Strong seems here to equate Jewishness with weakness. Although the rest of the packed hall was clearly eager to hear the pianist, Strong found nothing noteworthy in the

⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁰ In his 1781 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson condemned the "great political and moral evil of the institution of slavery" but also hypothesized that "blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind." Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 87 and 143.

¹¹ Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, xii.

¹² Bertram W. Korn, *A Note on the Jewish Ancestry of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, American Pianist and Composer* (Philadelphia: Maurice Jacobs, 1963), reprinted from *American Jewish Archives* 15:2 (November 1963): 117-19.

¹³ Strong's personal journal, 1 March 1856. Quoted in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong, Volume 2: Reverberations, 1850-1856* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 675.

performance short of Gottschalk's legendary technical proficiency to which he merely alluded.

The Minstrel Show and Stephen Foster

The debate over the “beginnings” of the minstrel show have been covered in numerous scholarly works.¹⁴ Its shift from the theatre to the concert hall, with an accompanying movement from spectacle towards musical entertainment, occurred due to changes in intention, representation, and definition of the genre.¹⁵ Before the 1840s performances of white entertainers in blackface were common on the American stage but only as solo or duo musical acts or as portrayals of African-Americans in plays and ballad operas. In 1829 George Washington Dixon (ca. 1801-1861), an early solo blackface performer, introduced the first documented blackface minstrel song, “Coal Black Rose.”¹⁶ Although most performers at this time were singers who did not play the banjo, connections between minstrelsy and the instrument were already evident. The text of the song underlines this relationship:

Oh, me Rosie, coal black rose / Don't ye hear the banjo
Ping-a-pong-a-pong? / Oh, me Rosie, Coal Black Rose!¹⁷

Dixon and other early blackface soloists did not use the term “minstrel” to describe themselves or their performances. At the time, the word was actually used in conjunction with white musical groups, such as the Rainer Family Singers (also known as the

¹⁴ See, for example, W. T. Lhamon, Jr., *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 56-8; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 38-49; and Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 149-57.

¹⁵ Cockrell, 150-51. He quotes the Virginia Minstrels' 6 February 1843 advertisement in the New York Herald, which specified that it was “an exclusively musical entertainment . . . entirely exempt from the vulgarities and other objectionable features, which have hitherto characterized negro extravaganzas.”

¹⁶ Dixon performed three shows in New York, one each at the Bowery Theatre, the Chatham Garden Theatre, and the Park Theatre in late July 1829.

¹⁷ Lyrics found at “Songs of the Sea,” [<http://ingeb.org/catchan.html>], accessed 24 August 2006.

Tyrolean Minstrels), who in the late 1830s and early 1840s performed in concert halls for middle-class audiences.¹⁸

It was not until 1843 that a group of white performers in blackface first billed their entertainment as a “minstrel show” and the banjo became an integral part of the act. On 6 February of that year Dan Emmett, William Whitlock, Frank Brower, and Richard Pelham performed together at the Chatham Theatre in New York City, billing themselves as the “Virginia Minstrels.” Each played one of the four “core [instruments] of the minstrel band” – the fiddle (Emmett), the banjo (Whitlock), the bones (Brower), and the tambourine (Pelham).¹⁹ Musicologist Dale Cockrell, who has researched extensively on early blackface minstrelsy, explains:

It is against this backdrop [of white minstrels] that Emmett’s first use of “Ethiopian Minstrel” in late 1842 and “Virginia Minstrels” on 6 February 1843 assumes significance. . . . From a marketing perspective the name had the advantage of being readable from two contrary perspectives: as satire by the common classes, and as descriptive by the middle class. (Both groups, of course, were free to buy tickets.)²⁰

From the 1840s, then, blackface minstrelsy was a style of entertainment marketed towards and popular among both the lower and middle classes.²¹ The location and reputation of individual theatres, however, at least partially determined who would attend. The Bowery Theatre, for example, was located near the Five Points region of New York, notorious as a center of racial mixing, rioting, and prostitution.²² It offered cheap entertainment for the lower classes, but the affordable prices did not mean the

¹⁸ Cockrell, 152.

¹⁹ Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 52.

²⁰ Cockrell, 152.

²¹ Prior to 1840, blackface entertainment was a popular lower-class form of entertainment; the shift occurred along with the realization that middle-class marketing would be additionally profitable. See William Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask: Early Blackface Minstrelsy and Antebellum American Popular Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 172-74.

²² See Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927; reprint, New York: Thunder’s Mouth, 1998) for descriptions of the activities in the region. Deriving its moniker from the five corners of the intersection, Five Points centered at the intersection of Worth Street (originally Anthony Street), Baxter Street (originally Orange Street) and a now demolished stretch of Mosco Street (formerly Park Street) in Manhattan, north of today’s Foley Square and west of modern Chinatown.

programming was substandard. English-born actor and Bowery Theatre manager Thomas S. Hamblin staged circus acts, comedies and dramas from England and America, Shakespeare plays, and blackface shows.²³ In addition to the pit, the Bowery featured three galleries that encircled the inner walls. The audiences consisted primarily of young, unmarried, working-class white males, but the disreputable third tier gallery made space for prostitutes (who would logically attract a larger male audience), blacks, and criminals. Respectable women were rarely seen at the theater, until the 1840s and 1850s when in an attempt to appeal to the growing middle classes theatre managers began closing the third tier.²⁴

This action was just one of many taken in an attempt to refine minstrelsy's reputation in the second quarter of the century. As early as 1836 George Washington Dixon touted his performances as "concerts." Dale Cockrell provides a vivid contrast of theatre and concerts:

Concerts at this time [c. 1836] were coming much into favor, in implied opposition to "Theatre." The latter already had a long history aligning it with the sybaritic, the overwhelming of reason with emotion, the visceral, the body, the third tier, the popular, blackface, and more – all things anathema to developing family-based systems of value. Concerts were, instead, cerebral, exclusive, and a European tradition; they might also be construed to be uplifting, even moral. . . . Musical styles were based on European models and spoke of traditional and hierarchical structures, both social and musical.²⁵

Cockrell's reference to the European tradition additionally connects minstrelsy with America's reliance on Europe as a cultural model, also discussed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, once the unruly and undesirables were gone from the third tier, middle-class women and even families were more willing to attend the shows. By 1847 the *New York Tribune* could report that "the most fashionable families" were attending performances by Christy's Minstrels.²⁶

²³ Cockrell, 32.

²⁴ Claudia D. Johnson, "That Guilty Third Tier: Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century American Theaters," *American Quarterly* 27 (1975), 579-80.

²⁵ Cockrell, 103-4.

²⁶ *New York Tribune* (12 March 1847), 2.

The material performed in minstrelsy changed subtly but significantly from its inception to the years immediately preceding the war. As opinions regarding slavery and racial politics began to shift, and conflicts between the north and the south became more intense, the performers had to adapt their music to reflect these changes. Richard Crawford explains the racial complications inherent in minstrelsy:

Against this background, minstrelsy, which had sought to cultivate a gray area between black and white ideological extremes, retreated from controversy and embraced what minstrels must have considered an apolitical stance. Portrayals of black characters left realism behind in favor of sentimentality, with contented Negroes fondly recalling the good old days on the plantation. . . . Unhappy blacks – indeed, the very notion that any blacks, even as mistreated slaves, had *cause* to be unhappy – gradually disappeared from minstrel stages.²⁷

Thus by the 1850s the works of Stephen Foster, in which ex-slaves are “still longing for de old plantation,” exemplified minstrelsy. The music of blackface had finally come to embody the stereotypical characterization that, until recently, defined the entire history of the genre: “a weapon by which one group of Americans defined, marginalized, and contained another – racism, sexism, money, power, and (capital M) Music.”²⁸

Born on 4 July 1826, Stephen Foster began writing minstrel songs around 1845.²⁹ One of his earliest successes was “Camptown Races,” which Gottschalk quoted in his work *The Banjo* in 1854. Throughout the minstrelsy stage of Foster’s career he maintained an arrangement with E. P. Christy, impresario and performer for his eponymous minstrel troupe begun in the early 1840s. Christy’s Minstrels performed from 1847 to 1854 in Mechanics’ Hall in New York and often introduced Foster’s minstrel songs in their shows. In 1850 the two entered into an agreement in which the

²⁷ Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 218.

²⁸ Cockrell, 169.

²⁹ See William W. Austin, “Susanna,” “Jeanie,” and “The Old Folks at Home”: *The Songs of Stephen Foster From His Time to Ours* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 13-17. A dramatic shift in style occurred around 1850. For a discussion of how Foster’s minstrel songs changed musically over the course of his career, see Matthew Shaftel, “Singing a New Song: Stephen Foster and the New American Minstrelsy,” *Music and Politics II* (2007) [<http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2007-2/shaftel.html>], accessed 14 September 2007.

troupe had “exclusive first-performance rights” to Foster’s minstrel songs.³⁰ Foster benefited from the increase in sheet-music sales that resulted from these performances.

Thus by the time Gottschalk began writing his *Banjo*, blackface minstrelsy had become highly stylized and sentimental. It was popular among the lower- and middle-class public, and the banjo was one of the primary instruments played in the shows. For all these reasons, Gottschalk’s decision to draw on the genre, its musical styles, and its instruments for use in his own compositions was both shrewd and successful.

Gottschalk’s Compositions

In his biography of Gottschalk, *Bamboula!*, S. Frederick Starr suggests a number of ways in which Gottschalk might have been exposed to the banjo during his early life. Picayune Butler, a black banjo virtuoso from the West Indies, played for tips on the streets of New Orleans in the 1830s. By the time Gottschalk debuted in New York in 1853, Butler was playing on Broadway. Blackface minstrel shows were undoubtedly part of Gottschalk’s musical world; under the pseudonym Seven Octaves he reviewed a concert by Buckley’s Serenaders, whose leader George Swayne Buckley was a well-known banjo player. In the review, Gottschalk commented, “The Buckley’s [*sic*] sing well and the Theatre was crowded at their performance. Their burlesques are very funny and the music of them is very enjoyable. Mr. Percival has an admirable voice and Frederick Buckley’s violin playing was a great deal too good for the audiences, who had not the manners to listen to that part of the entertainment that pleased good taste.”³¹ By the 1850s the banjo had become not only a virtuoso instrument within the circumscribed domain of minstrelsy but also ubiquitous in other areas, such as concerts and salons. In writing *The Banjo*, Gottschalk responded to and commented upon his rich, complex social environment. A brief summary of the history of the banjo and its reception among American listeners will shed light on Gottschalk’s banjo-influenced compositions.

³⁰ Crawford, 213.

³¹ “Seven Octaves,” *Morning Times*, undated clipping, Music Division, New York Public Library for Performing Arts, New York. Cited in Starr, 147. In the same review Gottschalk also mentioned a concert he himself had performed with Madame La Grange, writing that “Gottschalk played as only he can play. . . . The audience were [*sic*] very enthusiastic and the illustrious artistes were rewarded with rapturous applause and beautiful flowers; but we will not particularize, as we expect a fine *critique* from the Albany correspondent of the Musical Review, who signs himself *Allegro*.”

In addition to commenting upon the differences between whites and blacks in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson noted that “the instrument proper to them [black slaves] is the Banjar, which they brought hither from Africa.”³² The history of the banjo, both its African predecessors and prototypes and its subsequent development and alterations in the Americas, has been well documented by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists.³³ Its continued presence in numerous divergent musical environments in America, from southern plantations to northeastern theatre stages, confirms the significance of the instrument throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the 1850s the banjo was played mostly in two settings, by slaves on southern plantations, and on the blackface minstrel stage. In contrast, the piano inhabited a very different pair of settings: the middle- to upper-class white parlor, where amateur (usually female) players practiced and entertained family and friends, and the concert stage, as both a solo and accompaniment instrument.³⁴ The music performed in these four contrasting cultural spaces sometimes overlapped: black slave songs were heard in minstrel shows; such songs were then occasionally re-appropriated by black slaves for their own entertainment or published as sheet music for performance in the parlor; European art music was performed both in the parlor and the recital hall, and it was often lampooned on the minstrel stage. However, it was rare that music from either the slave tradition or from minstrelsy found its way into the concert hall. Writing a piece called “The Banjo” for piano in itself carries significance: the crossing of racial and class lines is inherent within Gottschalk’s choice.

³² Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 140 and 288.

³³ See, for example, Eric Charry, “Plucked Lutes in West Africa: An Historical Overview,” *Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996): 3-37; Michael Theodore Coolen, “Senegambian Archetypes for the American Folk Banjo,” *Western Folklore* 43/2 (1984): 117-32; and James F. Bollman and Philip Gura, *America’s Instrument: The Banjo in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999). Of particular interest is the recent publication of Leo Mazow’s *Picturing the Banjo*, which accompanied an exhibition at the Palmer Museum of Art in 2005-06 (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). In addition to including 120 images of the banjo from the nineteenth century and beyond, the book includes an essay by Mazow entitled “From Sonic to Social: Noise, Quiet, and Nineteenth-Century American Banjo Imagery” (95-113), which is noteworthy for its description of the “silencing” of black music and musicians within nineteenth-century American artworks.

³⁴ At least until the end of the Civil War, there is no evidence that the piano was ever used as a performing force on the minstrel stage.

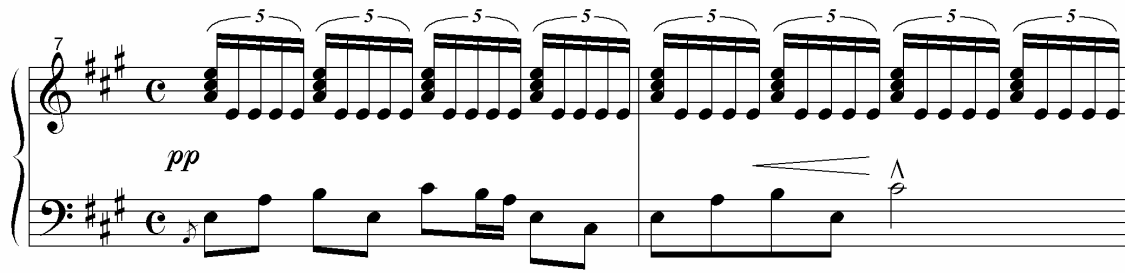
While Gottschalk's banjo piece may be the most famous there were earlier and later works celebrating the instrument.³⁵ The first, by Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861), was published in 1825 as part of the second set of *The Sylviad*, op. 3. The full title of his composition is "A Sylvan Scene in Kentucky, or the Barbecue Divertimento, comprising the Ploughman's Grand March and the Negro's Banjo Quickstep."³⁶ Described by Heinrich as a "light fancy sketch characteristic of the Western Woodlanders,"³⁷ the movement titled "The Banjo Quickstep" consists of a number of dancelike sections for piano. Constant and unexpected shifts in key and harmonic motion typical of Heinrich permeate the work, which culminates with an adaptation of his song "All Hail to Kentucky" that first appeared in *From the Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Heinrich's op. 1. Two works more contemporary with Gottschalk's were written by Joseph Benedict, "Banjo Polka" (1851), and Maurice Strakosch (1825-1887), "The Banjo: Capriccio Characteristique" (1852).³⁸ The former piece is an uncomplicated duple-meter polka arranged for pianoforte, with simple chords accompanying a diatonic melody. The banjo of the title hardly sounds in the work: it is implied only in upper-neighbor grace notes that ornament the melody in the first section. Strakosch's composition features a primary theme that traces the arpeggiated tonic (A major) chord with few passing tones. It is first presented in the bass clef, sounding in the banjo's true register, under a quintuplet figuration that features rapidly repeated notes on a dominant pedal (see Example 3.1):

³⁵ Composers of banjo-themed works for piano that appeared after Gottschalk's include J. Bellak (1856), H. C. Harris (1857), Carl Erfolg (1873), Edgar H. Sherwood (1875), Mrs. Mary F. Lovering (1881), and J. W. Turner (1883). Mrs. Lovering's work includes a note remarkable for its time to "place a paper on or between the strings," evidently to evoke a banjo-like sound from the piano. See *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music*, American Memory, Library of Congress [<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/musmhtml/musmhome.html>], accessed 4 June 2007.

³⁶ Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Sylviad: Or, Minstrelsy of Nature in the Wilds of North America*, ed. J. Bunker Clark (Boston: 1823, 1825-26; reprint, Greenleaf, WI: Connors, 1996), 265-87.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 265.

³⁸ "Banjo Polka" (Louisville, KY: Peters, Webb and Co., 1851); "The Banjo: Capriccio Characteristique" (New York: Pond, 1880). Available at *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music*, accessed 4 June 2007. The title of Strakosch's work combines elements of various languages in its own idiosyncratic spelling of "characteristique."



Example 3.1. Strakosch, “The Banjo: Capriccio Characteristique,” mm. 7-8.

The repetitious accompaniment and the placement of Strakosch’s melody in a range similar to that associated with the banjo suggest the sound of the instrument more strongly than either Heinrich’s or Benedict’s works. In 1856 the *New York Musical World* announced that Strakosch’s work had sold out “several large editions,”³⁹ possibly benefiting from the overwhelming popularity of Gottschalk’s work that had been published the year before.

Banjo, op. 82 (Second Banjo)

Gottschalk’s composition *Deuxième Banjo*, op. 82, was actually composed in 1853 before the more famous op. 15 (1854-55), and it served as a sketch of sorts for the later work. Based on an undated list of compositions in Gottschalk’s handwriting housed at the Music Division of the New York Public Library for Performing Arts, S. Frederick Starr posits that the piece was written during Gottschalk’s stay at the United States Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York.⁴⁰ There are parallels between the two compositions, but op. 82 features a simpler formal and harmonic structure as well as more focus on figuration than melody. Op. 82 was published posthumously in 1873 in Boston by Ditson and in Paris by Escudier, in an edition by Nicolas Ruiz Espadero; there is no extant manuscript.

Op. 82 is a series of variations on a melody that also appears in an 1853 composition, “Banjo Dance,” op. 7, by T. Franklin Bassford, a Gottschalk devotee who

³⁹ *New York Musical World* 13:2 (19 January 1856), 36.

⁴⁰ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, list of compositions (n.d.), Music Division, New York Public Library for Performing Arts, New York. See Starr, pp. 146-48.

dedicated the work to him.⁴¹ The theme appears almost exactly the same in both Bassford's and Gottschalk's works. Because the two compositions were written in the same year, it is possible, as Gottschalk bio-bibliographer John Godfrey Doyle speculates, that the melody was already popular at the time.⁴² Alternatively, Gottschalk could have taken the melody from Bassford's homage and reworked it, perhaps as a sign of appreciation or gratitude. Newspaper reviews suggest the latter: in regards to a performance on 1 February 1854 at Mechanics Hall in New Orleans, the *Courrier de la Louisiane*, *The Daily True Delta*, *The New Orleans Daily Crescent*, the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, and *L'Abeille* (*The Bee*) all stated that the work entitled "The Banjo" played at this concert was a set of variations based on Bassford's work.⁴³ By so asserting, these reviews also confirm that the New Orleans audience heard op. 82, not the now-famous op. 15, which was published the same year (1854).

The melody as it appears in Bassford's work is illustrated in Example 3.2 (see following page). Bassford effectively evokes the banjo's sound through the arpeggiated and chordal accompaniment and occasional syncopations, such as the second beat in measure 15.

⁴¹ New York: Horace Waters, 1853. Available at *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music*, accessed 5 June 2007. Not much information exists about Bassford's birth and life; Lawrence states that he was a "protégé of Richard Grant White and probably a pupil of Gottschalk" (740). Bassford was an American pianist who performed at least twice with Gottschalk (13 March and 16 May 1856) and in his own concerts. He died later that year when his ship bound for France wrecked off the coast of Nantucket in November (*Ibid.*).

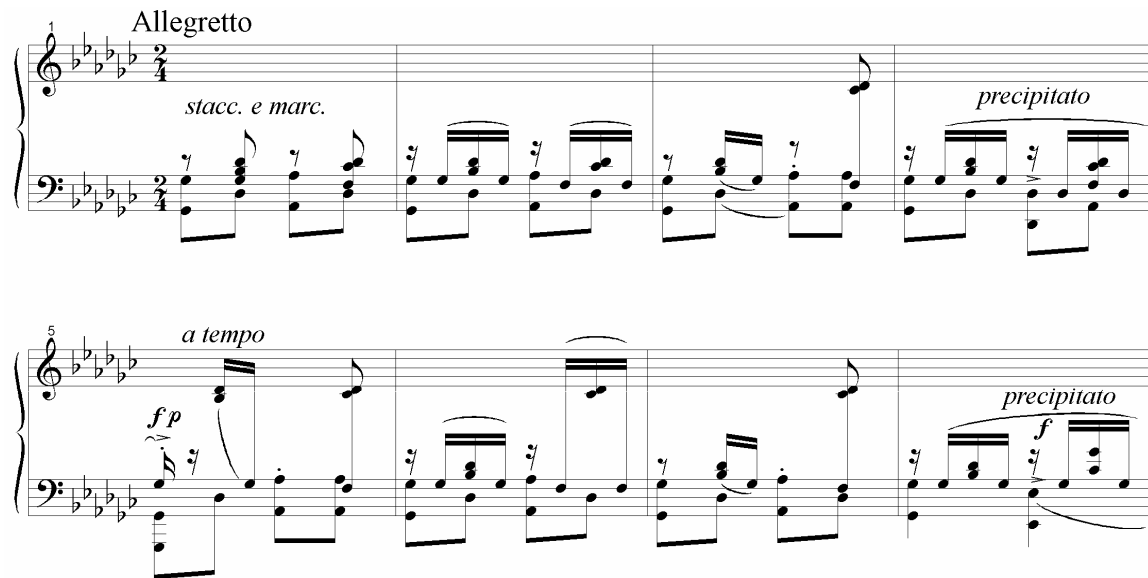
⁴² John Godfrey Doyle, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk, 1829-1869: A Bibliographical Study and Catalog of Works* (Michigan: College Music Society, 1983), 267.

⁴³ *New Orleans Daily Picayune* (1 February 1854), 5. *Courrier de la Louisiane* (1 February 1854) and *L'Abeille* (31 January and 2 February 1854), cited in Doyle, 267. *The Daily True Delta* (31 January 1854), 3. *The New Orleans Daily Crescent* (31 January 1854), 3. The reviewer at the *Daily Picayune* described the piece as an "amusing little caprice" that Gottschalk "played charmingly." Gottschalk also played his ten-piano version of *Bunker Hill* at this concert; the piece is discussed below.



Example 3.2. Bassford, “Banjo Dance,” mm. 13-20.

There are many similarities between Bassford’s and Gottschalk’s compositions: both use black-key tonics and are structured around eight-measure phrases.⁴⁴ The first part of Gottschalk’s *Second Banjo* even features similar accompaniment patterns to Bassford’s.



Example 3.3. Gottschalk, *Second Banjo*, op. 82, mm. 1-8.

Yet in a comparison of the two works, Gottschalk’s superior skill in his treatment and variation of the theme is evident.

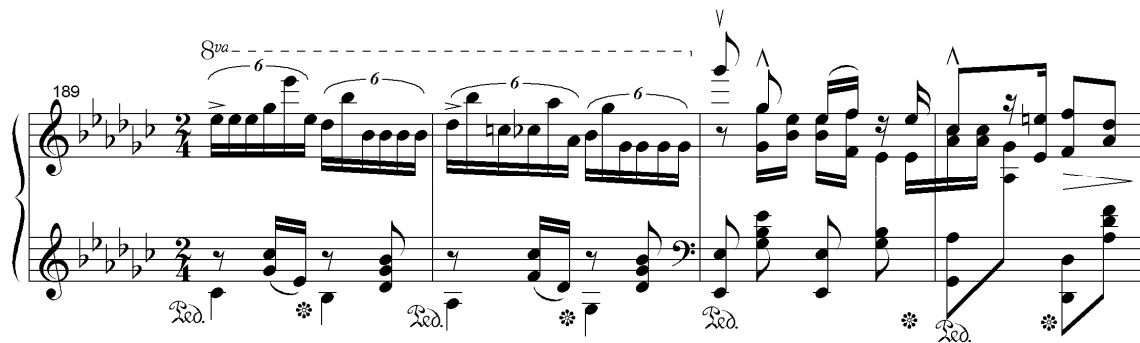
⁴⁴ While it is widely acknowledged that black-key tonics facilitate the performance of rapid passage work, it is possible that the pentatonic sound identified with these keys and heard in such pieces like “Camptown Races” may have also played a role in Bassford’s and Gottschalk’s choice.

In Gottschalk's *Second Banjo* the two hands are equally balanced most of the time. The first ninety-four measures are completely constructed of eight-measure phrases, two of which include brief "codas" (mm. 33-44 and 69-78). The primary melody, which we have already seen in Bassford's work, initially appears at measure 61:

Example 3.4. Gottschalk, *Second Banjo*, op. 82, mm. 61-68.

Despite the diminution of time signature, the piece is quite similar here to Bassford's. Both composers employ similar sextuplet arpeggios in the left hand, and aside from Gottschalk's descending-sixth ornamentation of every other measure, the melodies are almost identical. At measure 95 a transitional section begins, which leads from I to V $4/3$ in the main key. A trill in the right hand is accompanied by a sustained, *vibrante* left-hand chord (mm. 105-8). This is where the two works definitively diverge: at a similar point in the music, Bassford's composition continues much in the same style, using sextuplet arpeggios and occasional right-hand trills for textural interest; chromatic octaves in both hands highlight the closing section. In Gottschalk's work, his transition leads into a highly virtuosic and syncopated repetition of the antecedent/consequent style of the beginning of the piece. Measures 123-204 recall the melody and harmony of the

first section but feature aurally exciting and technically challenging variations, as seen in Example 3.5:⁴⁵



Example 3.5. Gottschalk, *Second Banjo*, op. 82, mm. 189-92.

Another 28-measure transitional section follows, again leading to a sustained dominant. Once more, Gottschalk returns to the style of the beginning, this time including only the first two eight-measure phrases, marked “più mosso” (mm. 233-48). The closing section features strong chords and a syncopated reference to the melody in the penultimate measure before a final tonic chord (see Example 3.6).



Example 3.6. Gottschalk, *Second Banjo*, op. 82, mm. 257-65.

The piece remains fixed in G-flat major; there are no known quotations of preexisting minstrel tunes in op. 82. Gottschalk refined his concept of this work, incorporating not

⁴⁵ An “easier” version is printed above the score for facilitation of performance by less experienced players.

only more interesting harmonies but also a melody found in blackface minstrelsy when he revised it into the now-famous *Banjo*, op. 15.

The Banjo, op. 15

The Banjo, op. 15, was composed in 1854-55, during the first years of Gottschalk's American concert career. Subtitled "Grotesque Fantasie, An American Sketch," the piece was dedicated to Richard Hoffman, a talented pianist who often assisted on Gottschalk's concerts in New York.⁴⁶ Since its first use in the 1480s to describe ancient Roman decorations unearthed at the Domus Aurea site, the term "grotesque" has meant strange or fantastic.⁴⁷ Its most common usage among art historians is to describe the gargoyles and chimeras projecting from Gothic buildings, but it has also referred to literary characters such as Victor Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame* and Frankenstein's monster.⁴⁸ The word "grotesque" was used by nineteenth-century authors in reference to minstrelsy and continues to be employed by modern historians.⁴⁹ W. T. Lhamon point out a number of such nineteenth-century uses of the term, including a reference to the Jim Crow dance as "the grotesque mask which life wears on one of its mysterious faces."⁵⁰ The word is even found in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to describe a performance by Liza's young son Harry:

⁴⁶ The atypical spelling of "fantasie," as opposed to the French "fantaisie," appears in the original.

⁴⁷ According to Geoffrey Galt Harpham, "It was left to the Renaissance, digging up its own past, to christen the style. . . . More because of the setting than because of any qualities inherent in the designs themselves, a consensus soon emerged according to which the designs were called *grottesche* – or of pertaining to underground caves." *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 27.

⁴⁸ Despite common confusion of the two, chimeras are figures used for decorative purposes only, while gargoyles are specifically the terminations of water spouts. Both are found on Gothic buildings. For literary references, see Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), especially 20 and 58.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Gary D. Engle, ed., *This Grotesque Essence: Plays from the American Minstrel Stage* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), and Leonard Cassuto, *The Inhuman Race: The Racial Grotesque in American Literature and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

⁵⁰ W. T. Lhamon, Jr., *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 138-39.

The boy commenced one of those wild, grotesque songs common among the negroes, in a rich, clear voice, accompanying his singing with many comic evolutions of the hands, feet, and whole body, all in perfect time to the music.⁵¹

Here, the term clearly serves not only to describe the scene but also to consciously distance the narrator from it. Such dissociation inevitably factored in most nineteenth-century references to the grotesque; Gottschalk's use of the term for *The Banjo*, therefore, carried specific connotations at the time of its publication and greatest popularity.

The title page of the original William Hall & Son edition of *The Banjo* by Gottschalk features an eye-catching visualization of the word “banjo,” which uses drawings of five banjos and one large tambourine, both blackface minstrel instruments, to form the letters of the word. The word “The,” above “Banjo,” is formed of bones, another instrument commonly used in minstrel shows (see Figure 3.1).

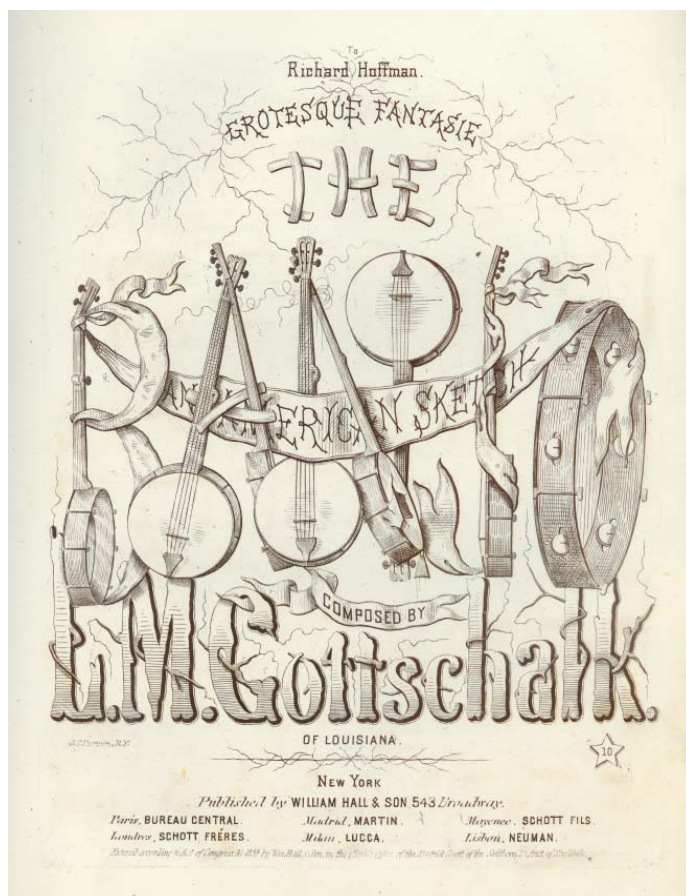
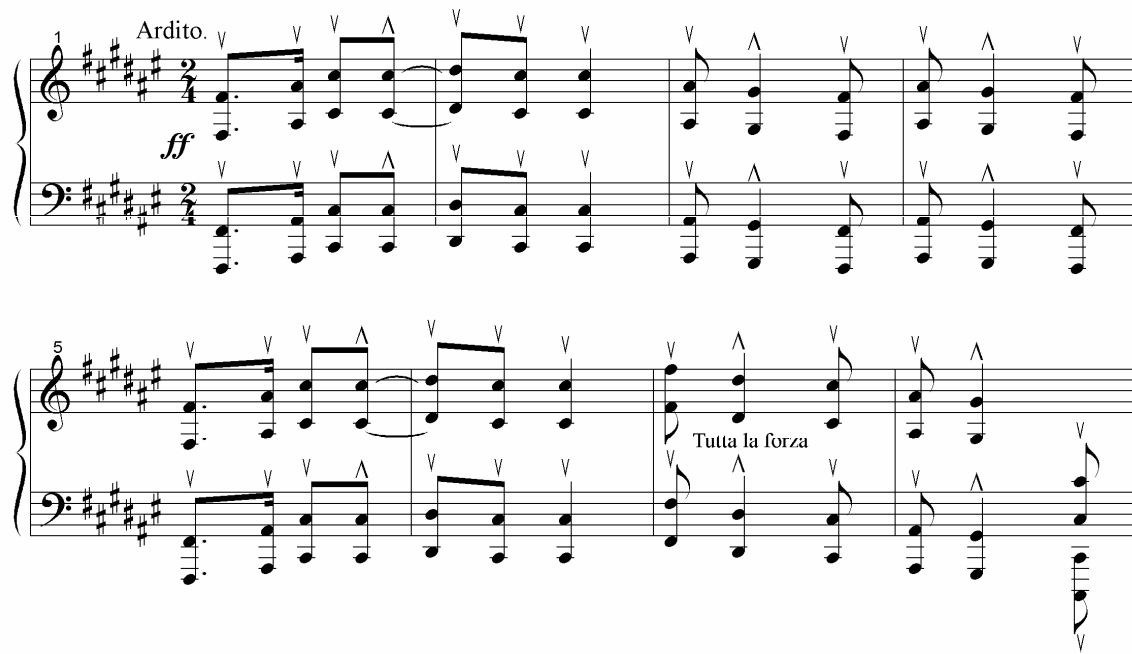


Figure 3.1. Gottschalk, *The Banjo*, cover page; from the collection of the Center for Popular Music, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

⁵¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life Among the Lowly* [originally published 1852] (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 44.

Gottschalk's composition brings together the separate elements of blackface minstrelsy, by means of Stephen Foster's minstrel song "Camptown Races," and virtuosity, both that of the original banjo styles Gottschalk observed and his own technical abilities on piano. The piece begins with an eight-measure introduction in the tonic key, F-sharp major, marked "Ardito" (bold or brave).⁵² The melody, heard in octaves in both hands, suggests a minstrel-like tune, but its source is not easily identified until it reappears in the coda.



Example 3.7. Gottschalk, *The Banjo*, op. 15, mm. 1-8.

The piece itself is structurally straightforward: balanced, eight-measure phrases feature diatonic harmonic progressions within the tonic key. Each phrase begins with the tonic chord and ends with tonic or dominant harmonies, creating clear authentic or half cadences. There are two identical short digressions into the dominant key area, C-sharp major. These are prepared by a secondary dominant seventh chord (in mm. 70 and 138) and feature an identical harmonic structure to an earlier tonic section. The entire form is depicted in Table 3.1.

⁵² It is interesting that op. 15 was published in F-sharp major, the enharmonic equivalent to op. 82's G-flat major and the key of Bassford's earlier work. No reason for the change is evident.

Table 3.1. Harmonic form of *The Banjo*, op. 15.

Intro	A	B	A'	B	A''	Bridge	Coda
mm. 1-8	9-70	71-82	83-138	139-50	151-66	167-70	171-228
F#	F#	C#	F#	C#	F#	F#	F#

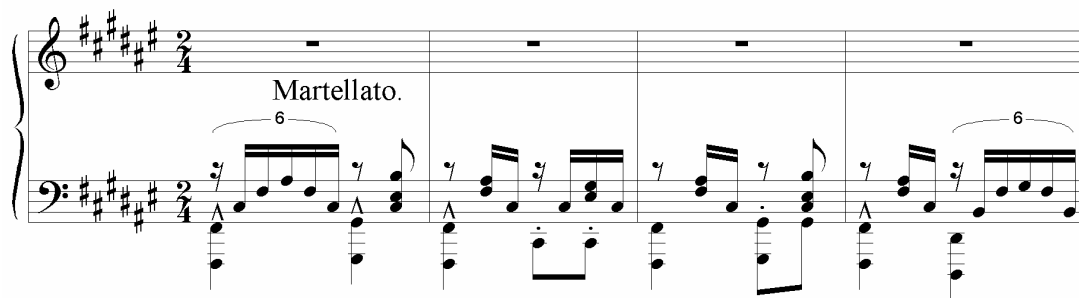
The first A section is subdivided into seven eight-measure phrases, with a six-measure vamp appearing between sections 3 and 4. The B section includes one eight-measure phrase and a four-measure vamp transitioning back to the tonic key. The second A section includes all seven phrases, but phrase 3 is now only four measures long and the vamp is also only four measures. The second B section is identical to the first. The final A section features four measures of phrase 1, eight measures of phrase 2, and four measures of phrase 4. As the A sections become shorter, the rate of the composition's unfolding thus increases.

The phrases in sections A and B have a dearth of melodic content. Instead, the focus is directed at distinctive rhythmic motives for each phrase.



Example 3.8. Gottschalk, *The Banjo*, op. 15, mm. 9-12.

Often, when phrases are repeated (in the second and third A sections, for example), slight rhythmic variations add interest, such as the added sextuplets in the second A section, shown in Example 3.9.



Example 3.9. Gottschalk, *The Banjo*, op. 15, mm. 115-8.

The absence of melody, combined with static harmony and a steady, strumming beat, conjure for the listener the idiomatic sound and style of the banjo itself. In his 1992 article “Gottschalk’s *The Banjo*, Op. 15, and the Banjo in the Nineteenth Century” Paul Ely Smith points to the similarities in stylistic techniques in early American minstrel banjo music and its predecessor, West African plucked-lute music.⁵³ Smith demonstrates that *The Banjo* mimics a brushless downstroking style, especially in measures 39-42 and 55-58, that was the original minstrel banjo style.⁵⁴ He also finds imitations of “up-picking” present in the piece, such as the sextuplet in the first measure of Figure 3.7 above. Up-picking, or plucking the strings upward, was and is used in combination with downstroking in some West African plucked-lute traditions.⁵⁵ Based on these observations, Smith argues that Gottschalk’s sources must not only have been minstrel performers, but also had to include African-American musicians, whom he could have met in New Orleans in 1853-55.

What the A and B sections of *The Banjo* lack in melodic interest is compensated for in the coda. Here the minstrel-sounding melody from the introduction returns, but now, rather than ending after eight measures on a half cadence, the entire sixteen-measure theme is heard, and the source material is immediately apparent: Stephen Foster’s plantation song, “Camptown Races,” first copyrighted and published in Baltimore by F. D. Benteen, 19 February 1850.

⁵³ Paul Ely Smith, “Gottschalk’s *The Banjo*, op. 15, and the Banjo in the Nineteenth Century,” *Current Musicology* 50 (1992): 47-61.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 48-49. Smith includes tablature transcriptions of these excerpts to reinforce his point.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

An investigation of the origins of Foster's "Camptown Races" enriches both our understanding of the song and Gottschalk's use of it in *The Banjo*. Camptown, Pennsylvania, is a small town in the northeastern corner of the state,⁵⁶ fifteen miles away from Towanda, Pennsylvania, where Stephen lived while in his early teens with his brother William (1840-41).⁵⁷ William Foster was the chief engineer in charge of building a canal along the Susquehanna River. While he worked, Stephen attended the Towanda Academy and later the Athens Academy. A famous horserace was held each year on a five-mile track that runs south from Camptown to Wyalusing.⁵⁸

While Camptown, Pennsylvania, was likely the town Foster had in mind, his use of its name had a lasting impact on another town in northeastern New Jersey. In the mid 1800s Camptown, New Jersey, was a village of about 900 people, most of them farmers, but a growing number were professionals and businessmen who worked in nearby Newark, Jersey City, and New York City who enjoyed its more rural setting. When Stephen Foster published his song in 1850, the residents of the village were concerned that people might associate their hometown with the bawdy goings-on of the racetrack featured in Foster's work. In 1852 the wife of the local postmaster suggested a new name for the town, one that commemorated Washington Irving, then among America's most famous men of letters. Since then it has been known as Irvington, probably the only town in America to have changed its name because of a song.⁵⁹

Musically, the refrain of "Camptown Races" is similar to a Negro spiritual, "Roll, Jordan, Roll." The octave arpeggio that begins the chorus, "Gwine to run all night," accompanies the text "Roll, Jordan, roll," in the spiritual; in addition, the general melodic shape is similar.

⁵⁶ Camptown is located in Bradford County and currently has a population of 396. U.S. Census Bureau [<http://factfinder.census.gov/>], accessed 22 February 2006.

⁵⁷ Duane Campbell, 11 November 2003 posting to the Listserv for the American Dialect Society [<http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0311b&L=ads-l&D=1&P=5773>], accessed 20 February 2006.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Wyalusing is also located in Bradford county and has a population of 564.

⁵⁹ Alan A. Siegel, "History of the Township of Irvington, New Jersey," [<http://www.irvington.net/home/history.htm>], accessed 20 February 2006.

The image displays two musical staves. The top staff, labeled "Roll, Jordan, Roll", is in 4/4 time and features a melody with a flattened seventh in the third and sixth measures. The bottom staff, labeled "Camptown Races", is also in 4/4 time and features a melody with a flattened seventh in the third measure. The lyrics for "Roll, Jordan, Roll" are: "Roll, Jor - dan, roll, Roll, Jor - dan, roll, I". The lyrics for "Camptown Races" are: "Gwine to run all night! Gwine to run all day! I'll want - er go to heav - 'n when I die, to hear ol' Jor - dan roll. bet my mo - ney on de bob - tail nag, Some - bo - dy bet on the bay."

Example 3.10. "Roll, Jordan, Roll," melody,
and Foster, "Camptown Races," mm. 25-32, melody.⁶⁰

While the spiritual was published no earlier than 1867,⁶¹ it would have been transmitted by oral tradition before then.⁶² For that reason, "Camptown Races" could have either been an influence on or inspired by "Roll, Jordan, Roll."

Whether or not the song was influenced by the spiritual, the text of "Camptown Races" is unquestionably secular. Its subject, bets on a horse race, points to the popularity of the sport in mid-nineteenth-century America. The lyrics of Foster's song follow:

Verse 1:

De Camptown ladies sing dis song, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
De Camptown race-track five miles long, Oh! Doo-dah-day!
I come down dah wid my hat caved in, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
I go back home wid a pocket full of tin, Oh! Doo-dah-day!

⁶⁰ The melody of "Roll, Jordan, Roll," appears with slight variations in editions by the following arrangers: J. Rosamond Johnson, *Book of American Negro Spirituals* (New York: Da Capo, 1925), 105-7; Hugo Frey, *Robbins Mammoth Collection of American Songs* (New York: Robbins Music Corporation, 1941), 180; and E. Charles Eggett, *Tennessee Ernie Ford's Book of Favorite Hymns* (New York: Bramhall House, 1962), 102-3. The version above, with a flatted seventh in the third and sixth measures, is derived from the 1925 Johnson edition. The flatted seventh appears in the 1941 Frey edition only in the sixth measure, and not at all in the 1962 Eggett edition. Notice that while Foster's tune, excepting the single surprising B-flat in the penultimate measure, is entirely pentatonic, the spiritual eschews the pentatonic scale rather quickly in the second phrase.

⁶¹ Doyle, 136. Also see Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 192. Southern reprints the song from an 1874 collection, *Cabin and Plantation Songs* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), and draws attention to its use of both flatted and natural seventh tones in a major scale, which contrasts with the diatonic scale in "Camptown Races."

⁶² See Southern, 180-9.

Chorus:

Gwine to run all night!
 Gwine to run all day!
 I'll bet my money on de bobtail nag,
 Somebody bet on de bay.

Verse 2:

De long tail filly and de big black hoss, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
 Dey fly de track and dey both cut across, Oh! Doo-dah-day!
 De blind hoss sticken in a big mud hole, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
 Can't touch bottom wid a ten foot pole, Oh! Doo-dah-day!

Verse 3:

Old mulley cow come onto de track, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
 De bobtail fling her ober his back, Oh! Doo-dah-day!
 Den fly along like a railroad car, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
 Runnin' a race wid a shootin' star, Oh! Doo-dah-day!

Verse 4:

See dem flyin' on a ten mile heat, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
 Round de race-track den repeat, Oh! Doo-dah-day!
 I win my money on de bobtail nag, Doo-dah! Doo-dah!
 I keep my money in an old towbag, Oh! Doo-dah-day!⁶³

The reference to the “race-track five miles long” confirms that this was the Pennsylvania racetrack close to Foster’s childhood home. The particular “bobtail nag” mentioned in the third line of the chorus was a Standardbred harness racing horse named Flora Temple (1845-1877), the first horse to complete a mile in under two minutes and twenty seconds.⁶⁴ Legend among horse enthusiasts has it that her tail was docked before she was an hour old; she was the only “bobtail nag” racing at the time of Foster’s composition. Beloved by the public to the extent that children were named after her, Flora Temple was immortalized in a number of lithographs by Currier and Ives as well as other artists (see Figure 3.2).⁶⁵

⁶³ *A Treasury of Stephen Foster*, arrangements by Ray Lev and Dorothy Berliner Commins (New York: Random House, 1946), 63-65.

⁶⁴ The Standardbred is a relatively new breed of racing horse, dating back only 200 years. The name comes from the fact that early trotters had to achieve a standard time for the mile in order to qualify to be registered as part of the breed. The U.S. Trotting Association, “What is a Standardbred” [<http://www.ustrotting.com/services/breed/harness.cfm>], accessed 16 November 2006.

⁶⁵ Standardbred Pleasure Horse Organization, “History” [<http://www.spho-nh.net/history.htm>], accessed 16 November 2006. Other artists include Mitton & Smith, Bradley & Co., and Wagner & McGuigan. See also “19th Century American Lithographs: America on Stone, the Harry T Peters Collection,” [<http://americanhistory.si.edu/petersprints/>], accessed 2 September 2007.



Figure 3.2. Flora Temple.⁶⁶

While there are differences between Foster's original 1850 melody and Gottschalk's 1855 adaptation, similarities abound. In Gottschalk's version the rhythm is simplified, and all syncopation is removed. Significant melodic differences occur only in the first and fifth measures and in the last phrase. Both melodies are reproduced below for comparison:⁶⁷

Example 3.11. Gottschalk, *The Banjo*, mm. 171-86, melody, and Foster, "Camptown Races," mm. 17-32, melody.

⁶⁶ Reproduced with permission from Sue Greenhagen, "Flora Temple" [http://library.morrisville.edu/local_history/flora/image.html], accessed 27 February 2006.

⁶⁷ The melodies have both been transposed to the key of F major for ease of comparison. Gottschalk's is in F-sharp major, while Foster's song originally appeared in D major in its publication by Baltimore printer F. D. Benteen in 1850. Available at *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music*, accessed 5 June 2007.

In the coda of *The Banjo*, this melody is first heard “ben misurato e tranquillo,” over relatively simple accompaniment and very static harmony: other than one IV chord in measure 181, the entire accompaniment is tonic.

Ben misurato e tranquillo.

dim.

Example 3.12. Gottschalk, *The Banjo*, mm. 171-86.

The melody is then repeated twice with sixteenth-note chords rapidly alternating between hands. During the second and third iterations, Gottschalk indicates a continuous increase in dynamics, energy, and tempo, as indicated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. *The Banjo*, op. 15, dynamic and tempo markings in coda.

Measure	Marking
187	ben misurato un poco più animato <i>f</i>
188	martellato
195	un poco più <i>f</i>
197	più presto
199	sempre più presto
203	<i>ff</i> prestissimo
204	crescendo
211	velocissimo
212	tutta la forza
215	<i>fff</i>
218	prestissimo ben martellato

Gottschalk continues to intensify the impact and excitement through the final six measures of repeated tonic chords that end the piece. Audience members must have been thrilled by the rousing finish of this brilliant composition.

Bunker Hill

Gottschalk composed and performed at least one other work that incorporated themes from Stephen Foster songs. His “fantaisie triomphale” *Bunker Hill*, alternatively known as *American Reminiscences* or *National Glory*, was composed in 1853 and performed not only as a solo work but also arranged for ten pianos as a “Grand National Symphony” in 1853 and 1854. The composition (or fragments of it) was included on concerts in Philadelphia, Louisville, New Orleans, New York, and Worcester, MA. At least on one occasion, on 28 March 1855 at a performance in New Orleans, Gottschalk performed two separate works, one billed as *American Reminiscences* and the other called *Bunker Hill*. It is possible that Gottschalk simply chose different source materials on which to improvise for each; such extemporization was customary for the composer.

This collage work originally derived from an earlier work that Gottschalk composed and performed during his visit to Spain in 1851-52. Then called *El sitio de Zaragoza*, it was also a ten-piano “monster work,” which has since been reconstructed by Victor Savant for a performance in 1979 conducted by pianist Eugene List. The composition employed Spanish folk material and played a prominent role in Gottschalk’s success in Spain while he was there.

There is no existing manuscript for this work in its final form. However, it has been documented that in various performances Gottschalk used the melodies of “Oh, Susanna!” and “Old Folks at Home,” as well as often including “Yankee Doodle,” foreshadowing its use in his later composition *L’Union*.⁶⁸ *Bunker Hill* was a crowd pleaser, perhaps because of its employment of familiar tunes by Foster. After hearing Gottschalk play a private concert for the press only a week after his 1853 arrival in New York, the *Mirror* effused,

⁶⁸ James E. Perone, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 104-5. Also see Robert Offergeld, ed., *The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Ziff-Davis, 1970), 16, and Lawrence, 395.

M. Gottschalk is one of the most effective pianists we have heard. His style is largely original, being characterized by great distinctness and purity of theme, boldness and freedom of ornament, and brilliancy and delicacy of execution. M. Gottschalk is decidedly American in manner, sympathy, and enthusiasm – though he has been abroad eleven years – and he gave us a magnificent apostrophe to our national airs, which he informed us was the outline of a grand composition he has long contemplated, to be called “Bunker Hill,” and calculated for ten pianos.⁶⁹

Just before Gottschalk’s departure to Cuba in February 1854 he performed the work at two concerts in New Orleans, at Mechanics’ Hall on 1 February and at Odd-Fellows’ Hall two days later. The advertisements announced that *Bunker Hill*, composed as a “Farewell to his fellow citizens,” would be performed “for the first and last time in America.”⁷⁰ One of the dual-language newspapers of the city, *L’Abeille de la Nouvelle Orleans / The New Orleans Bee*, had two separate reports on the first concert. The English pages reported of the work,

Gottschalk was well sustained by the amateurs who assisted him in the performance of the grand national Symphony of Bunker Hill, which, as a composition, is replete with artistic talent and harmonic beauty. The manner in which the British Anthem and the National Air of America are introduced, mingled and combined without confusing the ear, is a masterly proof of profound musical skill, and was well entitled to the enthusiastic plaudits with which it was received.⁷¹

A contrasting report appeared on the French pages. Contributor “E. L.” reported:

Sa grande symphonie de Bunker Hill, faite pour flatter les sympathies américaines, est digne en effet de les conquérir par l’ampleur des inspirations et la manière savante dont le sujet est traité. Élan de plus remarquable que le retour successif et la lutte; au millioui (*sic*) des torrents d’harmonie que ces dix pianos répandent autour d’eux, des deux airs nationaux de la Grande-Bretagne et de la Jeune Amérique; rien de plus grandiose que le triomphe définitif du chant de Bunker-Hill, du Yankee Doodle.

His grand symphony Bunker Hill, composed to flatter the American sympathies, is worthy in fact to conquer them by the extent of the inspirations and the knowing manner in which the subject is treated. Most noteworthy is the

⁶⁹ Quoted in Lawrence, 395.

⁷⁰ *The Daily True Delta* (31 January 1854), 3. Some newspapers erroneously stated that Gottschalk was leaving for Europe; others declared that the Havana trip was to be followed by a stint in Russia. See, for example, *L’Orleanais* (3 February 1854), 1.

⁷¹ *The New Orleans Bee* (2 February 1854), 1. Available online at the Jefferson Parish Library [<http://www.jefferson.lib.la.us/genealogy/NewOrleansBeeMain.htm>], accessed 5 June 2007.

successive return and struggle – in the midst of the torrents of harmony that these ten pianos scatter around them – of the two national anthems of Great Britain and Young America. Nothing is more grandiose than the final triumph of the song of Bunker-Hill, Yankee Doodle.⁷²

Whereas the English-language review focuses on the talents of the performers, the French one emphasizes Gottschalk's use of melodies, especially "Yankee Doodle," in order to "flatter" the sympathies of the audience. The French reviewer assesses the work and its reception from a greater critical distance than the American one, who is swept away by the "artistic talent" and "profound musical skill." By noting that *Bunker Hill* is "worthy . . . to conquer" American sympathies, the French reviewer also praises Gottschalk's compositional skills.

An additional review of *Bunker Hill* and its subject appeared a few days later. An editorial in the *Daily Orleanian* on 5 February 1854 took another journalist to task for his criticism of Gottschalk's work:

One of the morning papers reproves our most estimable citizen, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, that his magnificent piece of music, entitled "Bunker Hill," had not been adapted to the battle of New Orleans. We, on the contrary, find in the composition, all that is great and good. The battle of New Orleans was not a thing of national importance. The treaty of peace had been signed before it was fought. That battle, great and glorious it was, sure, and its result exalted a man, but the battle of Bunker Hill made a nation. We commend Mr. Gottschalk, not the less for his supreme artistic power, than for that good judgment which tells the whole of his country's power – *E Pluribus Unum*. We hope that our citizens will tender him a complimentary benefit previous to his departure for Europe.⁷³

The Battle of New Orleans (8 January 1815) was the final major battle of the War of 1812. Andrew Jackson defeated a British army intent on capturing New Orleans and, therefore, taking control of the Mississippi River, yet the skirmish happened after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent two weeks prior. The Battle of Bunker Hill (17 June 1775), however, occurred during the Revolutionary War and came to represent the noble

⁷² *L'Abeille* (2 February 1854), 1. Translation mine.

⁷³ *The Daily Orleanian* (5 February 1854), 1. Note again the erroneous mention of Europe as Gottschalk's destination. The confusion likely began with one reporter's mistake and was passed among newspapers, gaining in inaccuracies along the way.

American spirit.⁷⁴ Although the British army under Major-General William Howe was victorious, their severe losses changed attitudes toward the war on both sides. It was seen as a heroic stand by the Americans against oppression, and spurred unity among the colonists. The New Orleans journalist, in differentiating between the consequences of the two battles and recognizing the historical significance of Bunker Hill, emphasized the unity of the nation rather than the glorification of one locality. Here, the Battle of Bunker Hill and its musical interpretation by Gottschalk represent “the whole of his country’s power – *E Pluribus Unum*.” The implications of this review and its author’s opinions about nationhood increase the import of the piece’s reception history. “Yankee Doodle,” in this case, is not just a Yankee, but an American.

The Banjo Crosses Social Strata

While any study that touches upon minstrelsy of necessity touches upon race, in the case of Louis Moreau Gottschalk and his musical borrowings, the more significant issue may very well be class. The audiences for his concerts included listeners from both the upper and middle classes, some of whom also attended blackface minstrel shows in the theatres. John Sullivan Dwight confirmed this situation when he published the remarks of a music teacher in his *Journal of Music* in 1853:

There is music for the mass as well as the few. That this is a *fact*, I must deeply regret; but that it is the fault of teachers exclusively, I cannot believe. Whilst “Negro Vocalists,” “Ethiopian Serenaders,” and low priced third and fourth rate concerts are patronized by cultivated people it would take a legion of teachers to raise the musical taste of all their pupils to a higher standard.⁷⁵

Gottschalk’s audiences would not, however, have expected to hear minstrel music within the context of the concert hall. Hence the excitement over Gottschalk’s *The Banjo* and *Bunker Hill/American Reminiscences* in the press: this was concert music based on familiar, popular tunes from a distinctly other musical sphere. Clearly the use of preexisting music, even popular melodies, was not unheard of: Chapter 2 discussed the common practice of setting opera arias within solo piano fantasias. In Europe composers

⁷⁴ See Richard Ketchum, *Decisive Day: The Battle for Bunker Hill* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1999).

⁷⁵ “Letters from a Teacher at the South,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (26 February 1853), 164.

had been performing newly composed or improvisational works based on popular tunes for centuries.⁷⁶ Yet borrowing themes from Hungarian folksongs or opera is much less contentious than interpolating songs from blackface, an already controversial and divisive genre. To see or hear a banjo in a minstrel show in 1854 was expected; to hear banjo music and minstrel tunes in a concert hall was radical.⁷⁷ By incorporating songs and evoking instruments from the minstrel stage, Gottschalk's music was in effect crossing social strata. In this context Dale Cockrell's comments become more meaningful:

[I]t is no great leap to imagine that the use of blackface on the stage proper signaled parody of the legitimate "official" stage, in the same way that blackfaced "fantasticals" burlesqued the military. Can Daddy Rice jumping Jim Crow onstage do anything but transform the stage (and all that implies) into a distortion of itself? By supporting antitheatre, common Americans delegitimized highbrow "Theatre" and turned the institution toward the audiences' need for expressive, common, lowbrow "theater."⁷⁸

If blackface "delegitimized" high art music, then Gottschalk correspondingly legitimized minstrelsy for his audiences in works like *The Banjo* and *American Reminiscences*.

The Banjo additionally elevated its subject matter through its notation, publication, and subsequent dissemination to amateur parlor pianists. In his "Reminiscences of a Banjo Player" Albert Baur recalled that before the Civil War "everybody thought it impossible to write music for this instrument," and therefore most early banjoists did not read music.⁷⁹ It was only in the late nineteenth century that

⁷⁶ An extensive database on borrowing in music has been compiled by J. Peter Burkholder, Andreas Giger, and David C. Birchler, *Musical Borrowing: An Annotated Bibliography*, at the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature [<http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/borrowing/>], accessed 6 June 2007. Among the vast number of entries are essays on Josquin, Dufay, Bach, Mozart, Liszt, and Strauss.

⁷⁷ In her dissertation, Sarah Meredith states, "Prior to the Civil War minstrel banjoists began holding competitions to determine the best performer; by the end of the nineteenth century the best banjoists were touring the United States as virtuosic soloists." She points to the first banjo tournament, held in 1857 at New York City's Chinese Hall, where Picayune Butler was a contestant (who placed second due to his inebriation), as an instance of banjo playing outside the minstrel hall. Meredith emphasizes, however, that the connections between banjos and minstrelsy were sustained by means of the tournament's opening act, the New Orleans Serenaders. It was not until the 1880s that banjo concerts were held in Boston and New York. Sarah Meredith, *With a Banjo on Her Knee: Gender, Race, Class, and the American Classical Banjo Tradition, 1880-1915* (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2003), 106-10 and 246-48.

⁷⁸ Cockrell, 57.

⁷⁹ Albert Baur, "Reminiscences of a Banjo Player," *S.S. Stewart's Banjo and Guitar Journal* (February-March 1888), 2.

“classical” banjo players, in order to distinguish themselves from the minstrel performers, began playing from notated music. While the first banjo tutor appeared in 1848, banjo music notation did not become standardized until the end of the century, and most performers continued to learn via an aural musical tradition throughout the 1850s. Piano music, on the other hand, was from the beginning of the century a print repertoire.

The relationship between literate and oral/aural musical cultures serves as the central theme in Richard Taruskin’s *Oxford History of Western Music*. Throughout the six-volume work, Taruskin continuously reconsiders the tradition of notated music and illustrates how it relates to non-literate aspects of music making.⁸⁰ As a result of its oral tradition, the music of blackface minstrelsy was immediately accessible to a large group of consumers. It was a significant musical culture that, unlike European-influenced styles, required few “inherent resources” such as education to be performed or enjoyed.⁸¹ Banjo music, within the minstrel show, did not require musical literacy for performance or enjoyment, whereas Gottschalk’s music did indeed demand specific inherent resources in at least the performer (if not the listeners), including musical literacy and a high degree of technical proficiency. The two learning processes are contrasted not only by how knowledge is acquired but also what values are established through that process: reason and print became more respectable than the traditional modes of learning through personal communication and transmission. Dale Cockrell concludes, “The old way was a performative culture of the ear; the new a mediated culture of the eye.”⁸²

In marketing *The Banjo* for performance within the parlor, Gottschalk removed Foster’s minstrel tunes from their original context and elevated them to the middle class. Simultaneously, however, his use of minstrel music may have in fact moved him further away from legitimacy among the upper-most classes, as some of the reviews quoted

⁸⁰ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 6 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Also see his discussion of the work with James R. Oestreich, “A History of Western Music? Well, It’s a Long Story,” *New York Times* (19 December 2004), available at NYTimes.com [http://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/19/arts/music/19Oestr.html?pagewanted=1&ei=5070&en=eb04ed2e95bbe75b&ex=1181275200], accessed 6 June 2007.

⁸¹ Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 10. Lott draws the term “inherent resources” from Raymond Williams, *Culture* (London: Fontana, 1981).

⁸² Cockrell, 141.

below attest. In his composition of *The Banjo*, Gottschalk mediated old and new, performative and rational, aural transmissions and printed notation. The crossing of class lines inherent in the work illustrates the constant shifts in class and racial struggles at the middle of the century.

Critical Perceptions

Reception of *The Banjo* and *Bunker Hill* was mixed. “Gamma,” who wrote in the *Albion* in November 1855, was effusive:

Gottschalk is in New York! . . . Our delight at the encounter was great, for Gottschalk is not only in our eyes one of the most marvelous pianists of the present epoch, but he is also a composer of the first rank, a man possessing both head and heart, a poet, a genuine poet! . . . [I]n his last and still more pleasant production, “The Banjo,” what a fiery, impetuous peroration! . . . Gottschalk is said to be American, but we do not believe it. His birthplace was the country of Poetry and Love, and his cradle the lap of the presiding Goddess of the Piano.⁸³

Henry Watson provided a detailed description of Gottschalk’s 1855 New York concerts in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, and was similarly enthusiastic. *The Banjo*, he reported, “took the house by storm and drew forth a tumultuous encore. It is a composition so perfectly truthful that it almost becomes classic. We shall not attempt to describe it – to judge of its effect, it must be heard.”⁸⁴ And although Theodore Hagen wondered why Gottschalk did not play more music by the “serious masters,” he still found that “his dashing daring playing, his restless melodic phrasing [in *The Banjo*] created really interesting pictures . . . of Southern life and negro enjoyments [belonging] to the soil and, at least, the traditions of its people.”⁸⁵

The first mention of *The Banjo* in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* came from the New York correspondent identified only as “-t-.” He found it “curious, not as a composition, but inasmuch as its notes sound for all the world like those of a Banjo, and totally *unlike* those of a piano.” Then the reviewer shifted from curiosity to condemnation: “But is this

⁸³ “Gamma,” *Albion* (17 November 1855), 547-8. Quoted in Lawrence, 660-1.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Lawrence, 664.

⁸⁵ Theodore Hagen, *Review and Gazette* (29 December 1855), 432; quoted in Lawrence, 665. Capitalizations and punctuation appear as in the original.

not a desecration of the instrument? It really gave me pain to hear that beautiful Chickering ‘Grand’ put to such a use.”⁸⁶ By introducing the piano into his review, the critic pointed to the significant crossing of class lines that Gottschalk effected in his composition: the grand piano, the central, almost sacred instrument of the classical European tradition, was transformed into the banjo, an African-American, gourd-derived lute used in blackface entertainments.⁸⁷ The reviewer thus confirmed his awareness of the social transformations initiated by the work’s performance.

Dwight himself did not get to hear the piece performed by Gottschalk until 1862, nine years after Gottschalk had first been in Boston. In 1853 Dwight had reviewed a performance of *American Reminiscences* (an early version of *Bunker Hill*):

Could a more trivial and insulting string of musical rigmarole have been offered to an audience of earnest music-lovers than “American Reminiscences” to begin with! These consisted of a thin and feeble preluding, in which the right hand ran with exquisitely light evenness and brightness up and down the highest octaves, over and over, without any progress of ideas, as if it were merely scale exercise, followed at last by fragmentary and odd *allusions* to “Old folks at Home,” and then by that homely tune, (which seems to be a sort of catching, melodic *itch* of the times) fully developed, and then varied in divers difficult and astounding ways. Also “O Susanna” (if we remember rightly) in the same fashion. There was an eruption of silly applause here, and an encore which he answered with – “Yankee Doodle!” We say *silly* applause; for who, that admired such execution as a power worth having, could but feel melancholy to see the power so thrown away?⁸⁸

Dwight acknowledged Gottschalk’s powerful abilities and his “astounding” variations on “Old Folks at Home.” Yet he rejected the use of such a “homely tune” in a concert hall.

⁸⁶ *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (5 January 1856), 108. Capitalizations and punctuation appear as in the original.

⁸⁷ For more on the significance of the piano in the nineteenth century in Europe and America, see Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954).

⁸⁸ *Dwight’s* (22 October 1853), 21. Later Dwight clarified his use of the word “itch” to describe “Old Folks at Home” for a disgruntled reader: “[S]uch tunes, though whistled and sung by everybody, are erroneously supposed to have taken a deep hold of the popular mind; that the charm is only skin-deep; that they are hummed and whistled without musical emotion, whistled “for lack of thought”; that they persecute and haunt the morbidly sensitive nerves of deeply musical persons, so that they too hum and whistle them involuntarily, hating them even while they hum them; that such melodies become catching, idle habits, and are not popular in the sense of musically inspiring, but that such and such a melody breaks out every now and then, like a morbid irritation of the skin.” *Dwight’s* (19 November 1853), 541. Italics and punctuation appear as in original.

When Gottschalk announced a return to Boston, Dwight revisited his earlier comments and expanded on them:

What in fact do we find [in these concert reviews]? . . . Pain at seeing so gifted an artist so much led away from earnest paths, from the true dignity of an Art he had so much power to serve, by the foolish applause of that portion of an audience who only care to have the ear tickled with sweet sounds. . . . [A]s the *point of view* from which it was all written, a careful keeping apart of the two characters of *artist* in the higher sense and *virtuoso*, as characters not to be confounded, but which *were* utterly confounded in the claims made by his admirers for the “great artist and pianist.” This is a distinction which it is always incumbent upon a critic, upon one who undertakes to point the public toward *truth* in Art, to insist upon with earnestness. . . . [T]he worst that can be charged upon what we wrote of Gottschalk was faithful, resolute and frank adherence to our own “school,” our own “tastes,” our own *principles*, call them “ultra-classical,” “pedantic,” “transcendental,” or what you please.⁸⁹

Dwight’s careful distinction between “artist” and “virtuoso” deserves further comment, for twenty years earlier he had had no problems with traveling virtuosi at all. In the early 1840s the appearance of a number of virtuosi performers in Boston generated much excitement and admiration among critics in that city. In particular, the concerts of German cellist George Knoop elicited reviews that identified him as “the best performer on any instrument whom we have had here for a great while,” and stated, “Mr. Knoop is an artist of a much higher character than any other who has ever visited Boston. Indeed, on his instrument, there are very few in Europe who are equal to him.”⁹⁰ Dwight himself was quite taken by Knoop’s performances. As late as 1847 he described the cellist as “perhaps the truest artist who has been among us; a man of genius, if ever such a man has spoken to us through the medium of wood and strings.” Dwight continued:

He played but one solo, a fantasia upon *Robert De Diable* [*sic*]. He had not played ten bars, before the infinite difference between genius and all mere arts of effect was felt. There was something in the manner in which those bars were given out which made us feel as if admitted into the very holy of holies of Art; it was the ideal; such a perfect expression of beauty in one form as made you feel very near the centre [*sic*] of things.⁹¹

⁸⁹ *Dwight’s* (11 October 1862), 223. Italics in original.

⁹⁰ *The Musical Magazine; or, Repository of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence* 3:74 (6 November 1841), 350, and *The Musical Cabinet: A Monthly Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Music* (May 1842), 163.

⁹¹ Dwight, *Harbinger, Devoted to Social and Political Progress* 6:2 (13 November 1847), 11.

Here, Dwight used the word “genius” to describe Knoop’s fantasia on Meyerbeer’s *Robert le Diable*, likely a similar composition to those Gottschalk based on Verdi in the 1850s. Knoop’s playing was, to Dwight, transcendent: it led the listener to the “holy of holies of Art.” Dwight’s opinion on virtuosi performers was not as clearly delineated in 1847 as it was in 1862, when with his unfavorable comparison of virtuosi and artists, he declared his mission to “point the public toward *truth* in Art.”⁹²

On 18 October 1862 Dwight reviewed Gottschalk’s return concert in Boston. Consistent with his earlier sentiments, he was again disappointed with most of what he heard:

[T]he most satisfactory things in his programmes have been such little ballad-like pieces as the *Pastorella e Cavaliere*, and above all the *Berceuse*, in which distinct voices are clearly outlined against a happily chosen, simple, clear accompanying figure. There is not much in these little compositions, but what there is is genuine, individual, the thought just completely expressed, and all the better for their simplicity.

Since we have begun, we may as well recall here our impressions of all these compositions. . . “Last Hope” hardly justified its title of “Religious Meditation;” there were jack o’ lantern freaks in it. “Æolian Murmurs” could scarcely pass for more than a show piece; it displayed some of the most brilliant, exact, exquisite execution imaginable, but too many of the fine finger tricks for an honest tone-poem. The *Banjo* is a humorously close imitation of the vulgar original; good enough for a joke. “*Ojos Criollos*,” too, for four hands, might be all well enough in its way, did not its author in a note coolly place it on a level with Chopin. . . It is after all only a freak, more loud and bright than beautiful, and splashes saucy sunshine in your eyes by rioting upon the highest octaves.⁹³

In this one review, Dwight passed judgment on a number of Gottschalk’s compositions in the various styles: virtuosic, minstrel-influenced, exotic, and sentimental.

Dwight most enjoyed works like Gottschalk’s *Berceuse*, which closely resembles earlier character pieces by European composers, such as Chopin (op. 57 in D-flat major, 1843-44) and Liszt (D-flat major, 1854 / rev. 1862). Yet the sentimental and exotic compositions that he criticized, *The Last Hope*, *Æolian Murmurs*, and *Ojos Criollos*, also had European precedents, including Chopin’s nocturnes, Mendelssohn’s *Lieder ohne*

⁹² See Michael Broyles, “*Music of the Highest Class*”: *Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 286-92, for a discussion of the general shift in Boston from a positive reaction to virtuosity in the early 1840s to a more negative one by the latter years of the same decade.

⁹³ *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (18 October 1862), 231.

Worte, and Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies. Dwight's evaluations overlook the existence of such European prototypes for most of Gottschalk's compositions, instead focusing on his immediate reactions to them. His comment on *The Banjo* is a case in point: in one pithy sentence, Dwight simultaneously dismissed the piece as only good "for a joke" as well as more broadly condemning both popular music, symbolized by the "vulgar original," and the African-American culture and traditions that minstrelsy caricatured.

Why was Dwight so distressed by Gottschalk's concert, and in particular *The Banjo*? The entire program was an affront to his ideal concept of American music. Showy technical displays and crowd-pleasing minstrel tunes were less worthy than works by Beethoven and Mozart and the standards of European musical culture they represented. In addition, blackface entertainment from the playhouse stage was not an acceptable source of music designated for either the concert hall or the parlor. There was also a fear that the minstrel show and, more broadly, popular music were overtaking high Art and might even become America's predominant musical language. While Dwight conceded that "light" classical music might have a place next to the major European composers, minstrelsy was so unimportant that it was rarely mentioned in the *Journal*.⁹⁴ Both have since found places in the musical culture of the United States, but for Dwight his was a legitimate and heartfelt concern.

Dwight was personally invested in the development of culture in Boston and, on a larger scale, in the United States. He was passionate about both his work and his city, contributing to written histories of Boston and of the Handel and Haydn Society.⁹⁵ His aesthetic position, maintaining the superiority of Germanic composers, is clearly articulated in his writings on Beethoven. Dwight's harsh response to Gottschalk's

⁹⁴ See, for example, Dwight's discussion of the "cheap and popular concerts" to be staged by Thomas Ryan and James P. Draper, *Dwight's Journal of Music* (1 October 1964), 319: "[T]he concerts are to go on every evening, as the aim is to shape them to the wishes of an unfailing public, by trying various experiments, with the hope of demonstrating that something a great deal better than burnt cork "minstrelsy" may draw nightly crowds the year round." An earlier mention of black-influenced music placed it on a par with perhaps other unspiritual music: "A waltz, a quickstep, a negro melody or operatic bravura aria in a religious service is the height of impious absurdity." *Dwight's* (8 October 1853), 6.

⁹⁵ John S. Dwight, "Music in Boston," in *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts: 1630-1880*, ed. Justin Winsor, vol. 4 (Boston: Ticknor and Co., 211 Tremont Street, 188), 415-64; and Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts*, vol. 1: *From the Foundation of the Society Through its Seventy-Fifth Season, 1815-1890* (Boston, A. Mudge & Son, 1883).

performance followed logically. Although he never directly acknowledged such in his writing, Dwight likely believed that his high Art ideal for music in America was threatened by the lowbrow and the Other, represented in so many respects by Gottschalk and his compositions.

Summary

The very substance of Gottschalk's music embodies issues of race and class in various and complex ways. The knotted threads of minstrelsy and blackface, of banjos, slavery, and racial borrowings that are interwoven with virtuosity, high-art instruments, and genres through the three pieces discussed in this chapter do not unravel easily. Understanding these compositions sheds light on the controversial and daunting problems of race and class in nineteenth-century America.

The Banjo and *Bunker Hill*, in all of their manifestations, were revolutionary compositions. Gottschalk was one of few composers of piano music who transported the banjo from the theatre stage to the concert hall in the 1850s.⁹⁶ His business acumen is also clear in the continuous development of these works during his career. Both went through multiple revisions in an attempt to appeal to audiences throughout the world; *Bunker Hill*, originally the *Siege of Saragossa*, was even relocated from one country to another. In addition, his compositions reflect the mutable boundaries among musical types and social classes present in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁷

In light of the directions taken in American musical culture, Gottschalk's minstrel-influenced compositions become watershed events in the history of music in America. Whereas *Jerusalem* and *Miserere du Trovatore* reveal Gottschalk's ability to compose in the European style, *The Banjo* and *Bunker Hill* represent his attempts to create music using an unexpected and indigenous source. The works discussed in this chapter and the next were among the first to draw from cultures in the Americas. It was

⁹⁶ By and large, the other banjo works for piano discussed earlier in this chapter were intended primarily for parlor musicians rather than for performance in public concerts.

⁹⁷ For more on this early nineteenth-century class and genre flexibility, see Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

not until after the Civil War, however, when the Fisk Jubilee Singers achieved world-wide recognition, that Dwight declared that “the American school of music [had] been discovered.”⁹⁸ The music Gottschalk wrote and played before and during the war, even those pieces that used black instruments and minstrel tunes as inspiration and source material, did not qualify.

Dwight’s vacillating attitude towards virtuosity was perhaps a greater factor in his judgment on Gottschalk than any notions about what constituted an American school of music. Throughout the 1840s, hearing the numerous virtuosi performers that played in Boston, he continued to shape his viewpoint. In 1844 he wrote a letter to Lydia Maria Child, then editor of the *Democratic Review*, in response to her request for an article on Ole Bull. In it, he wrote that “excepting only a symphony of Beethoven or a mass of Mozart, nothing ever filled me with such deep, solemn joy” as Bull’s first Boston concerts had.⁹⁹ In his two-part article in the *Harbinger* the next year, “The Virtuoso Age in Music: The New School of Pianists and Violinists,” he stated that “the *genius of execution* has come to have *its* day, and, declaring itself independent, has created a music of its own. . . Hence the music of the fingers.”¹⁰⁰ The article purported to enumerate both the positive and negative aspects of virtuosity: Dwight acknowledged that “it is a very distinct and very legitimate province in the Art,” but went on to say “that its success is at the expense of other forms of music.”¹⁰¹ Yet the tongue-in-cheek “letter” appended to the end of the second part, from “C. Sharp” to “Mr. Phunniwhistl” on the event of the latter’s flute concerto performance, reveals Dwight’s final and perhaps frankest thoughts on virtuosity. The flutist is instructed to “keep the audience waiting . . . until they get tolerably fidgetty [*sic*]” before appearing; when the concerto begins, “you stand watching

⁹⁸ Cited in Mark N. Grant, *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 52.

⁹⁹ John Sullivan Dwight to Julia Maria Child, October 1844. Cited in George Willis Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight, Brook-Farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music: A Biography* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1898; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1969), 80-81.

¹⁰⁰ John Sullivan Dwight, “Musical Review: The Virtuoso Age in Music; The New School of Pianists and Violinists,” in *Harbinger* 1:23 (15 November 1849), 362.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 364.

your music, with your flute cast negligently into the hollow of your arm.”¹⁰² At the climactic end of the orchestral introduction, “Dominant seventh upon C, you holding the tip-toppermost [*sic*] B flat. . . . Then come scattering and tumbling down as fast as possible, with all sorts of skips and hops, quirps [*sic*] and quirks, and trills.” Dwight, or “C. Sharp,” continued with commentary on how to vary and ornament the chosen theme, “Polly put the kettle on,” since “it is not essentially necessary that the air . . . should be *bona fide* your own work.”¹⁰³ Dwight’s article, including this amusing addendum, illustrates his changing attitude toward virtuosity, and informs his comments on Gottschalk’s technical proficiency. The mention of popular tunes as source material additionally enriches an understanding of his response to Gottschalk’s minstrel-based compositions.

In less than a century performance contexts for black music enlarged and shifted: from its origins in the slave music of the plantations, it was appropriated by white musicians for blackface minstrel entertainment.¹⁰⁴ Later it became source material for European-style works in the concert hall, first by Gottschalk and his peers, then by other white composers. In the twentieth century the repertoire was reclaimed by black composers, including William Grant Still, Florence Price, and William Levi Dawson. Yet simultaneously with these developments black music continued to flourish, developing quietly (and not so quietly) within popular genres – ragtime, blues, jazz, soul, and rap among them – to claim its own place in the history of music in the United States. Gottschalk’s *The Banjo* and *Bunker Hill* are a part of this evolving narrative.

¹⁰² John Sullivan Dwight, “Musical Review: The Virtuoso Age in Music; The New School of Pianists and Violinists (Continued),” in *Harbinger* 1:24 (22 November 1849), 380.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 380.

¹⁰⁴ Of course, much of the purported influence of African-American music on blackface minstrelsy is dubious. See Mahar, 192.

CHAPTER 4

EXOTICISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND BEYOND

Gottschalk's Tours in Central America

Some of Gottschalk's earliest music was influenced by exotic source material. His pieces *Bamboula*, *La Savane*, *Le Bananier*, and *Le Mancenillier* were all written in the fall of 1848; each draws on Creole melodies he learned in childhood.¹ Wildly popular in Paris, these compositions were then featured in his concerts in the United States upon his return there in 1853. A lengthy and demanding North American concert tour prefaced Gottschalk's first visit to Central America, where he heard syncopated, exotic music that he incorporated into new works for his performances there. Following his successful debut in New York in January of that year he embarked on a circuit that took him through Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Louisville, and then to Boston and towns in the northeast. He also traveled to his hometown, New Orleans, in March, stopping in Mobile, Alabama, and Natchez, Mississippi, to concertize on the way. After returning to the north for a summer vacation in Saratoga Springs (where he wrote *The Banjo*) and further concerts in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, Gottschalk traveled once more to New Orleans in December. From there he and his brother Edward, then only seventeen years old, sailed on the *Crescent City* for Havana, Cuba, where they landed 14 February 1854.²

In the 1840s and 50s Cuba was the focus of a bitter dispute between Spain and the United States, who were fighting over possession of the valuable territory.³ Southern politicians advocated annexation of Cuba, which they believed would augment the pro-slavery faction in America. U.S. President James K. Polk authorized his ambassador

¹ See S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 73-76.

² Starr, 144-69.

³ See Richard Gott, *Cuba: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2004), 57-70, and Jane Franklin, *Cuba and the United States: A Chronological History* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1997), 1-17.

Romulus Mitchell Saunders to offer \$100 million to Spain for the island in 1848, an offer that Spain refused. Filibuster Narciso López led three expeditions from the United States to Cuba with the intent of invasion in 1849-51; after the defeat of his troops he was publicly executed in Havana.⁴ By the time Gottschalk arrived, slavery and slave trafficking had become central issues in the country's political situation.

During his year-long respite in Cuba, Gottschalk performed in numerous cities across the island, including Matanzas, Cárdenas, Cienfuegos, and Puerto Príncipe. He also composed a number of his most popular works there, including the sentimental favorite *The Last Hope* and, illustrating his continuing connection with exotic musics, the Cuban-inspired *El Cocoyé, grand caprice cubain de bravura*, op. 80. This work is an Afro-Cuban dance that draws its name from a number of popular songs in the region of Santiago de Cuba.⁵ It incorporates Cuban folk melodies as well as the characteristic *cinquillo* rhythm he would later use in his *Souvenir de Porto Rico*.⁶ Gottschalk returned to New Orleans in February 1855. The time he spent there before traveling again to the northeast for more concerts would be the last he was in his home city. For the rest of that year and the next Gottschalk spent much of his time in New York, where he composed and performed sporadically. In fall 1855 he lodged at the home of Mr. George Henriques in Manhattan, opened a teaching studio, and began to publish in earnest with the houses of Firth and Hall. He also undertook a concert series at Dodworth's Hall,⁷ which spurred another concert tour that included engagements in Brooklyn, Newark, Albany, and Philadelphia, and later further throughout the northeast and Canada. In December 1856 he performed again in a New York series that included his famous duo concerts with Sigismond Thalberg (see Chapter 2). With a successful season behind him, Gottschalk

⁴ See Tom Chaffin, *Fatal Glory: Narciso Lopez and the First Clandestine U.S. War against Cuba* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996).

⁵ John Godfrey Doyle, "The Piano Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 150-51.

⁷ Dodworth's Hall was a 580-seat room at 806 Broadway, opposite 11th Street and next to Grace Church. The Dodworths were British émigrés who had established themselves in New York as band leaders, dance instructors, and concert organizers. See Starr, 221-24.

planned a second tour of Cuba accompanied by the thirteen-year-old virtuoso singer Adelina Patti and her father Salvatore.

The musicians arrived in Havana on 12 February 1857. It was at this time that Gottschalk began keeping a journal to record his travels and performances. For five years he remained in the Caribbean, not returning to the United States until 1862, at the start of the Civil War. His time in Latin America constitutes Gottschalk's most productive compositional period. Many of his works dating from these years bear an unmistakable debt to native Caribbean music.

The Character Piece in the Nineteenth Century

Despite their unusual source of inspiration, the works Gottschalk composed during his Latin American trips had some commonalities with earlier European works. The *Souvenirs* discussed in this chapter are best understood as examples of character pieces, single-movement works composed for piano that evoke a particular mood or scene, sometimes suggested by a descriptive title. While styles, titles, and forms varied greatly among the works of various composers, ternary form (ABA) was common to many of them.⁸

The character piece became extraordinarily popular in the early nineteenth century. A number of circumstances coincided to form the ideal environment for this situation. The emergent middle class found itself with more time and money on hand, and pianos became ubiquitous in salons and parlors. Middle-class women in Europe and the United States, newly relieved of much physical labor, especially had the opportunity to practice for hours a day, and as a result the level of amateur playing was considerably higher than today. In addition, the newly invented lithographic process allowed sheet music to be printed at previously unknown rates, and new pieces were composed every day for avid consumers. These works ranged from very simple to highly complex and technically challenging, and were published not only as individual folios but also in magazines, music journals, and collected works. Many composers responded to the public enthusiasm for character pieces, including John Field, Robert Schumann, Felix

⁸ For further information on the character piece in the nineteenth century, see Elfriede Glusman, "The Early Nineteenth-Century Lyric Piano Piece" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969).

Mendelssohn, and Frédéric Chopin, whose mazurkas provide one entry point into an investigation of Gottschalk's exotic works.

Chopin's Mazurkas

Chopin composed numerous character pieces, including over fifty mazurkas, originally a Polish couples dance; it was a genre to which he returned throughout his career. His earliest mazurka dates from his teenage years, while his last composition was a mazurka as well. Two of the works by Gottschalk discussed in this chapter are subtitled "mazurka." An exploration of the dance's history and Chopin's own treatment of the genre situates these pieces within their social and cultural context.

The mazurka is always in triple meter with accents occurring on either the second or third beat, in contrast to the waltz, another triple-time dance with accents only on beat 1.⁹ The various steps involved in the mazurka – jumps, slides, and hops among them – embodied the polarities of idealized male and female gender roles in late eighteenth-century European society. Franz Liszt offered his impressions of the dance in his biography of Chopin:¹⁰

In order fully to understand how perfectly this setting suited the varying emotions which Chopin had succeeded in displaying in all the magic of their rainbow hues, we must have seen the Mazourka [*sic*] danced in Poland, because it is only there that it is possible to catch the haughty, yet tender and alluring, character of this dance. The cavalier, always chosen by the lady, seizes her as a conquest of which he is proud, striving to exhibit her loveliness to the admiration of his rivals, before he whirls her off in an entrancing and ardent embrace, through the tenderness of which the defiant expression of the victor still gleams, mingling with the blushing yet gratified vanity of the prize, whose beauty forms the glory of his triumph.¹¹

⁹ See Anna Czekanowska, *Polish Folk Music: Slavonic Heritage, Polish Tradition, Contemporary Trends*, Cambridge Studies in Ethnomusicology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), especially Chapter 8, "Musical Structure."

¹⁰ Liszt himself also wrote mazurkas for piano, including a work written at St. Petersburg in 1842; a mazurka entitled "Gdy w czystym polu [When on the Clean Earth]" included in the *Albumblätter für Marie Wittgenstein* (1847); his *Mazurka brillante* (1850), and later works written into the 1880s.

¹¹ Franz Liszt, *Frederic Chopin*, transl. Edward N. Waters (London: Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan, 1963), 52.

Through its identification with Chopin, the mazurka also came to symbolize Polish culture during its popularization in western Europe and the United States.¹² This innate exoticism may have contributed to Gottschalk's decision to write his own works in the genre.

Chopin's mazurkas encompass a range of emotional content, from melancholy and contemplative to lively, restless, or playful. Left-hand drones on the tonic (and sometimes dominant) and pedal points evoke the original bagpipe accompaniment of the folk dance, as in op. 6, nos. 2 and 3, and op. 68, no. 2. Chopin's mazurka melodies usually appear in the upper right hand. The texture is generally homophonic, a simple melody with accompaniment; rarely is there any counterpoint. In the exceptions, such as op. 50, no. 3, the fugal writing provides contrast and increases the harmonic complexity and tension.¹³

Harmonically, the mazurkas often avoid strict tonality, settling instead in Lydian (raised fourth, op. 56, no. 2, and op. 24, no. 1) or Phrygian (lowered second, op. 41, no. 1) mode. Highly-charged chromaticism provides further interest, as Chopin employs chains of unresolved dominant seventh chords (op. 30, No. 4), ambiguous fully diminished seventh chords (op. 7, no. 2), and unexpected modulations to distantly related key areas for contrasting sections, particularly through enharmonic mediant relationships, such as in op. 56, no. 1, in B major, which moves through E-flat major and G major; or op. 59, no. 1, in A minor, in which the return of the primary theme is heard in A-flat minor.¹⁴ In many of his earlier mazurkas (op. 7, no. 2, op. 17, no. 4), however, Chopin simply modulates to the parallel major or minor key, as Gottschalk later did in his *Souvenir de Lima* and *Souvenir de Cuba*.

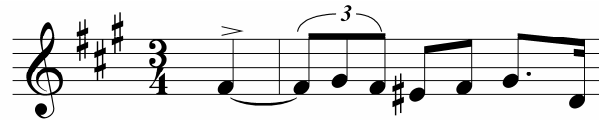
¹² The connection between Chopin and Polish folk music has been complicated by musicological assumptions and errors since his death; see Barbara Milewski, "Chopin's Mazurkas and the Myth of the Folk," in *19th-Century Music* 23:2 (Fall 1999), 113-35.

¹³ See especially mm. 157-72. Frédéric Chopin, *Mazurkas*, ed. Carl Mikuli (New York: Dover, 1987), 90-1.

¹⁴ The prevalence of mediant relationships such as the one in op. 56, no. 1, has engendered an entire subdiscipline of music theory, the Neo-Riemannian school of analytical exploration. See Richard Cohn, "Introduction to Neo-Riemannian Theory: A Survey and a Historical Perspective," in *Journal of Music Theory* 42:2, Neo-Riemannian Theory (Fall 1998), 167-180.

Chopin's mazurkas tend towards ternary form. While his earlier works are cast in a simple, straightforward ABA (some even employ the *da capo* instruction, as op. 7, nos. 2 and 5, and op. 17, nos. 1 and 3), as his compositional style developed, he experimented with the form, often lengthening it.¹⁵ His later works (such as op. 59, no. 3) manipulated the return of the opening material, usually shortening it and making way for a climatic coda section that is amplified both in size and in effectiveness.

Probably the most distinctive element of the mazurka is rhythm. Characteristic mazurka rhythms often feature two eighth notes on the first beat followed by two quarter notes to complete the measure. In many of Chopin's works and in both of Gottschalk's exotic *Souvenir* mazurkas, this rhythm is supplanted by a triplet on the first beat of the melody.¹⁶ In Chopin's case, this triplet is preceded by an upbeat of an eighth or quarter note that is sometimes tied over the barline, as in Example 4.1, from one of his earliest mazurkas:



Example 4.1. Chopin, op. 6, no. 1 (1830), m. 1, melody.

When added to the accents that fall on the second or third beats, this triplet serves to obscure the pulse of the music, creating a rhythmic flexibility. In performance this was heightened even further by the use of *rubato*, or slowing and accelerating of the tempo, which served to amplify the liberty that is already composed into the music. In fact, in

¹⁵ It should be noted that Gottschalk and Chopin shared a propensity for variation and ornamentation of repeated musical material in performance of their own works; therefore, the *da capo* instruction should not necessarily be taken too strictly. For discussion of Chopin's improvisatory style and technique, see Jonathan D. Bellman, "Improvisation in Chopin's Nocturnes: Some Suggested Parameters" (D.M.A. diss., Stanford University, 1990) and John Scott Rink, "The Evolution of Chopin's 'Structural Style' and Its Relation to Improvisation" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1989). Also see Bellman's article, "Chopin and His Imitators: Notated Emulations of the 'True Style' of Performance," *19th-Century Music* 24:2 (Fall 2000), 149-60, in which he discusses similarities between reports of Chopin's performance style and notated instructions for performance of selected Gottschalk works. Bellman notes, "Many witnesses agree that the composer [Chopin] played his own works, and melodic returns within them, with myriad variations" (155).

¹⁶ Other Chopin mazurkas to utilize the triplet rhythm are op. 7, no. 4, op. 30, no. 2, and Mazurka in A minor (no opus, 1841). Two others feature grace notes that similarly complicate the opening rhythm: op. 30, no. 1, and op. 67, no. 2.

Chopin's own performances of these mazurkas, the extreme *rubato* made it difficult for English pianist and conductor Sir Charles Hallé (1819-95) to determine the meter:

It must have been in 1845 or 1846 that I once ventured to observe to him that most of his mazurkas (those dainty jewels), when played by himself, appeared to be written, not in 3/4, but in 4/4 time, the result of his dwelling so much longer on the first note in the bar. He denied it strenuously until I made him play one of them and counted audibly four in the bar, which fitted perfectly. Then he laughed and explained that it was the national character of the dance which created this oddity.¹⁷

While Gottschalk consciously drew on Chopin's mazurkas as models for his own, he combined elements of the Polish dance with the sounds he encountered in Latin America, making his compositions at once evocative, exotic, and original.

Gottschalk's Exotic Compositions

Many of the characteristics of Chopin's mazurkas can also be observed in two of Gottschalk's works, his *Souvenir de Cuba* and *Souvenir de Lima*. Yet two other similarly named compositions, the *Souvenir de Porto Rico* and *Souvenir de la Havane*, evoke Caribbean genres rather than European dances. In them Gottschalk employed melodies and rhythms that he encountered in Latin America, where he composed wildly virtuosic pieces that featured colorful harmonic progressions, technically challenging figurations, and the distinctive syncopations found in the music of Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Souvenir de Porto Rico, Marche des gibaros, op. 31

Souvenir de Porto Rico was composed during Gottschalk's stay in Plazuela in the last months of 1857.¹⁸ He resided there for four weeks at the plantation home of the English-born Mr. and Mrs. Cornelio Kortright (Cornelius Cartwright). Gottschalk wrote about the welcome opportunity for rest and recuperation in his *Notes of a Pianist*:

What charming souvenirs these four weeks, so rapidly elapsed, have left me! – the happiness this peaceful country life gives me! Solitude, for me, is repose – is the

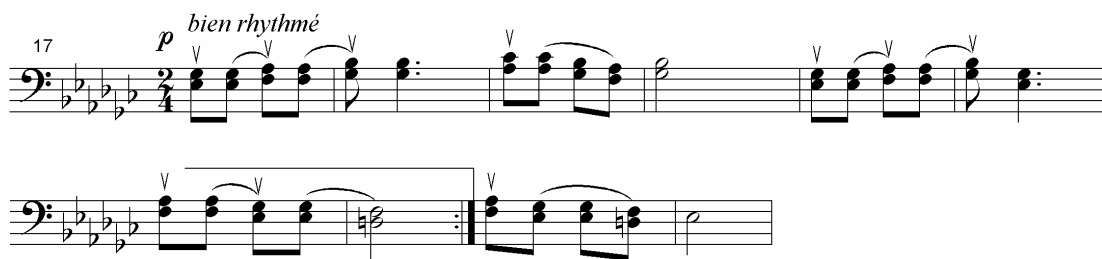
¹⁷ Sir Charles Hallé, *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé, With Correspondence and Diaries*, ed. Michael Kennedy (New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), 54.

¹⁸ Plazuela is located in what is now the Barceloneta county of Puerto Rico, about thirty miles east of San Juan near the northern coast. Today one can visit the Plazuela sugar refinery ruins, which include a sugar mill (*trapiche*), smoke stacks, and parts of a dock that was used to transport sugar by barge to the waiting ships on the ocean.

absence of the thousand distractions of this unquiet, giddy existence to which my career of nomad artist condemns me. In solitude, in reveries, and in contemplation I find fertile sources of inspiration. Then I turn my thoughts inward; all my faculties are strengthened, recover their original vigor, which the incessant contact with society and the constrained actions of men had occasioned them to lose. Only then am I myself. . . . Thus, above all, I have enjoyed at Plazuela what I have been deprived of for so many years, the first of all joys: “not having to give a concert” – that is to say, not being obliged, at a fixed hour, to bestow a certain quantity of inspiration for the price of a few dollars, but to find one’s self in the home life of the family; that is to say, to have the heart warmed by the contact of good and amiable people and to forget the thousand and one jealousies and miseries to which the talented artist is exposed.¹⁹

The *Souvenir* is dedicated to Mr. Ernest Lubeck (Ernst Lübeck, 1829-1876), a Dutch piano virtuoso and salon music composer who toured in the United States, Mexico, and Peru from 1849 to 1854. The subtitle, *Marche des gibaros*, refers to the rustic farming peasants of the island. Through the course of the piece Gottschalk uses syncopations, based on the Latin *tresillo* and *cinquillo* rhythms, and a Puerto Rican tune to represent the peasants’ march. The use of proto-ragtime chromatic harmonic progressions and soaring figurations also add to the individual character of the music.

The piece, in E-flat minor and *alla breve*, begins with a dirge-like march in the bass, joined in measure 9 by a drone in the right hand on E flat, which reinforces the funereal sound. The antecedent phrase of the primary theme enters in measure 17, marked “bien rythmé”:



Example 4.2. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, primary theme, mm. 17-32.

¹⁹ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 19-20.

This melody and its consequent are the foundation of the entire piece. Gottschalk biographer John G. Doyle has pointed out the similarity of the antecedent phrase to a Puerto Rican carol, or *aguinaldo*, “Si me dan pasteles, les denmelos calientes [If you give me pastries, give them to me hot].”²⁰ The Christmas carol is sung in a major key:



Example 4.3. “Si me dan pasteles, les denmelos calientes.”²¹

According to Doyle, the consequent phrase of Gottschalk’s composition, illustrated in Figure 4.4, is likely original to Gottschalk; he continues, “if so, there is no question of the artistic superiority of his creation, for it supplies the much needed contrast to the repeated rhythms of the first strain.”²² These two phrases are developed through seven variations, each building in brilliancy and complexity.



Example 4.4. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, consequent phrase, mm. 49-58.

²⁰ Doyle, 146-48. The Christmas carol was sung by traveling carolers who, through the text of the song, begged for treats. Doyle incorrectly refers to the carol as “Si me dan poste,” which renders the translation, “If you give me a pole.”

²¹ The folk song is printed in Doyle, 148; an alternative version with added syncopation can be found at “My Music Class” [<http://www.mymusicclass.com/recorder/Songs/SiMeDan.htm>], a website for elementary music students, accessed 13 September 2007. An arrangement of the song by Alejandro Jimenez for children’s choirs is available through World Music Press [<http://www.worldmusicpress.com/chorallist.htm#Caribbean>], accessed 13 September 2007.

²² Doyle, 148.

The first variation begins at measure 59. It is marked by a distinctively syncopated rhythm in the left hand, which is based on the Cuban rhythm called *tresillo*. Played against the straight eighth notes of the melody, this rhythm “swings” the music in a manner that would have been familiar to Latin Americans but not to most listeners in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. The shorter third note in every measure creates an impression of foreshortening; the accent on this last beat calls attention to the stumbling, tripping sensation and the seeming precipitancy of the next bar. While this is different from Chopin’s *rubato* and rhythmic flexibility, it has a similarly destabilizing effect on the listener.



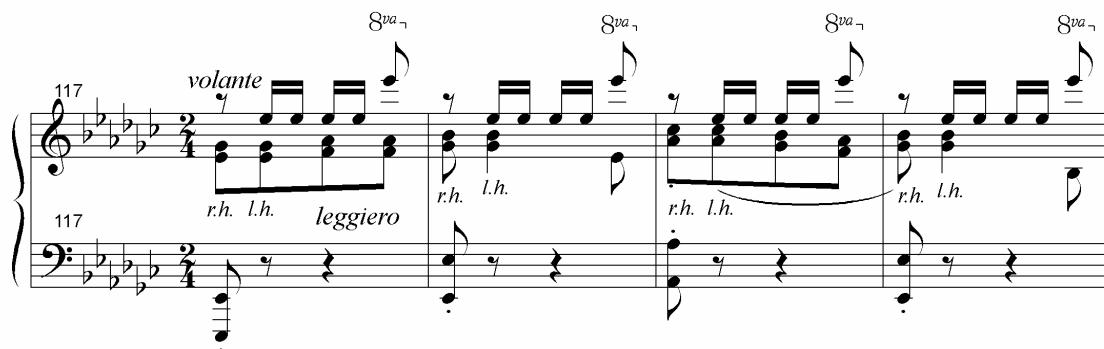
Example 4.5. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, mm. 59-66.

The second variation, beginning at measure 85, departs from the Latin-inflected rhythmic accompaniment and instead incorporates the rapid figurations for which Gottschalk was famous: while the right hand plays the theme, the left includes sixteenth-note chromatic descents, and when the consequent phrase appears in the right hand, it is accompanied and ornamented by similar now ascending figures in both hands. The mere recollection of a native melody and rhythm is thus augmented by more technically demanding virtuosity: the left hand especially is challenged with quick leaps over the right hand that must remain “elegante.”



Example 4.6. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, mm. 97-104.

Variation 3 continues the sixteenth-note divisions, but in a different manner: left and right hands take turns playing the melody in the inner voice at the center of the keyboard, while bass octaves on the first beat followed by high treble E-flats, perhaps inverting and animating the pedal point drone of the beginning of the piece, punctuate each measure.



Example 4.7. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, mm. 117-20.

The consequent of the main theme is treated almost exactly as it was in variation two. Whereas new figurations would have propelled the excitement, this repetition eases the momentum before the climax of the next two variations.

The fourth and fifth variations together constitute the high point of the piece. Variation 4 begins *ff* at measure 149. The left hand accompaniment recalls the *tresillo*

rhythm of variation 1, but it is modified. By removing the tie after the sixteenth note, Gottschalk made the rhythm that of a *habanera*. The range of the left hand expands to over three octaves, while the right hand melody is doubled at the sixth and octave.



Example 4.8. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, mm. 149-156.

The consequent phrase is embellished similarly to variations 2 and 3, but adds octaves to both hands for a richer sound.²³

For the central fifth variation, Gottschalk changes the key to F-sharp major, the enharmonic relative major of E-flat minor. This lively treatment of the theme in a major key lightens the mood of the march.²⁴ The *habanera* rhythm and the melody doubling at the sixth and octave of the previous variation are continued; what marks this variation as especially striking is the combination of *tresillo* and *habanera* rhythms and the use of descending chromatic voice leading, which appears prominently in the right hand melody in measure 175 in the following example.

²³ See Gottschalk, *Collected Works for Piano* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1995), 95. This edition includes an *ossia* that is simpler than the original score.

²⁴ The choice of F-sharp major for this variation could have been related to the seemingly brighter color of the key than the typically more subdued G-flat major, as in Chopin's Etude in G-flat, op. 10, no. 5 (1830-32).



Example 4.9. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, mm. 172-9.

Scott Joplin would use similar harmonic motion in his “Maple Leaf Rag,” composed about forty years later.²⁵ Scholars have since commented on the relationship, suggesting that Joplin studied and played Gottschalk’s music. In *Scott Joplin and the Ragtime Era*, Peter Gammond observes,

Gottschalk’s use of Creole melodies and habanera rhythms brings the pieces that use these very close to the lilting and sweet strains of Joplin’s rags, notably *Bamboula*, *Le Bananier*, and *La Savane* – which have been described as his ‘Louisiana trilogy.’ . . .

Joplin rarely used blatant habanera rhythm (*Solace* is a distinguished exception) but there is always a hint of its smooth, gliding movement in most of his creations. The nearest Gottschalk ever came to writing a piece of ragtime was perhaps in his *Pasquinade*, a caprice in polka form.”²⁶

²⁵ Examples of similar movement in Joplin’s “Maple Leaf Rag” are in the left hand accompaniment, measures 20-21 and 28-29, although the former moves in an ascending direction. Edition used: David A. Jasen, *Scott Joplin: Complete Piano Rags* (New York: Dover, 1988), 6-9.

²⁶ Peter Gammond, *Scott Joplin and the Ragtime Era* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975), 37. Also see James Haskins and Kathleen Benson, *Scott Joplin* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1978), 59: “[Joplin] also probably heard the currently popular tunes played in syncopated style, most notably those of composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk, whose composition *The Banjo* contained clever banjo imitations and was very popular at the time.”

In the 1860s, however, such chromatic motion over a habanera rhythm was uncommon and unfamiliar to most American ears.²⁷ This variation ends with an extended diminuendo cadence, which leads to the comparatively subdued sixth variation.

The final two variations create an arch form for the piece. Variation 6, marked “tranquillo” and *ppp*, is almost exactly like variation 2, whereas variation 7 recalls the first variation. Following this, the coda recalls the original appearance of the theme and then the dirge-like drone of the introduction. The structure of the piece effectively represents a march or tour from beginning to end, the music approaching from a distance, then becoming closer and more urgent only to recede at the end.

Gottschalk’s use of theme and variations form in conjunction with this arch conception deserves further comment. Many of his works are also cast in theme and variations, a form that has been employed by composers since at least the sixteenth century.²⁸ Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven all wrote works in theme and variations; in the 1820s and 30s a proliferation of compositions by Chopin (op. 2, Variations on “Là ci darem” by Mozart), Schumann (op. 1, Abegg Variations), and others were popular. In particular, the 1837 *Hexaméron, grandes variations de bravoure* was commissioned for a benefit concert in Paris; Liszt, Thalberg, Czerny, Pixis, Herz, and Chopin all contributed variations on a theme from Bellini’s *I puritani*. In writing the *Souvenir de Porto Rico* in this form Gottschalk was continuing a longstanding European tradition, yet his contribution was at the same time unique for its use of Latin American source materials. He returned to this synthesis of classical and exotic elements in his next *Souvenir*, op. 39.

Souvenir de la Havane, op. 39

The *Souvenir de la Havane, grande caprice de concert*, was composed in 1859 during Gottschalk’s Caribbean travels and dedicated “À Mademoiselle Marie Luisa del Rio Noguerida y de Sedano (de la Havane).” It was published simultaneously in the

²⁷ Unfortunately, I have not located any reviews of the work as it was performed in 1862 in New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia; the majority of the newspapers’ columns in those cities were filled with reports on the unfolding events of the Civil War.

²⁸ See Robert U. Nelson, *The Technique of Variation: a Study of the Instrumental Variation from Antonio de Cabezón to Max Reger* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948).

following year in Havana by the Union Musical Española and in New York, Boston, and Mainz. While no specific information is available about the dedicatee, it is possible that she was one of the Latin beauties Gottschalk described in his *Notes of a Pianist*:

Detained in a village where the piano was still unknown . . . (O rare and blessed affections!), I forgot the world, and lived only for two large black eyes, which veiled themselves with tears whenever I spoke of beginning my vagabond course again. . . .

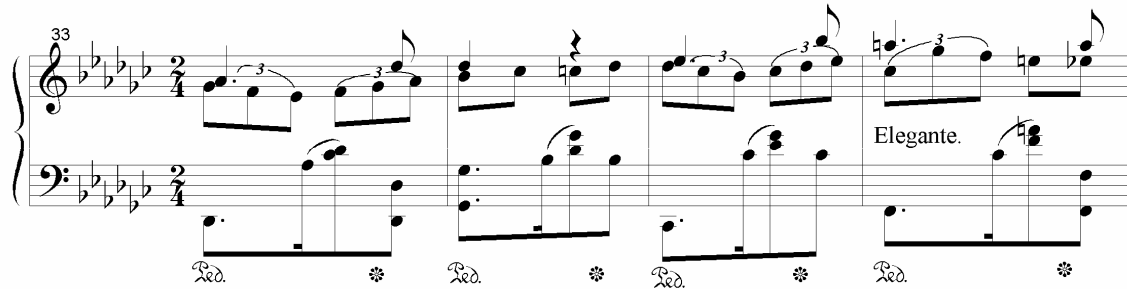
I saw again those beautiful *trigueñas*, with red lips and brown bosoms, ignorant of evil, sinning with frankness, without fearing the bitterness of remorse. . . . [They were] beautiful, dream-like girls impatient to bestow their love. . . who will know how to murmur in his ears these three words, eternally beautiful, “Yo te quiero” (I love thee).²⁹

This composition is also a theme and variations. Unlike *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, however, it features an introduction and transition, a cadenza between the second and third variations, and a coda. Although the key of the variations is E-flat major, a sixty-six measure introduction begins in the parallel minor. From the first measure the listener hears the influence of Cuban music. The *melancolio* melody in the right hand, which begins with a soaring leap from the dominant pitch B-flat to G-flat, is accompanied by the syncopated *habanera* rhythm in the left hand, as illustrated in the following example:

Example 4.10. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de la Havane*, mm. 1-8.

²⁹ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 40-43. The manuscript of the *Souvenir de la Havane* is housed in the New York Public Library for Performing Arts, New York.

A second but related theme appears over a middle-voice triplet accompaniment midway through the introduction (see Example 4.11), only to be answered again by the first aching melody.



Example 4.11. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de la Havane*, mm. 33-6.

The triplets against the straight rhythm of the melody and the syncopation of the *habanera* accompaniment create rhythmic tension that is reinforced by the marking *Stretto* in measures 37 and 39. The introduction ends *perdendosi* with a *rallentando* and fermata on the last chord.

An eight-measure transition employs the common dominant of E-flat minor and its parallel major. Accompanied by a slow crescendo and marked *Più Animato*, it slips easily into the primary theme by way of common rhythmic patterns. The accompaniment is momentarily transformed into a *tresillo* by addition of a tie between the first and second beats (mm. 67-74). Following this transition, the right-hand *elegante* melody enters, featuring a *cinquillo* rhythm that both complements and contrasts with the left hand (see Example 4.12):³⁰

³⁰ See Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., "Black Music in the Circum-Caribbean," *American Music* 17:1 (Spring 1999), 1-38, especially 6-12. The rhythmic patterns of *habanera*, *cinquillo*, and *tresillo* are all related to *clave*, the basic building block of Cuban music. *Cinquillo* consists of a group of five notes which syncopates a simple duple measure. A common variant, *tresillo*, ties the first two pairs of notes, resulting in a three-note pattern over the same measure.

75 Elegante. Con Spirito.

p Scherz.

ff

Red. *

Example 4.12. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de la Havane*, mm. 75-82.

The consequent to this lighthearted dance is rhythmically straightforward, but features turns and a fermata on the subdominant that lend a graceful air.

91 Cres... cen... do.

95 *f* *mf* A tempo.

Red. *

Example 4.13. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de la Havane*, mm. 91-8.

Each of the five variations presents the melody and its rhythm unaltered while changing the accompaniment in ways designed to showcase the virtuosity of the performer. Variation 1 features wide-ranging leaps in the left hand that require jumping over the right to the highest part of the keyboard and back down again to the bass. The right hand, for its part, adds descending chromatic passing tones to the final chord progression of the antecedent. This recalls the proto-ragtime harmonic motion in *Souvenir de Porto Rico* discussed above. The second variation elaborates on the first, adding more chromatic chords to the progression and varying the octave of the melody as well.

Instead of recalling the consequent melody as expected, Gottschalk interrupts variation 2 with a thirty-measure cadenza. This virtuosic display features right-hand ascending chromatic scales in octaves, followed by a highly chromatic chord progression that moves through various keys, including D-flat major, B-flat major, D major, and F-sharp major before returning to an extended vamp on the dominant, leading back to the main theme for variation 3 at measure 185.

The third variation places the melody in the left hand against a simple *cinquillo* accompaniment in the right. Marked *piano*, this variation seems to release the harmonic tension created in the cadenza. This tension returns, however, when the melody soon ventures into unfamiliar keys, including the chromatic mediant G-flat major and A major (in turn the chromatic mediant of G-flat). The harmonic movement in this composition is more complex than any of the other works discussed in this chapter. In fact, it seems more closely related to the virtuosic opera fantasies considered in Chapter 2. The form and keys of the work are depicted in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1. Harmonic form of *Souvenir de la Havane*.

Section	Measures	Main Key	Other Keys
Introduction	1-66	Ebm	
Transition	67-74	EbM	
Theme	75-90	EbM	
Variation 1	91-106	EbM	

(Table 4.1 cont.)

Section	Measures	Main Key	Other Keys
Variation 2	139-54	E♭M	ends in E♭m
Cadenza	155-84		E♭m; C♭M; G♭M; B♭M; D♭M; BM; DM; GM; F♯M
Variation 3	185-211	E♭M	G♭M; AM; B♭M
Variation 4	212-35	E♭M	
Variation 5	236-59	E♭M	
Coda	260-6	E♭M	

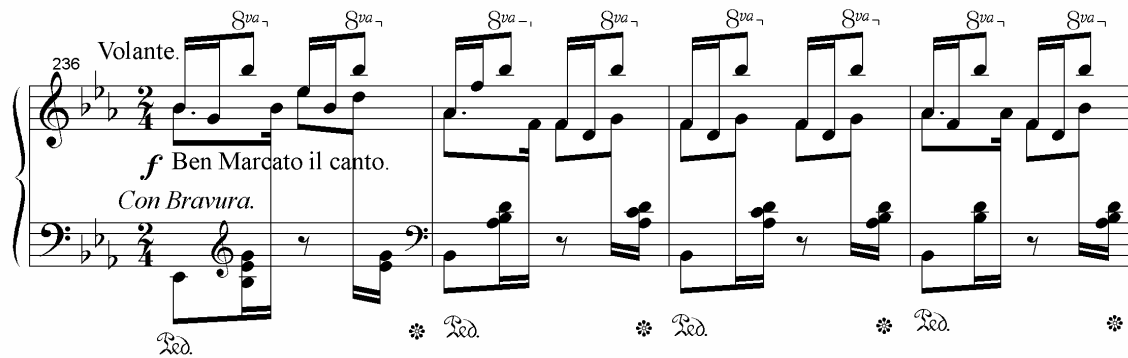
The harmonic complexity of *Souvenir de la Havane* demonstrates that Gottschalk was capable not only of brilliant manual dexterity but also succeeding at the more technical elements of composition.

Variation 4 is marked *Mano Dritta Solo*, or for the right hand only. The right hand takes on both the melody and accompaniment here, juxtaposing the syncopations of the former against unrelenting sixteenth notes in the latter. Such displays for one hand were not unheard of in the nineteenth century; however, the left hand was more often the one featured. Such works were written by composers Charles Valentin Alkan (op. 76, 1838), Carl Czerny (op. 735, 1846), and Adolfo Fumagalli (1828-56), an Italian pianist who in 1855 performed his *Fantasy on Robert le Diable* in Paris to great acclaim.³¹ One-handed compositions increased in popularity in the twentieth century with the commission of works by pianists Geza Zichy (1849-1924) and Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961), among others.³²

³¹ Theodore Edel, *Piano Music for One Hand* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 21-22 and 40-54.

³² Edel, 26-34.

The fifth variation reintroduces the left hand and what results is a virtuosic spectacle. The melody now appears in the middle of the texture, while both hands cross back and forth over it to leap for the accompanimental arpeggiations. Gottschalk marks this variation *volante* and *con bravura*.



Example 4.14. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de la Havane*, mm. 236-39.

The piece ends with repeated perfect authentic cadences, rising higher and higher in pitch. The last chord is, surprisingly, a I 6/4, lending an air of incompleteness. Gottschalk sustains harmonic interest until the very end.

Because of their distinctive fusion of European classical and Latin American exotic style elements, *Souvenir de la Havane* and its companion *Souvenir de Porto Rico* sound noticeably different from the works of Chopin. However, Gottschalk was also capable of composing works that specifically evoked that European composer, as he proved with the *Souvenir de Cuba* and *Souvenir de Lima*.

Souvenir de Cuba, op. 75

During Gottschalk's 1854 stay in Cuba he performed a composition entitled *Adiós a Cuba* at least once, on 2 April in Havana.³³ While there is no manuscript or published score of this work, a later composition, the *Souvenir de Cuba*, was published posthumously in the 1870s by Ditson and Escudier. The manuscript indicates that it was written in 1859, the same year as the similarly titled *Souvenir de la Havane*.³⁴ Subtitled "Mazurka," the composition is equal parts an homage to Cuba and to Chopin, whose

³³ Starr, 180.

³⁴ The manuscript of *Souvenir de Cuba* is located in the New York Public Library for Performing Arts, New York.

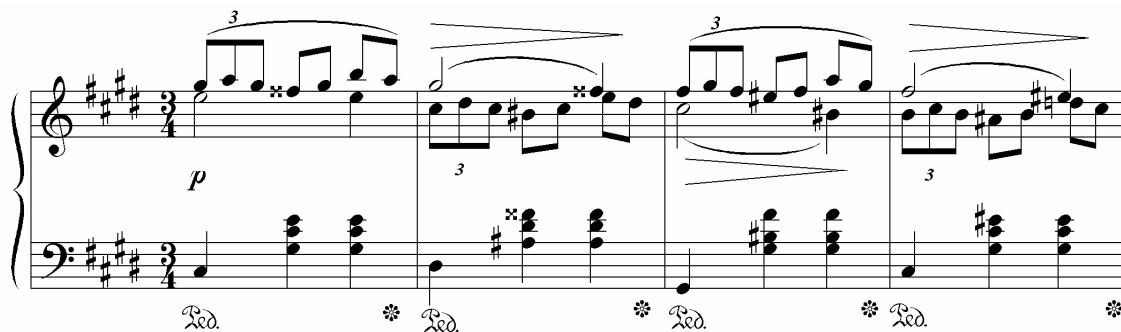
stylistic traits Gottschalk subtly fuses together. It is another example of what is likely the most characteristic factor of his compositional skills: the synthesis of style elements of diverse musical styles to create an entirely new sound.

From the first measure of the piece, Gottschalk's work evokes the sound of the mazurka. The piece is in the customary triple meter, and it is set in the key of C-sharp minor, which, not coincidentally, was the key Chopin used for five of his mazurkas, including some of his best-known (op. 30, no. 4; op. 41, no. 1; and op. 63, no. 3). The right hand begins the piece with a chromatic turn around the dominant. The rhythm of the motive clearly recalls that of Chopin's op. 6, no. 1 (illustrated above in Figure 4.1):



Example 4.15. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Cuba*, m. 1, melody.

This motive is the foundation of the entire composition. The first twenty measures serve as an introduction to the first section, also in C-sharp minor, which features the triplet rhythm now echoing back and forth between two upper voices suspended above a guitar-like accompaniment. This texture was foreshadowed in the introduction with an interchange between left- and right-hand motives.



Example 4.16. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Cuba*, mm. 21-4.

While the triplet rhythm and especially Gottschalk's subtitle explicitly reference the mazurka, other elements are at odds with the genre. The strong bass downbeats apparent in Figure 4.16, for example, contrast with the distinctive accents on beats 2 or 3 in Chopin's works.

Without any transitional passage, the piece suddenly shifts at measure 45 to the enharmonic parallel major key of D-flat major. This same key relationship was used by Chopin in 1846 in his op. 63, no. 3 (published 1847). The triplet rhythm prevails here, too, this time appearing in an inner voice under treble chords on beats 2 and 3 of each measure (see Example 4.17):

Example 4.17. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Cuba*, m. 45-6.

This section ends on a perfect authentic cadence that is immediately followed by the dominant pitch (A-flat), sounded solo then joined by first F then E-flat and G-flat, creating a pseudo half-cadence on the dominant seventh chord (missing its third).

Example 4.18. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Cuba*, m. 77-80.

This chord is also the enharmonic dominant of the primary key, which then returns in a full *da capo* repetition of the first section in C-sharp minor. The section is repeated note-for-note (although it is fully written out in the published version, Gottschalk used a shorthand in his manuscript for this repetition) and followed by an eight-measure coda that ends the piece, still featuring the triplet rhythmic motive that pervades the entire composition.

The shift from one key to another is simple when, as in *Souvenir de Cuba*, the keys are so closely related as to share a dominant chord. Chopin's distinctive harmonic style has been studied in depth;³⁵ his predilection for diminished seventh chords, especially as accompaniment for his Lydian raised fourths in the mazurkas, has already been mentioned. Like Gottschalk, Chopin overlays his basic harmonic foundation with appoggiaturas, passing notes, and other non-chord tones that create the sound and sensation of intense chromaticism while maintaining a fundamentally diatonic structure.³⁶ The two also share a tendency to disregard "correct" spellings of chords and keys in favor of more convenient or simpler ones.³⁷ But cadences and modulations in Chopin's works are often extended or elaborated through the use of sequences of otherwise non-diatonic chords, such as parallel streams of dominant sevenths. On the whole, Chopin's treatment of harmony is by far more complex than Gottschalk's, but there are common elements present in the works of both composers. The ABA form of *Souvenir de Cuba* also mirrors Chopin's preference for that structure in his mazurkas.

The formal structure, key relationships, and rhythmic motive in this piece all point to the influence of Chopin in form, harmony, and rhythm. What makes Gottschalk's piece unique is his use of two voices simultaneously in the composition as well as placing the main theme in an inner voice rather than always sustaining it in the soprano range of the texture. It is unfortunate that the composition was not published until after Gottschalk's death; it is a piece well-suited to the high level of amateur playing among his devotees.

Souvenir de Lima, op. 74

Gottschalk's last trip from the United States was wrought with difficulties. In September 1864 he was implicated in a widely-publicized scandal in California that

³⁵ See, for example, Gerald Abraham, *Chopin's Musical Style* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 77-95; Richard S. Parks, "Voice Leading and Chromatic Harmony in the Music of Chopin," *Journal of Music Theory* 20:2 (Fall 1976), 189-214; Eugene Narmour, "Melodic Structuring of Harmonic Dissonance: A Method for Analysing Chopin's Contribution to the Development of Harmony," in *Chopin Studies*, ed. J. Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 77-114, and Jim Samson, *The Music of Chopin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 100-19.

³⁶ Abraham, 79.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

involved two students at the Oakland Female College. While many Eastern papers did not publish the California story, Gottschalk felt compelled to write to Charles Francis Chickering, the director of Chickering's Pianos New York office, who also oversaw South American sales, to absolve himself of any guilt in the affair. In spite of Chickering's reassurance that "the matter is not one half or one tenth part so bad as you think it is,"³⁸ Gottschalk avoided the east and any possible disgrace, instead boarding the *Colorado* for South America.³⁹ After a month-long voyage in the company of "sixteen French Sisters of Charity, two Lazarists, and a young Peruvian priest," he debarked at Callao, Peru, the port for Lima.⁴⁰

Gottschalk arrived in Lima just as civil war broke out in the city. Two factions of the Peruvian armed forces, opposed over the complicated relationship between Peru and its former colonial authority Spain, engaged in battle just outside Gottschalk's lodging near the Plaza de Armas early on 6 November 1865. He watched through the window until a musket ball lodged itself in the balcony nearby. The revolutionary troops prevailed after three hours of fighting, and there were numerous wounded and dead soldiers left in the streets. Gottschalk was among those who tended to the sick and dying in the following hours; it was a difficult introduction to South America, especially after his similar experiences with battles and bloodshed during the Civil War in the United States (see Chapter 5).

Only eleven days later Gottschalk began a series of eight concerts at the Teatro Municipal. In these performances, he played none of his Spanish pieces and only two dating from his days in Spanish Cuba, but often programmed *Battle Cry of Freedom* and *L'Union*. Perhaps he was commenting on the Peruvian situation's similarity to two major United States conflicts: the American Revolution, in which the colonies had also fought their former colonizers, and the Civil War, so recent and so fresh in his memory. Not long after his arrival in Lima, the city suffered an earthquake in which the Teatro

³⁸ Charles Francis Chickering to Gottschalk, 6 March 1866, Gottschalk Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

³⁹ A thorough discussion of this incident can be found in Richard Jackson, "More Notes of a Pianist: A Gottschalk Collection Surveyed and a Scandal Revisited," *Notes* (December 1989): 352-75.

⁴⁰ Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, 330-31.

Municipal was heavily damaged, and Gottschalk was forced to continue his concerts in nearby Callao.

The *Souvenir de Lima* was not published until after Gottschalk's death in 1869. Ditson's 1873 edition, imprinted in Boston, included a composition date of 1860. While it seems unlikely that this composition would have been written before his first and only visit to Lima, the ex-President of Peru, General Jose Rufino Echenique (1808-1879), was Gottschalk's patron as early as 1857.⁴¹ The composition is dedicated to Charles G. Pond, a New York friend to whom Gottschalk also dedicated his later work *Dernier amour*, *étude de concert* (1868), op 63.

Also subtitled *Mazurka*, the *Souvenir de Lima* has much in common with Gottschalk's earlier composition *Souvenir de Cuba*, discussed above. The two pieces share the mazurka triple meter and a common rhythmic motive, as well as a similar harmonic and formal structure, although *Lima* is set in the key of F minor. It begins, like *Cuba*, with an introduction that clearly states the primary theme. The guitar-like accompaniment in the left hand supports this melody, which includes a triplet rhythm identical to that in *Cuba*.

The musical score for Gottschalk's *Souvenir de Lima*, measures 7-14, is presented in two systems. The first system contains measures 7 through 10, and the second system contains measures 11 through 14. The music is written for piano in F minor, 3/4 time. The right hand features a melody with a triplet of eighth notes in measure 9 of the first system and measure 13 of the second system. The left hand provides a guitar-like accompaniment with chords and single notes. Some measures in the left hand are marked with 'Red.' and others with a flower symbol. The tempo marking 'mesurato' is present at the beginning of the first system.

Example 4.19. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Lima*, m. 7-14.

⁴¹ Robert Offergeld, *The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Stereo Review, 1970), 29. Gottschalk had been recommended to the governor-general of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, by the General in 1857. See *Notes of a Pianist*, 13.

This eight-measure theme dominates the first main section of the composition. While the downbeats are somewhat accented in the first four measures due to the repeated Cs in the left hand, the second beat is also stressed by means of the appoggiaturas that occur in the accompaniment, making its rhythm more aligned with the mazurka idiom. The consequent phrase features accented pedal points in the highest voice contrasting with the middle voice's chromatic ascending lines offset by grace notes and appoggiaturas. The period culminates with a trio of descending lines, each higher in pitch, more chromatic, and faster than the one before, the last one ending on a *fortissimo* tonic chord.

The musical score for Example 4.20 consists of two systems of music. The first system, measures 33-36, is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a melody with accented downbeats and appoggiaturas. The left hand has a bass line with repeated notes and appoggiaturas. The second system, measures 37-40, continues the melody with chromatic lines and a final fortissimo tonic chord. The score includes markings such as *espress.*, *cresc. e accel.*, *f*, *ff*, and *mf*.

Example 4.20. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Lima*, m. 33-40.

A second, more emotionally-charged theme enters at measure 57. With its *rubato* and *a tempo cantato* markings, this melody explicitly evokes opera.

Example 4.21. Gottschalk, *Souvenir de Lima*, m. 57-64.

The eight-measure outburst is followed by the same consequent phrase as in the first period.

As in *Souvenir de Cuba*, the middle section contrasts distinctively with the outer ones. Here, the key shifts without warning to F major, the parallel of the tonic key. Continuous triplets create a *barcarolle*-like feeling that is maintained throughout the section. The return to the primary key and thematic material is presaged only by a *crescendo* in the last bar of the middle section.

This reprise is not an exact duplication, as in *Souvenir de Cuba*. The primary melody is now played in octaves in the right hand, and accompanied by a syncopated accompaniment in the middle voice. The piece grows ever more technically challenging with the addition of further runs and interpolations. The appearance of the secondary theme at measure 137 seems at first to repeat the first section precisely. It is not completed here, but prolonged to become the motivic material of the coda. The piece ends, like so many of Gottschalk's, on a *fortissimo* tonic chord spanning four octaves.

Throughout his performing career, Gottschalk presented new compositions based on patriotic airs or folk tunes of his host city. This is illustrated not only by such compositions as *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, but also in earlier pieces like *Manchega* and *La*

Jota aragonesa, compositions influenced by Spanish genres that he wrote during his trips to that country in 1851-52. Gottschalk did perform a piece called *Variaciones de aires nacionales del Perú* in Callao and again in Lima in December 1865, but it is now lost.⁴² The *Souvenir de Lima*, however, features no folk tunes and is influenced instead by European styles and genres. Why, then, did Gottschalk call this piece a *Souvenir de Lima* like his earlier *Souvenirs*? He was always concerned with his own financial and popular success and therefore recognized the need to compose works whose titles appealed to the local audiences. In choosing not to base his piece on indigenous music, he reconciled the necessities of the business of creating and performing music and his personal opinions on political situations. Gottschalk was indeed frustrated by the political situations in South American countries, including Peru. The entries in his *Notes of a Pianist* written during his time there are full of emotion and discontent, as in the following entry from October 1865:

There is not a point in the Peruvian character in which you do not find the gangrene of veniality, of ignorance, of corruption, of sloth, and of boasting. . . . The most unbridled corruption in every branch of government, the most shameless veniality among all classes, everything is sold, everything is bought. Sloth, ignorance, and hatred of the foreigner, these are the only beliefs profoundly rooted in the heart of this race, debauched physically and morally. Sad spectacle! And is this what the United States should risk its soldiers, navy, military honor, and millions for? No! A thousand times no!⁴³

Despite his personal feelings about his host countries, Gottschalk was able to continue writing and performing works that would appeal to his local audiences, even if the title was the only native element. In addition, by using Chopin as a model for his work, he planned a favorable reception not only from the residents of Lima and Havana but also from North American critics as well. Unfortunately, Gottschalk never returned to the United States; from Peru he continued on to concertize in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. He died in Tijuca, Brazil, on 18 December 1869.

⁴² Reported in *El Comercio* (25 November 1865), cited in Starr, 388. *El Comercio* confirmed that the composition incorporated the local dance, the *zamacueca*, a genre that Gottschalk knew and commented on in *Notes*: “[T]he story *zamacuecas* and other indigenous dances . . . although very picturesque, are not such as prudent mothers permit their daughters to indulge in,” 358.

⁴³ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 343-4.

The Reception of Exoticism

According to musicologist Ralph Locke, “musical exoticism is the process of evoking in or through music a place, people, or social milieu that is not entirely imaginary, and that differs profoundly from the ‘home’ country or culture in attitudes, customs, and morals. More precisely, it is the process of evoking a place that is perceived as different from home by the people making and receiving the exoticist cultural product.”⁴⁴ Using Locke’s criteria, Gottschalk’s *Souvenirs* are exotic compositions: they evoke the places for which they are named by means of descriptive titles and, in the case of the *Souvenir de la Havane* and *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, stylistic elements commonly identified with the “Other”: syncopated rhythms, colorful harmonic progressions, and melodies derived from foreign sources. The particular case of Gottschalk is complicated, however, by his role as a mediator, traveling between these locales and the United States. The function of his music was twofold: in the United States it served as an exotic suggestion of distant Latin countries, whereas in those countries it linked the outsider (Gottschalk) with the resident cultures. These multiple connections are discussed at greater length in the Conclusion, but a brief consideration of the historical context and critical reception of his exotic works situates the musical analyses within the context of European and North American reactions to exoticism.

Musical exoticism was not new in the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Mozart employed Janissary styles in his Turkish opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which debuted in 1782 in Vienna. Musical influences from the Middle East continued to gain in appeal throughout Europe following Napoleon’s Egyptian campaign in 1798-99. The pentatonic scales, raised seconds and augmented fourths, and bass drones and ostinatos used to depict foreign lands in music, were unexpected and appealing to listeners. Rossini wrote many operas on “oriental” subjects, including *Ricciardo e Zoraide* and *Maometto II*, during the 1810s and 1820s, and Meyerbeer’s *Il Crociato in Egitto* was premiered in

⁴⁴ Ralph Locke, “Exoticism and Orientalism in Music: Problems for the Worldly Critic,” in Paul A. Bové, ed., *Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 266.

⁴⁵ For more information on exoticism in music see Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds., *Western Music and its ‘Others’: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

Venice in 1824.⁴⁶ Beethoven included a Turkish march in the final movement of his Ninth Symphony (1824). By the 1880s works like Verdi's *Aida* (1871), Bizet's *Carmen* (1875), and Delibes' *Lakmé* (1883) were among the most popular operas staged.⁴⁷ These later compositions, however, employed foreign inspiration in a different way than the earlier works.

Mozart and Rossini used exotic source material primarily as entertainment and as satire. Carl Dahlhaus states that their comic operas used such elements as monotone declamation or Janissary instrumentation (bass drum, cymbals, and triangle) to “parodistic effect. Aesthetic and compositional norms were broken to create comedy as measured against the rationality of European classical music.”⁴⁸ Later composers instead drew on the music of foreign countries in a more humanistic manner, viewing those nations as different yet equal lands in a world slowly becoming smaller. Both *Carmen* and *Aida*, although foreign women, are title characters, main protagonists, and sympathetic characters who possess tragic and human traits. *Carmen*, a gypsy, is inconstant, fatalistic, yet captivating; *Aida*, an Ethiopian princess, is torn between devotion for her country and father and love for her betrothed. Verdi and Bizet are just two examples of composers who employed various approaches to exoticism that had arisen by the end of the century.

The presence of exotic style elements in music was always influenced by the individual backgrounds and aims of the composers. In piano music Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies and Chopin's Polish-inspired mazurkas and polonaises are some of the best-known examples of nineteenth-century exoticism in music. Yet both composers gathered their inspirations from their home countries, not far-away foreign lands. The boundary between exoticism and nationalism is an uncertain and shifting one. Richard Taruskin has referred to this gray area as “tourist nationalism,” wherein a composer like Chopin, born outside of Western Europe, could take advantage of his “other-ness” in his

⁴⁶ Edward Said's *Orientalism* is the classic source for the discussion of the “Other” in European history (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

⁴⁷ Despite the cool reception to the premiere of *Carmen* in Paris, it gained in acclaim after its initial staging in England on 22 June 1878.

⁴⁸ Dahlhaus, 304.

compositions.⁴⁹ Gottschalk too was a tourist nationalist, drawing on his unusual background and travels to create popular and successful works for performances. Gottschalk's concerts in Europe were in fact the first instance of his use of exoticism, wherein his "Louisiana Quartet" of *Bamboula*, *Le bananier*, *La savane*, and *Le mancenillier* were viewed as exotic by his French and Spanish audiences; his works with Latin American titles that he performed in the United States are later manifestations of similar inspiration.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, exoticist works were rarely performed in the United States. Verdi's *Nabucco*, first performed in New York in 1848, was one of a few pieces that exposed audiences to Asian lands.⁵⁰ In addition, occasional references to works like Niels Gade's concert overture "Echoes of Ossian," Ole Bull performing his "La Verbena de San Juan," or Jenny Lind's "Gypsy Song" pepper the history of performance in New York and other cities.⁵¹ As a result, when Gottschalk performed *Souvenirs d'Andalousie*, *El Cocoyé*, and *Bamboula* and *Le bananier* in America, he played for audiences largely unaccustomed to such foreign rhythms and melodies in the concert hall. These were new, different, unique; and critics seized the opportunity to discuss their originality.

Some writers had difficulty judging Gottschalk's exotic compositions for lack of standards against which to compare them. A contributor to *Dwight's Journal of Music* with the moniker "Chanterelle" remarked, "He always plays his own compositions in public. As these are peculiar, it is difficult closely to compare his style with that of other eminent composers."⁵² Another writer, "Alma," commented upon Gottschalk's "many

⁴⁹ Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, 17 (Macmillan: London, 2001), 689-706.

⁵⁰ George Martin, "Verdi Onstage in the United States: 'Nabucodonosor,'" in *The Opera Quarterly* 19:2 (Spring 2003), 230-50. It was performed at New York City's Astor Place Opera House (capacity 1,800) in Italian by the house company on 4 April 1848.

⁵¹ See, for example, Vera Brodsky Lawrence's *Strong on Music, Volume 2: Reverberations, 1850-1856* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 263, 476.

⁵² Chanterelle, *Dwight's* (1 March 1862), 383.

mechanical excellencies, and, super-added to these, a certain tropical poetry, that promised, under healthy and favorable auspices, far better things.”⁵³

Other critics attempted to put into words the sounds of Gottschalk’s compositions: his *Ojos Criollos*, for example, was dubbed by a Hartford writer “his brilliant and sparkling Cuban-eyed duet.”⁵⁴ The writer for the New York *Albion*, most likely Charles Burkhardt,⁵⁵ welcomed the uniqueness of his works:

His ‘Bamboula,’ ‘Bananier,’ etc., are truly original specimens of a new and delightful, a truly American, or, if you please, Southern Creole, school – the Gottschalk school, as it may yet be called. The warmth, the feeling, the poetry of the compositions we have named are Mr. Gottschalk’s own, are legitimate, national and classical, and will hereafter be identified with his name. . . .

In what . . . does greatness or excellence consist? We answer, in *Originality*; and herein lies, we conceive, the greatness and supremacy of Gottschalk. His is not the mere excellence of manual dexterity, great though it be. His is the higher order of merit, that of *originating*, not only new modes of phrasing, but new thoughts, fresh, compared with the ordinary channels of invention, as Nature is ever fresher than the hackneyed modes of art.⁵⁶

There are many levels of significance in this review, published just after Gottschalk’s debut in New York in 1853. Firstly, Burkhardt referred to Gottschalk’s “Southern Creole” musical style as American, legitimate, national, and classical. In these four words he validated the music and the composer in a manner that contrasted sharply with others’ opinions, and America as a nation capable of producing native musical art. Secondly, he pointed to the originality of the compositions as their greatest merit, again disagreeing with critics who wanted Gottschalk to play more works of the masters.⁵⁷

⁵³ Alma, *Dwight’s* (31 May 1862), 71.

⁵⁴ Hartford, CT, *Dwight’s* (12 December 1863), 148.

⁵⁵ Charles Burkhardt was a member of the German Society of New York and also contributed frequently to New York newspapers. He was also responsible for a German/English libretto of Weber’s *Der Freischütz*, which was published in conjunction with a performance of the German Opera Company in 1845. See Vera Brodsky Lawrence’s *Strong on Music, Volume 1: Resonances, 1836-1849* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 383, fn. 30.

⁵⁶ *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics and Literature* 12:8 (19 February 1853), 92. Emphases in original. *The Albion* was published in New York by the retired Dr. John Sherran Bartlett (1790-1863). It chiefly provided reprints of articles on recent news from Britain to British emigrants living in America.

⁵⁷ For example, Theodore Hagen, who in his *New-York Musical Review and Gazette* asked, “[W]hy not, then, for his own sake and that of a better art than the one which his fantasias present, play

Finally, Burkhardt compared the freshness of Gottschalk's works to Nature itself. The distinctive capitalization of Nature directly recalls the same treatment of the word throughout Transcendentalist writer Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay *Nature* (1836): "Thus in art does Nature work through the will of a man filled with the beauty of her first works."⁵⁸

John Sullivan Dwight, however, was not comfortable with such ideas, although the *Albion* writer did evoke the original Transcendentalists' language to validate the originality of Gottschalk's music. Even before Gottschalk performed in Boston in October 1853, Dwight commented on the reviews emanating from New York: "It sounds a little paradoxical to hear it said that [Beethoven's] sonatas are surpassed by a young man, chiefly noted for a brilliant play and for the composition of *Bananiers* and *Bamboulas*."⁵⁹ Ten years later, after multiple hearings of Gottschalk, Dwight compared him unfavorably with Chopin:

[In] his *Ojos Creolles*. . . he undertakes the part of a Chopin for the Creoles. . . . When a real genius, a Chopin, comes along, we certainly wish to hear him play his own compositions; first because we may suppose them to be worth hearing, and secondly, because others can play us Beethoven and the other classics.⁶⁰

As Dwight raises Chopin to the rank of genius, he simultaneously dismisses not only Gottschalk but also the Creole culture that inspired his works.

Because Dwight never pointed to specifically exotic style elements as offensive, it is impossible to determine his views regarding musical exoticism in general or Gottschalk's *Souvenirs* specifically. Knowing Dwight's preferences for abstract music, however, it is understandable that he would take a dim view of overtly exotic compositions. In the *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, the *habanera* rhythm and folk-derived melody conveyed, if not programmatic content, then at least an evocation of the Other for an American audience. Formal structure, the most prized element in abstract

something of the serious masters?" (29 December 1855), 432; quoted in Lawrence, *Strong on Music: Volume II*, 664.

⁵⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Brooks Atkinson (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 13.

⁵⁹ *Dwight's* (19 February 1853), 158.

⁶⁰ *Dwight's* (16 May 1863), 31.

compositions, is overshadowed; the unusual melodies, harmonies, and rhythms become the main focus. Such works inextricably tied to distant locales as the *Souvenir de la Havane* would have been objectionable given Dwight's penchant for Beethoven's sonatas. The sensual, hip-swaying rhythms of the *tresillo* and *cinquillo* were likely discomfiting and too earthy for Dwight's transcendent hopes for music.

Writing for the *New York Musical World* before Gottschalk's last departure for South America, an anonymous critic shrewdly observed that his exotic works were not necessarily appreciated by many listeners in the United States:

[T]ropical life awakes to melody under the touch of the Creole poet of the piano, Mr. Gottschalk. There are many beings, otherwise estimable, to whom the tropical sense is wanting; who are ever suspicious of malaria lurking under the rich, glossy leaves of the orange groves, who look with disgust and loathing at the exaggerated proportions and venomous nature of all creeping things; who find the succulence of the fruit unpleasant to the taste, and the flowers, though fair to the eye, deadly as the upas-tree to all other sense; for whom it is no compensation to feel, with the first breath of morning air, the dull, leaden weight of life lifted, or no happiness to watch the sea heaving and palpitating with delight under the rays of the noonday sun, and to know that the stars at night droop down lovingly and confidingly to the embrace of warm tropical earth. With an insensibility to these influences, there can be little sympathy or appreciation of the works of Mr. Gottschalk; for all that is born of the tropics partakes of its beauties and its defects, its passionate languor, its useless profusion, and its poetic tenderness.⁶¹

In this last sentence the critic encapsulated the exotic substance of Gottschalk's Latin American-inspired works, that which Dwight and "many beings, otherwise estimable," could not appreciate. Yet passion and tenderness were also highly prized qualities in the works of European Romantic composers. In addition, similar descriptors to "exaggerated proportions" and "useless profusion" could be and were used for European classical works that Dwight esteemed, such as Beethoven's Ninth Symphony:

Its length alone will be a never-failing cause of complaint to those who reject monopoly in sounds. . . . The chorus . . . is in many places exceedingly imposing and effective, but then *there is so much of it*, . . . and to crown all, the deafening boisterous jollity of the concluding part . . . Beethoven finds from all the public accounts, that noisy *extravagance* of execution and outrageous clamor in musical

⁶¹ *New York Musical World* (23 January 1865), quoted in Octavia Hensel, *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (Boston: Ditson, 1870), 202-3.

performances more frequently ensures applause than chastened elegance or refined judgment.”⁶²

Naturally, such attributes were seen as either positive or negative dependent upon the point of view of critics and audiences. Yet during the years of the Civil War, while Gottschalk continued to write works based on source material from outside the United States, he also began incorporating patriotic songs and melodies into new pieces. As a traveling virtuoso dependent upon pleasing the public to earn a living, Gottschalk was ever aware of his audience. Dependent upon individual situations he subtly shifted his compositional and performance style to satisfy its changeable tastes.

⁶² *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, London, 1825; quoted in Nicholas Slonimsky, *Lexicon of Musical Invective* (New York: Norton, 2000), 44-45.

CHAPTER 5
NORTH VERSUS SOUTH:
L'UNION AND "DIXIE'S LAND"

The Civil War: Effects

The myriad causes, events, and consequences of the Civil War have been well documented in studies dating from the 1860s through the twenty-first century.¹ A full account of the history of the period is beyond the scope of this study; however, a few observations of the effects of the war upon daily life in both the northern and southern states will refine perceptions about Dwight, Gottschalk, and musical culture more generally during the years 1861-65. In 1909 Emerson David Fite published a small volume entitled *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*.² Using information found in newspapers, technical and trade journals, and governmental documents, Fite enumerated the sometimes surprising effects of war upon agriculture, transportation, manufacturing, education, public improvements, amusements, and other social matters, concluding that "socially and industrially the North was more active and prosperous than ever before, for the war and war politics did not subvert these phases of the national life."³ He found that, as a result of new machinery and continued immigration, agricultural economy continued to flourish despite the lack of Southern crops like cotton and sugar, luxuries during the war years. Abraham Pineo Gesner's 1846 development of kerosene refinement led to the vastly lucrative petroleum industry, which

¹ See for examples of the earliest studies John William Draper's *History of the American Civil War* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1867) and Horace Greeley's *The American Conflict* (Chicago: George & Sherwood, 1867). For an example of the most recent scholarship on the topic see James C. Bresnahan, ed., *Revisioning the Civil War: Historians on Counter-Factual Scenarios* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006).

² Republished in the American Classics Series (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963).

³ Fite, v-vii.

in turn encouraged construction of new canals and railroads.⁴ Fite also noted the many entertainments that prospered in the north during the war. Among them, opera, dramatic plays, prize fighting, billiards and chess, and boat races (like those between Harvard and Yale in 1864-65) were favorites.⁵ P.T. Barnum's Museum and circus shows always played to sold-out crowds. He astounded New York society with the announcement of General Tom Thumb's marriage to Lavinia Warren. The 10 February 1863 event drew huge crowds anxious to see the two little people; admission to the actual wedding was free, but tickets to the reception were sold for \$75 apiece.⁶ Horse racing also underwent a pronounced revival after it had slowed due to the needs of cavalry troops, with new race tracks built in Washington, D.C., and Boston.⁷

The city of Boston saw the completion of a number of building projects during the war years. Construction on a new city hall began in 1862 and was completed in 1865. For the musical community, an even greater event was the addition of an organ to the Boston Music Hall. Erected in 1852 by the Boston Music Hall Association, the building was from its inception expected to house a great organ, the first and best concert instrument in the country. Nine years later, in 1863, the organ that had been built in Germany by E. F. Walcker and Co. was transported to the United States. After installation and construction of its American black walnut case, the organ had its inaugural concert on 2 November 1863.⁸ Following an "Ode" recited by Miss Charlotte Cushman, John Knowles Paine performed two compositions by J. S. Bach, the Grand Toccata in F major and a Trio Sonata in E-flat major for two manuals and pedal. Other organists continued the concert, featuring another piece by Bach, two by Handel,

⁴ See Loris S. Russell, "Abraham Gesner," in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [<http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=38570>], accessed 14 June 2007.

⁵ See Fite, 4-12, 24-32, 42-48, and 259-69. The first Harvard-Yale boat races were held in the 1850s, while no races were held 1861-63. Incidentally, Yale won in both 1864 and 1865.

⁶ "Tom Thumb and His Wife," *Harper's Weekly* (21 February 1863), 113-14. Proving that the issue of slavery was not fully reconciled in the war, the article is followed by two entitled "Slaves in Louisiana" and "The Irrepressible Conflict Again."

⁷ See Chapter 3 for more information on horse racing and its connections with Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races."

⁸ Edward J. Sampson, Jr., "Methuen Memorial Music Hall History," [<http://www.mmmh.org/mmmh-history.htm>], accessed 1 October 2006. The organ was later moved out of the hall and is now housed in the Methuen Memorial Music Hall.

including the “Hallelujah Chorus” from *Messiah*, and works by Mendelssohn, Palestrina, Purcell, and Lefébure-Wely.⁹ In his *Journal of Music* John Sullivan Dwight reported approvingly that “the programme . . . was so selected as to be worthy of the occasion, interpretative of the true worth of this new possession, and such as might be read with pride hereafter in the story of our Organ.”¹⁰ The war appeared to have little impact upon this momentous day.

Whereas life in northern cities maintained the appearance of normality, the southern and border states, where most of the fighting occurred, experienced many more obvious changes. Although Gottschalk performed mostly in the north, he did travel in Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri in 1862-63, and therefore saw some of the war’s effects upon the citizens of the small towns in the border states. While it is beyond the scope of this study to review the detailed literature available on the Civil War and the south, Daniel E. Sutherland’s microhistorical study of a small county in Virginia in his book *Seasons of War* illuminates the daily struggles and adjustments for its citizens.¹¹

Culpeper County is approximately seventy miles from Alexandria, where Gottschalk performed in April 1863. He reported in his *Notes of a Pianist* on 27 April:

This city [Alexandria, VA] has played such a very important part in the war – occupied in turn by the Federalists and the Confederates and finally becoming the headquarters of the first – that I experienced on going there a little of that indefinable sentiment which seizes us when we find ourselves on an old field of battle, picturing in our thoughts the great victory of which it has been the theater. . . . We put up at the Marshall House Hotel, almost entirely occupied by soldiers. The Alexandria garrison amounts to from thirty to forty thousand men. The general hospital of the Army of the Potomac has been established at Alexandria; therefore, we meet invalids at every step. The sight of a mutilated soldier is

⁹ Louis-James-Alfred Lefébure-Wely (1817-1869) was an organist and composer in Paris.

¹⁰ John Sullivan Dwight, *Journal of Music* (14 November 1863), 135. The entire program is listed on page 134. Dwight included articles about the organ beginning in March of that year and continued writing about the addition to Boston’s music scene through January 1864. Regarding the inauguration program, he wrote on 17 October that it “has shaped itself out of the elements and after the idea, essentially, which we in a former article suggested,” 118.

¹¹ Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (New York: The Free Press, 1995). Sutherland traces the war years and their consequences in Culpeper County, Virginia.

always a sad spectacle; here it is heart-rending, almost all those whom I meet being young men – some almost children.¹²

On the same day, in her own diary Culpeper County resident Sally Armstrong wrote, “No Yankees today. How can we be thankful enough to our heavenly Father, who keeps these savages from destroying us!”¹³ This was the same month that saw the infamous Bread Riots in Richmond, when women marched through the streets and broke store windows in search of food.¹⁴ Clearly, Virginia was at the core of the conflict, and Gottschalk was there to witness it.

Wartime Performances

For Gottschalk life during the war meant performing constantly. The years 1862-65 were among his most demanding. In his *Notes* he recorded feeling “whirled in space. This agitated life is a distressing monotony . . . *Pianistomonambulist!*”¹⁵ He also noted in December 1862 that he had given eighty-five concerts and traveled fifteen thousand miles in fewer than five months. He described his routine:

Eighteen hours a day on the railroad! Arrive at seven o’clock in the evening, eat with all speed, appear at eight o’clock before the public. The last note finished, rush quickly for my luggage, and en route until next day, always to the same thing! I have become stupid with it. . . . The sight of a piano sets my hair on end.¹⁶

Throughout this period Gottschalk even performed within active battle zones. The effects of the war were sometimes particularly close at hand, especially considering Gottschalk’s frequent use of trains, which also transferred both Southern and Northern troops from cities to battlegrounds. Among his 1862 entries can be found, for example, the following:

¹² Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Knopf, 1964), 115-16.

¹³ Sutherland, 226.

¹⁴ David Herbert Donald, Jean H. Baker, and Michael F. Holt, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2001), 458.

¹⁵ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

5 March: Tomorrow I shall go to General Wadsworth's camp. . . . The government has done us the favor of sending us a safe-conduct. Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, desires to see me, not as an artist only, but also as a Louisianian remaining faithful to the Constitution.

18 April: At one of the stations, going from Chicago to Toledo, we found a convoy of wounded from the last battle – Pittsburg Landing. It is a heart-rending sight. All the ladies of the place are nursing them. The Miss Nightingales multiply here.

30 May: We have just picked up many wounded and sick at a station. . . . Sweating from fever and shivering in spite of the temperature of June, a young officer whose features, naturally handsome, are disfigured by wasting enters the car supported by two soldiers; he is carried to his car. He is a living skeleton. I have since learned that the bursting of a bomb shattered his thigh.¹⁷

In July 1862 Gottschalk witnessed the funeral of a combatant. Even amidst the grief of the occasion, he was captivated by the ceremonial music played by the servicemen:

8 July: Saw the interment of a sergeant of artillery who was killed by a soldier. A detachment of the Seventeenth Rifles of the artillery gunners and one hundred sergeants, with the staff officers, accompanied the body, which was placed on a gun carriage. The music was singular. The drummers beat a roll that lasted one bar; then a rest for one bar; and a blow of the bass drum on the weak part of the bar; then a harmony of eight bars in the minor mode, played by flutes in minor thirds. It was melancholy and mournful and filled you with profound emotion.¹⁸

Gottschalk's constant touring meant that he experienced the war in a way few others did, especially those in the northeast who were removed from the scenes of battle. During the years 1862-65, he performed in the states indicated in Figure 5.1 (see following page). In addition, he performed in Canada, including the cities of Hamilton, Kingston, Ottawa, St. Catherine, Bellevue, and Toronto in Ontario province as well as Montreal and Quebec in the province of Quebec.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 55, 59, 73.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁹ In an entry from Gottschalk's *Notes* during his Canadian travels, he reports "a multitude of notes on Canada" that he has taken: "What a frightful country! . . . The polka is forbidden, the waltz prohibited. . . The walls, the houses, the streets distill ennui. . . . In politics, they still play, whistle, and sing "Dixie." The audience calls to the orchestra every evening for "Dixie" as in '48 in Paris they called for the "Marseillaise." 13 May 1864; Gottschalk, *Notes*, 228-29.



Figure 5.1. Shaded areas indicate American states in which Gottschalk performed during the Civil War.²⁰

In a journal entry from Philadelphia on 26 May 1862 Gottschalk recorded news of the war and especially a recent riot in Baltimore, where “an imposing police force guards the streets.” In an especially penetrating entry, he reflected,

A bad business for me, who ought to give a concert there in two days. I understand very well how to fill the hall, but it is dangerous. It would be to announce that I would play my piece called *The Union* and my variations on “Dixie’s Land.” In the first I intercalate “Yankee Doodle” and “Hail Columbia.” The second is a Southern Negro air of which the Confederates, since the beginning of the war, have made a national air. It is to the music of “Dixie’s Land” that Beauregard’s troops invariably charge the soldiers of the North. At the point at which men’s minds are now the hall would be full of partisans of both sections, who certainly would come to blows. But I should make three or four thousand dollars. It is true that in the tumult I might be the first one choked.²¹

²⁰ West Virginia broke away from Virginia on 20 June 1863 as a separate state in the Union.

²¹ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 66.

While the account reveals Gottschalk's awareness of the particular tension that characterized border states like Maryland, it also illuminates Gottschalk's financial acumen and perhaps self-preservation instincts.

On a later occasion, he was faced with the prospect of arriving at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at the same time as the encroaching vanguard of the Confederate Army, coming from the opposite direction. At midnight on 15 June 1863 Gottschalk jotted down his concerns about his concert scheduled for the following day at that city: "It is evident that people who expect every moment to be bombarded are not in the state of mind to hear *Cradle Songs*, *Aeolian Murmurs*, etc., to say nothing of the risk we might run by rushing into the lion's den."²² His manager, Max Strakosch, "turn[ed] a deaf ear," however, and the concert personnel continued to that destination the next morning. Gottschalk remained apprehensive, though, since intelligence indicated that the Confederate Army was making its way towards Harrisburg in order to attack.

At four o'clock in the morning Gottschalk wrote again: "A fresh telegram from the governor orders the National Guard to hurry to the defense of the State capital."²³ He noted that one of his cousins was a major in the Philadelphia home guard, whereas another was an officer in the Southern army, and thus could possibly meet at Harrisburg in combat. Tragically, this was one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Civil War; many extended families endured relatives fighting and sometimes killing one another.²⁴ It is easy to imagine the tension and stress in the train later that morning. In addition to his concern over the battle and for his own safety and that of his cousins, Gottschalk expressed anxiety about the fate of his two Chickering grand pianos. By four o'clock in the afternoon, having finally arrived at Harrisburg after a long delay on the railroad tracks, Gottschalk and the other performers readied to depart for Philadelphia. Exhausted and frustrated he recorded, "Fifteen hours and a half of railroad in one day, not to mention our emotions! The devil take the poets who dare to sing the pleasures of an

²² *Ibid.*, 129.

²³ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁴ See Amy Murrell Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

artist's life."²⁵ Although ultimately Harrisburg was not attacked, the infamous and deadly Battle of Gettysburg just thirty-six miles away was fought two weeks later. Strakosch continued to send his musicians on tour.

While the stress of performing in and nearby battle zones cannot be overestimated, at other times Gottschalk's direct experiences of the war were more positive. The following year he had the opportunity to perform a pair of concerts in Washington, D.C. At the first, on 24 March 1864, President Lincoln, his wife, and Secretary of State William Henry Seward were in attendance; two days later Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant was in the audience. Remarking on the concert, Gottschalk perceptively noticed that although "The Star-Spangled Banner" was "applauded to the skies and encored,"

[t]he enthusiasm nevertheless is confined to the gallery filled with soldiers; the parterre, the boxes, and orchestra seats abstain from demonstration. You are not ignorant that Washington is of very doubtful loyalty and that her most influential families sympathize with the South.²⁶

Gottschalk capitalized on the patriotic spirit in the air when he performed at such concerts. Using his aptitude for adapting pre-existing melodies, he turned to more nationalistic source material for a series of new compositions for his wartime concert tours. These pieces, performed across the northeast and Midwest and into the border states, were Gottschalk's response to the Civil War. Audiences and critics in these varied regions, including John Sullivan Dwight in Boston, responded to them in different ways depending on their own views on the war, as evidenced by Gottschalk's observations in Washington, D.C. His use of patriotic tunes was yet another demonstration of his remarkable adaptability.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

“Dixie’s Land”

Within two years of its publication by Daniel Decatur Emmett in 1860, Gottschalk composed a set of variations on the song “I Wish I Was in Dixie’s Land.”²⁷ Robert Offergeld speculates that it must have been composed before Gottschalk declared his allegiance to the Union in 1862. Offergeld also believes that the variations were written in Havana, Cuba, before the song became the unofficial “war tune” of the South during the Civil War.²⁸ Gottschalk continued to play his composition during the years of the war and, as the 1862 diary entry above demonstrates, was well aware of its significance.

In its own short history the tune itself had already moved through a number of performance venues and styles. Ohio-born Dan Emmett wrote “Dixie’s Land” as a walk-around for Bryant’s Minstrels, a blackface performing group he joined in October or November of 1858.²⁹ The song was first performed on 4 April 1859; a playbill for that evening’s show, held at Mechanics’ Hall, highlights the “new and original Plantation Song and Dance” in the third act.³⁰ The following year it was premiered at the Variety Theatre in New Orleans conducted by Carlo Patti, one of the many talented members of the Patti family, who had strong ties to Gottschalk.³¹

“Dixie’s Land” soon became widely popular through its dissemination in broadsides and sheet music versions. Some editions, like the one presented by New Orleans publisher Werlein, were unauthorized transcriptions that substituted other names

²⁷ New Orleans: Werlein; New York: Firth, Pond, & Co.

²⁸ Robert Offergeld, *The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Stereo Review, 1970), 32.

²⁹ See Hans Nathan, “Dixie,” in his *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 243-75. The controversial theory that “Dixie” was composed by a pair of black musicians Emmett knew from Mount Vernon, Ohio, has been argued by Howard L. Sacks and Judith Rose Sacks in *Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family’s Claim to the Confederate Anthem* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

³⁰ Nathan, 246.

³¹ Carlo’s parents, tenor Salvatore Patti and soprano Caterina Barilli, were both singers who raised their family in New York. Younger sister Adelina (1843-1919) was a soprano who made her debut as Donizetti’s *Lucia* at age sixteen in New York; mezzo-soprano Amalia was married to manager Maurice Strakosch; sister Carlotta was also a singer. Carlo himself was a violinist and later opera and orchestral conductor. See Frederick Cone, *Adelina Patti: Queen of Hearts* (New York: Hal Leonard, 2003). By 1862 Carlo, Carlotta, and Amalia were all members of Gottschalk’s traveling operatic troupe. See Offergeld, 32.

for Emmett's as composer.³² Such illicit publications, although bad business for Emmett, demonstrated the publishers' ambition to capitalize on the work's fame and, indeed, circulated it even further. Although Gottschalk was still in Havana, it is probable he would have been aware of the popularity of the tune in New Orleans, as commerce and travel between the two cities was common. Long before the war began, "Dixie's Land" was a hit in both southern and northern regions.

In keeping with its walk-around origins, "Dixie" is a dance in **aabc** form. The text to the first stanza and refrain, with its original dialect, follows:

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
Old times dar am not forgotten,
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
In Dixie Land whar I was born in,
Early on one frosty morning,
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.

Dan I wish I was in Dixie,
 Hooray! Hooray!
In Dixie Land, I'll take my stand,
 To lib an die in Dixie.
Away, Away, Away down south in Dixie,
Away, Away, Away down south in Dixie.³³

The thirty-two measures of the song are divided equally between stanza and chorus; the verse was originally intended to be performed by a soloist and small group in call-and-response texture (the group responding with "Look Away!" etc.), while the refrain was sung by the entire company. The range of the melody is a tenth, and the harmony is straightforwardly triadic and tonal, making it both memorable and easy for most people to sing. The tune also features syncopation that highlights the first and third occurrences of the word "Dixie" in the chorus:

³² In New Orleans, P. P. Werlein brought out two editions in 1860, both attributing the music to J. C. Viereck. Nathan, 266-69. Werlein was also the New Orleans publisher of Gottschalk's music.

³³ Quoted from *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Hollander (New York: Library of America, 1993), 1:646.

18 *p* 3
Den I wish I was in Dix - ie, Hoo - ray! Hoo - ray! In
p
23
Dix - ie Land, I'll took my stand, To lib an die in Dix - ie, A

Example 5.1. Emmett, “Dixie’s Land,” mm. 19-26.

As had many composers before him, Emmett drew upon his previous works for musical and textual inspiration; his song “Jonny Roach,” composed at least a month earlier, was the first to feature the words “Dixie’s Land.” In his analysis of “Dixie’s Land,” Hans Nathan also illustrates melodic fragments borrowed from “Jonny Roach” and “Billy Patterson” as well as older Scottish folk tunes.³⁴

Historically, “Dixie” has been associated with the South in general, and the Confederate army more specifically, and logically so: verses such as “To arms! To arms! And rout the foe from Dixie,” and “Advance the flag of Dixie!” expressed wartime sentiments.³⁵ The song was also appropriated by northerners, however. Versions that circulated above the Mason-Dixon line featured new titles such as “The True ‘Dixie’ for Northern Singers” and “The Union ‘Dixie.’”³⁶ It was heard throughout the Civil War on both sides and played a significant role at its formal conclusion. On 10 April 1865, the day after General Robert E. Lee’s surrender to Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox,

³⁴ Nathan, 255.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 272-73. Southern war lyrics quoted from *The Dixie Land Songster* (Augusta, GA: Blackmar & Bro., 1863).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 272.

Abraham Lincoln was serenaded at the White House and made a few celebratory remarks:

I propose now closing up by requesting you to play a certain piece of music or a tune. I thought ‘Dixie’ one of the best tunes I ever heard. . . . I had heard that our adversaries over the way had attempted to appropriate it. I insisted yesterday that we had fairly captured it. . . . I presented the question to the Attorney-General, and he gave us our opinion that it is our lawful prize. . . . I ask the Band to give us a good turn upon it.³⁷

Gottschalk never published a version of his variations on “Dixie’s Land,” and no manuscript copies have been located. Yet his many performances of the popular tune in the early war years speak to his sensitivity to audience expectations and tastes, and perhaps his own pocketbook. It appears, however, that Gottschalk later rethought the wisdom of performing the piece. By 1864 he was declining requests for it in concerts at Montreal, presumably because by that time the song was clearly linked with southern sentiment.³⁸ His decision is consistent with the anti-slavery remarks Gottschalk recorded in his *Notes of a Pianist* quoted in Chapter 3, and demonstrates his avowed pro-Union stance best expressed in his well-known nationalistic composition, *L’Union*.

L’Union, op. 48

Gottschalk composed *L’Union, paraphrase de concert*, op. 48, in 1862, and published it the following year simultaneously in New York by William Hall & Son, in Boston by Ditson, and in Paris and Mainz.³⁹ It is dedicated “To Major General George B. McLellan.” At the time of the composition, George Brinton McLellan (1826-1885) had been appointed second-in-command of the United States Army by Lincoln.⁴⁰ As with *Bunker’s Hill*, Gottschalk based *L’Union* in part on his earlier *mélange*, *El sitio de*

³⁷ Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years*, IV (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939), 207-8.

³⁸ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 229, and Hensel, *Life and Letters*, 109.

³⁹ Manuscript pages in Gottschalk’s hand are housed at the Louis Moreau Gottschalk Manuscripts Collection, Music Division, New York Public Library for Performing Arts.

⁴⁰ Although McClellan was admired for his organizational and planning skills, his overestimation of the opposing forces constantly undermined his military operations. He was ordered to relinquish command on 9 November 1862. In 1864 he was the Democratic candidate for president, and served as governor of New Jersey from 1878 to 1881. See Warren W. Hassler, Jr., *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union* (orig. publication 1957; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974).

Zaragoza, which he performed in Spain in the early 1850s. While the earlier work employed tunes and patriotic airs of the Spanish subcontinent, *L'Union* featured thematic material from “The Star-Spangled Banner,” “Yankee Doodle,” and “Hail, Columbia.”

In 1862 “The Star-Spangled Banner” was no more than a popular patriotic song.⁴¹ Written during the War of 1812 by lawyer-poet Francis Scott Key (1779-1843), the text was set to a British drinking tune, “To Anacreon in Heaven.” “The Star-Spangled Banner” gained in popularity during the years of the nineteenth century, but it was not until 1931 that President Herbert Hoover decreed it the national anthem of the United States. While its octave-and-a-half range made it difficult for many singers, which makes one wonder why or how it was such a popular tune, that same breadth and expansiveness were attractive features for an instrumental piece and they enhanced Gottschalk’s work.

The tune “Yankee Doodle” was known as early as 1764 in England and became familiar in America only three years later. The song, with its derogatory lyrics, was originally used by the British to mock the colonists, but during the Revolution Americans adopted the tune themselves, and changed the words to suit their own purposes.⁴² Although there are over a hundred different verses to “Yankee Doodle,” two examples illustrate the shift in viewpoint. The British lyrics printed here were purportedly sung by the British troops marching into Lexington and Concord in 1775; the American lyrics’ reference to “Captain Good’in” might have been a generic name that connoted righteousness.

British Lyrics:

Yankee Doodle came to town,
For to buy a firelock;
We will tar and feather him
And so we will John Hancock.

American Lyrics:

Father and I went down to camp,
along with Captain Good’in,
And there we see the men and boys
as thick as hasty puddin’.

⁴¹ Lonnn Taylor, *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Flag and the Anthem It Inspired* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2000).

⁴² *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature: An Encyclopedia in Eighteen Volumes*, ed. by A.W. Ward, A.R. Waller, W.P. Trent, J. Erskine, S.P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1907–21). Re-released by *Bartleby.com: Great Books Online* [www.bartleby.com/cambridge/] (New York: Bartleby.com, 2000), accessed 21 September 2006.

Chorus:
Yankee Doodle, keep it up,
Yankee Doodle Dandy,
Mind the music and the step,
And with the girls be handy.⁴³

The marching time signature and four-square structure allowed Gottschalk to easily juxtapose it against “Hail, Columbia,” the unofficial national anthem of the United States in the 1860s, which had been composed by Philip Phile in 1789 for the inauguration of George Washington, with the title “The President's March.” It was later arranged with lyrics by Joseph Hopkinson in 1798.⁴⁴ “Hail, Columbia” was heard at nearly every formal occasion during Lincoln’s presidency; in 1864 soprano Lillie de Hegermann-Lindencrone performed it for Lincoln. In her book of letters *In the Courts of Memory 1858-1875*, she recalled her conversation with the President:

“Music is not much in my line,” said the President; “but when you sing you warble yourself into a man's heart. I'd like to hear you sing some more. . . . I think I might become a musician if I heard you often; but so far I only know two tunes.” “‘Hail, Columbia’?” I asked. “You know that, I am sure!” “Oh yes, I know that, for I have to stand up and take off my hat.” “And the other one?” “The other one! Oh, the other one is when I don't stand up!”⁴⁵

The broad popularity of “Hail, Columbia,” and its close associations with the president, likely contributed to its inclusion in Gottschalk’s composition. Both songs, “Yankee Doodle” and “Hail, Columbia,” played significant roles in the military history of the United States, especially the northeast, which was the primary setting for the Revolutionary War. In drawing on these melodies for *L’Union*, Gottschalk connected

⁴³ Lyrics from “Today in History: April 19,” *American Memory*, Library of Congress [<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/today/apr19.html#yankee>], accessed 9 September 2007.

⁴⁴ *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature: An Encyclopedia in Eighteen Volumes*, ed. by A.W. Ward, A.R. Waller, W.P. Trent, J. Erskine, S.P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1907–21). Re-released by *Bartleby.com: Great Books Online* [www.bartleby.com/cambridge/] (New York: Bartleby.com, 2000), accessed 21 September 2006.

⁴⁵ Lillie de Hegermann-Lindencrone, *In The Courts of Memory, 1858-1875* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912). Available online from Project Gutenberg [<http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/7044>], accessed 21 September 2006. A similar story is recounted in Gottschalk’s *Notes* about General Ulysses S. Grant, who “loves to repeat to his friends that he can recognize on hearing them but two tunes – one is “Yankee Doodle,” and the other is not!” *Notes*, 210.

this earlier conflict with the contemporary Civil War and positioned his own composition within the longstanding relationship between music and battle.

L'Union begins with a stormy 4/4 introduction in E-flat minor. Marked *fortissimo*, *Maestoso*, *Streppitoso*, and *con bravura*, the work alternates between gestures: strong, fortissimo chords, followed by chromatically descending sixteenth-note octaves in the left hand that alternate with repeated sixteenths in the right, and three-octave arpeggiated sextuplets in the right hand, as in Example 5.2:

The musical score for Example 5.2, measures 1-4 of Gottschalk's *L'Union*, is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 1-2, and the second system covers measures 3-4. The music is in 4/4 time, E-flat minor, and marked *Allegro Moderato*. The first system begins with a *ff* (fortissimo) dynamic. The right hand features a series of three-octave arpeggiated sextuplets, while the left hand plays chromatically descending sixteenth-note octaves. The second system continues this pattern, with the right hand playing repeated sixteenths and the left hand playing chromatically descending sixteenth-note octaves. The score is divided into sections marked *Maestoso*, *Streppitoso*, and *Con bravura*.

Example 5.2. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 1-4.

It continues in this style until measure 13, when a minor-key foreshadowing of “Yankee Doodle,” marked *Agitato* and *con passione*, appears in the right hand. The introduction continues building in intensity, moving through a two-measure chromatic chord progression modulating toward the relative major, G-flat, in measures 25-26. From here it shifts into the dominant of G-flat major for closing-style material pushing towards a “Cadenza,” a chromatic descent to be played *rapido e brillante*.

After a key change to F-sharp major (the enharmonic equivalent of G-flat), six measures of transition move gracefully into the first notes of “The Star-Spangled Banner,” which is actually named in the text, and reproduced in its entirety in the

composition.⁴⁶ The time signature shifts to triple meter in order to accommodate the tune. The harmony used to accompany the melody, however, is often altered, as in the first beat of the second measure, where a secondary dominant replaces the expected tonic chord.

"THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER."

42 *Malinconico.*
p
2 Ped.
 46 *8va*
Dolce.

Example 5.3. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 42-49.

Such chromatic changes give the anthem a new air, perhaps in accord with its performance marking *malinconico*.⁴⁷ The second half of the theme (usually accompanied by the text “and the rockets’ red glare,” etc.) becomes even more harmonically adventurous, moving through half- and fully-diminished seventh chords as well as an occasional minor chord on the fifth scale degree. The last phrase is repeated *fortissimo*, accompanied by accented chromatic passing tones in the left hand but ending just before the final cadence, delaying any sense of closure:

⁴⁶ I have often used *L'Union* in undergraduate music history courses to demonstrate nationalism in nineteenth-century music. American students noticeably respond to the national anthem, which seems to rise up from the non-specific romantic virtuosity of the introduction.

⁴⁷ Gottschalk’s performance instructions for the preexisting melodies suggest that he was not interested in recreating the emotional content of the original works (playful for “Yankee Doodle,” stately and majestic for the national anthem) but rather he sought to assign new moods to them as he saw fit.



Example 5.4. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 74-80.

After this last dominant chord in measure 80 the piece returns to E-flat minor and a transitional section featuring the thematic material of the introduction for nine measures, followed by a three-beat rest.

At this point, the piece seems to change entirely. Without any preamble, a sudden shift to B-flat major ensues. Marked “trombe,” a brief three-note motive in the soprano range echoes the sound of a trumpet reveille:



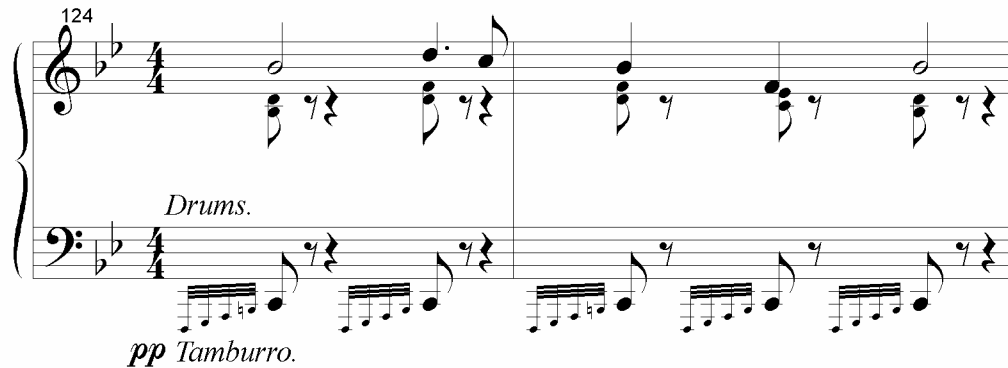
Example 5.5. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 90-4.

After two fermatas, this is immediately “echoed,” *pianissimo*. Another fermata follows (marked *Silenzio*), clearing the way for the first iteration of “Hail, Columbia.”



Example 5.6. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 100-11.

The melody is played twice through, both times in the right hand, accompanied simultaneously by marching quarter-note chords. Again, the tune is reproduced exactly but the harmony is colorfully embellished with passing chords and secondary dominants. At measure 124, the melody is heard again, this time with a new accompaniment: *pianissimo* drum rolls in the low register.



Example 5.7. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 124-5.

A gradual crescendo leads to a triple *forte* cadence. The drum rolls continue through a steadily softening transition of 22 measures.

At measure 158, the grand final section begins: Gottschalk simultaneously casts “Yankee Doodle” in the right hand and “Hail, Columbia” in the left. The former is

played staccato high above the soprano clef, while the latter becomes almost accompanimental in its chordal incarnation:

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piano piece. The first system, starting at measure 158, shows the right hand playing a staccato melody of eighth notes labeled '"Yankee Doodle"' with an octave sign (8va) above it. The left hand plays a chordal accompaniment of eighth notes labeled '"Hail Columbia"'. A tempo marking *Ben chiaro i due temi.* is placed between the staves. The second system, starting at measure 162, continues these textures. The right hand melody is now labeled (8va) and the left hand accompaniment remains. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

Example 5.8. Gottschalk, *L'Union*, mm. 158-165.

Gottschalk then reverses the tunes to repeat the final phrase, with “Yankee Doodle” now in octaves in the left hand while “Hail Columbia” is heard above. A final transition echoes the introduction and modulates into E-flat major, the tonic major of the piece. The composition ends with one final repetition of the two pieces performed together. This time they are accompanied by chords played within the texture by the left hand. The final measures are played *tutta la forza* and *fortississimo* for a rousing conclusion.

Gottschalk’s use of patriotic music in his composition was not without precedents. In the years following the American and French Revolutions numerous composers wrote piano and orchestral works that reenacted battle scenes and incorporated familiar songs. James Hewitt (1770-1827), who emigrated to the United States in 1792, wrote a piano solo entitled “The Battle of Trenton” (1797) that commemorated George Washington’s 1776 attack and victory over the Hessians.⁴⁸ It too featured the song “Yankee Doodle,” as did Benjamin Carr’s (1768-1831) *The Siege of Tripoli: Historical Naval Sonata*, op. 4 (1804). The programmatic content of Denis-Germain Etienne’s *Battle of New Orleans*

⁴⁸ James Hewitt, *Selected Compositions*, ed. John W. Wagner, *Recent Researches in American Music* 7 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1980), vii-viii and 88-106.

(1816) included both “Hail Columbia” and “Yankee Doodle,” forty years before Gottschalk used the same two sources in *L’Union*.⁴⁹

French victories were similarly celebrated by European composers, such as Haydn (Symphony No. 100, *Military*, 1793-4) and Beethoven (*Wellingtons Sieg, oder Die Schlacht bei Vittoria*, op. 91, 1816), whose orchestral works even incorporated military instruments.⁵⁰ Haydn’s symphony featured Turkish percussion associated with battle and a trumpet fanfare in the second movement; Beethoven’s composition employed two marches, “Rule, Britannia,” to represent the English, and “Malborough,” to represent the French army. He also incorporated drum and trumpet signals and a fugue on “God Save the King,” explicitly connecting the work to the event it commemorated.⁵¹ Many other composers memorialized important conflicts and battles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; in writing a work that employed patriotic music, Gottschalk was doing the same for his own country.

Battle Cry of Freedom, op. 55

Gottschalk’s *grand caprice de concert*, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, op. 55, was composed after *L’Union* in 1863-4. Based on the song of the same name by George Frederick Root (1820-1895), it was dedicated to him and published by the Chicago firm of Root & Cady in 1865. A letter written by George William Warren and included in Octavia Hensel’s 1870 *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* describes Gottschalk’s personal experience with Root’s hymn and his own composition’s origin:

I shall never forget a scene at the house of Mr. Wm. T. Blodgett of New York. It was a most distinguished gathering of artistic and celebrated gentlemen, from everywhere and all kinds. . . . Gottschalk, as usual, was amiable, and most happy to entertain his distinguished audience. He played as an artist never can at a concert; and his listeners were correspondingly appreciative, – all except one Englishman (maybe a duke) who made some slur on all that was American in

⁴⁹ Ben Arnold, *Music and War: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Garland, 1993), 54 and 63.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 3 to Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 299-303. Beethoven also originally intended to entitle his Symphony No. 3, the *Eroica*, “Bonaparte”; he later revised the dedication to read “composed to celebrate the memory of a great man.” *Ibid.*, 188-89.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 193.

music, which brought Gottschalk to his feet in defence [*sic*] of his brother-workers. White as a sheet, and in his excited and overwhelming eloquence, he told them of a melody then being sung by regiment after regiment, marching down Broadway *en route* for the cars to Washington. . . And, on the spur of the moment, he sprang to the piano again, and gave such an astounding rhapsody on George F. Root's well-known "We'll Rally Round the Flag," as is entirely beyond description. I never heard any thing like it, and never will again. . . The effect was earthquakean almost. These men of art are enthusiastic; and they were frantic. The uproar could have been heard a mile. Gottschalk was nearly killed with embraces, – and the gentleman from England had departed.⁵²

Gottschalk's close connections with the song and its composer surely influenced his decision to write a set of variations based on Root's work. In doing so, he drew on yet another indigenous American source, in this case one nearer to Dwight's personal experience than his own.

Born and raised in Massachusetts, George Root trained as a pianist and organist during his youth.⁵³ In 1850 he traveled to Europe, where he encountered young Moreau Gottschalk, who was then preparing his Parisian debut.⁵⁴ After his return to the United States, Root settled in Boston, where he began a career in composition, publishing over 500 pieces of music from 1852 until 1896. In addition to parlor songs, Root also wrote minstrel songs, for which he used the pseudonym G. Friedrich Wurzel, the German equivalent of his name. In 1859 he moved to Chicago, where he joined his older brothers' publishing company, Root & Cady. After the beginning of the Civil War, Root shifted his compositional focus to patriotic music, and his "Battle Cry of Freedom," published in 1862, became the first anthem of the Union.

The hymn-like song itself is straightforward in its composition. Cast in B-flat major and common time, the verse-chorus form, quarter-note chordal accompaniment,

⁵² Letter from George William Warren, 20 April 1870, quoted in Octavia Hensel [Mary Alice Ives Seymour], *Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (Boston: Oliver Ditson and Co., 1870), 208-9. Italics, punctuation, and spelling as in original. "We'll Rally Round the Flag" is the chorus text of "Battle Cry of Freedom." The English gentleman in question was the Marquis of Hartington, later the Duke of Devonshire, who was "vehemently pro-Southern," according to S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!*, 355-56.

⁵³ For further biographical information on Root see his *The Story of a Musical Life: An Autobiography* (Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1891; reprinted New York: AMS Press, Inc, 1973), and Mazie Pauline Hinson Carder, *George Frederick Root, Pioneer Music Educator: His Contributions to Mass Instruction in Music* (Ph.D. diss, University of Maryland, 1971).

⁵⁴ See Root's *Autobiography*, 49.

and mostly conjunct melody make it easy to learn and sing. The catchy tune spans an octave and a fourth. Root composed two sets of lyrics to the song, calling the first set a more general “rallying song” and the other a “battle song,” to be sung on the way to the battlefield. Both were included with the original publication, but the rallying text has become the more enduring. The text of the four verses and chorus are reproduced below.

Verse 1:

Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
We will rally from the hillside, we'll gather from the plain,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Chorus:

The Union forever, hurrah, boys, hurrah!
Down with the traitor and up with the star;
While we rally round the flag, boys, rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Verse 2:

We are springing to the call of our brothers gone before,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And we'll fill the vacant ranks with a million freemen more,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Verse 3:

We will welcome to our numbers the loyal, true and brave,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And altho' they may be poor, not a man shall be a slave,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Verse 4:

So we're springing to the call from the East and from the West,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And we'll hurl the rebel crew from the land we love the best,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.⁵⁵

By September 1862 the song had been adopted for frequent performances by the well-known Hutchinson Family Singers, which contributed greatly to its widespread popularity.⁵⁶ It has also been preserved in popular American literature, as one of the

⁵⁵ George F. Root, “The Battle-Cry of Freedom” (Chicago: Root & Cady, 1862).

⁵⁶ Alan Lewis, “Hutchinson Family Singers Web Site,” [<http://www.geocities.com/unclesamsfarm/hutchinsons.htm>], accessed 14 September 2006. Lewis draws upon the research of Dale Cockrell, who

many tunes played on Pa's fiddle in Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House* series, published 1932-43. In the books, Wilder (1867-1957) drew on her own memories of childhood in the Midwest United States during the late nineteenth century; by including the song in her text she confirmed the ongoing prevalence of "The Battle Cry of Freedom."⁵⁷

While the text clearly illustrates Root's Union loyalties, the tune was so popular that it was also adopted by the Confederates, who substituted their own texts including the following chorus: "Our Dixie forever, she's never at a loss / Down with the eagle and up with the cross. / We'll rally 'round the bonny flag, we'll rally once again. Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom." In 1864 the tune was used as well in campaign songs supporting Lincoln and Johnson.⁵⁸ By composing and performing his own variations on the song, Gottschalk participated in widespread musical practices. In a 4 April 1864 entry in his *Notes*, he recorded his own sentiments about the piece:

"The Battle Cry of Freedom" ought to become our national air; it has animation, its harmonies are distinguished, it has tune, rhythm, and I discover in it a kind of epic coloring, something sadly heroic, which a battle song should have.⁵⁹

The *Grand Caprice de Concert* begins in 2/4 time, a change from Root's original 4/4. This alteration effects stronger accents on every other beat, formerly each measure's third beat, which are here transformed into downbeats. The march-like theme appears in F-sharp major, and the chorus is performed twice before the verse enters.⁶⁰ Gottschalk

edited *Excelsior: Journals of the Hutchinson Family Singers, 1842-1846* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989), and upon source material written by Hutchinson family members themselves.

⁵⁷ The song is mentioned twice in the series: "The fiddle began to play a marching tune, and Pa's clear voice was singing like a deep-toned bell. 'We'll rally round the flag, boys, We'll rally once again, Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!' Laura felt that she must shout too." – *Little House on the Prairie*, Chapter 26, "Going Out." "Then he took his fiddle out of its box. He played for a long time in the twilight, while Laura and Mary sat close to him and Ma rocked Carrie near by. He played 'Dixie Land,' and 'We'll Rally Round the Flag, Boys!'" – *On the Banks of Plum Creek*, Chapter 26, "Grasshopper Eggs." It is noteworthy that Pa also knew and played "Dixie" – recalling the tense scene Gottschalk imagined if he played *L'Union* and "Dixie" at one concert. Dale Cockrell has done significant research on the music of the Ingalls family, as is evident by his forthcoming *An "Ingalls Family" Album*, a publication of the MUSA (Music of the United States of America) series (Middleton, WI: A.R. Editions).

⁵⁸ Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995).

⁵⁹ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 181-82.

⁶⁰ Root's song was originally published in B-flat major, but Gottschalk's predilection for black-key tonics likely engendered his transposition.

enhances both chorus and verse with appoggiaturas, chromatic passing tones, and more interesting harmonies, such as secondary dominants and fully diminished seventh chords:

The image displays two systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The first system, labeled 'Root', corresponds to measures 4-8 of 'The Battle Cry of Freedom'. It features a melody in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand, with lyrics: 'Yes we'll ral - ly round the flag, boys, we'll ral - ly once a -'. The second system, labeled 'Gottschalk', corresponds to measures 32-40. It continues the melody and bass line, with lyrics: 'gain, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom,'. The score includes various musical notations such as chords, appoggiaturas, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'con grazia'.

Example 5.9. Root, “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” mm. 4-8, and Gottschalk, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, mm. 32-40. I have transposed and rebarred Root’s work for ease of comparison.

The piece consists of six variations with a quasi-fugal section following the second variation and a final coda. All but the last variation are in the tonic key; variation 6 shifts to D major, in a major-third relationship with tonic. The sound of the major third is already present in the first phrase of the primary theme; perhaps Gottschalk’s choice of this unrelated key area for the harmonic shift was influenced by the melodic shape. The variations become more and more complicated and technically demanding as the piece progresses: the first features the melody in four octaves played by both hands in the lower half of the piano’s range, with occasional outbursts of chords in the higher registers.

Throughout the published work, two staves are displayed, the upper one marked “As the Author plays it” and, later, “For Seven and a quarter 8va. Pianos.” The other, simpler version is presumably meant for more amateur performers on parlor pianos with a shorter keyboard.

Variation 2 increases to a triple *forte* dynamic level and its simpler harmony accompanies challenging arpeggios in the right hand. Following two beats of silence, the right hand begins with the verse melody in octaves, and the left enters four measures later with the same. This quasi-fugal section is the shortest of the piece at only twenty-one measures; it ends with a measure of silence before the third variation commences. This one and the next return to the simpler form of the chorus melody, decorated by triplets, simple runs, and, in the fourth, an increasing texture and range. The penultimate variation returns to a *piano* dynamic and introduces descending sextuplets below the right-hand melody; again the “Author” stave reproduces a more challenging version. Finally, a sudden shift back to D major, a major third below tonic, accompanies *brillante, volante* flourishes in the right hand while the left hand takes over the chorus in wide chords. A coda returns the piece to tonic and it ends, *Trionfale*, at *fortissimo*.

Summary

It is clear from newspapers and journals of the war years that, at least in the northeast, musical activity continued in much the same manner as before. The oratorios and organ recitals in Boston, the traveling opera troupes, and the symphony concerts and pleasure gardens in New York were attended with more enthusiasm than before. Gottschalk was a conspicuous player during these years; after his prolonged absence from the scene during his travels in the West Indies he was enthusiastically welcomed back to the stage. Critics mentioned the “wonderful improvement that hard study and practice [had] made in his execution.”⁶¹ Charles Bailey Seymour praised Gottschalk’s returning “with his character more matured and his artistic mind stronger. . . . His style is more distinct and charming, and his way of rendering it seemed to us to be more perfect.”⁶²

⁶¹ *The New York Herald*, 12 February 1862. Quoted in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: Repercussions 1857-1862* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 478.

⁶² *The New York Times*, 12 February 1862. Quoted in *ibid.*, 479.

Such comments, written at the same time as battles were raging in Virginia and Maryland,⁶³ illuminate the continuing appeal and value of music during the war for critics, audiences, and performers.

The condition of war does not mean that the majority of people stop attending to other aspects of society; on the contrary, it often highlights what is valued most. Gottschalk made his living as a performer. Composing such works as *L'Union* and *Battle Cry of Freedom* heightened his appeal and demonstrated his continued support for the Union. For John Sullivan Dwight in 1863 what was most important was the great new organ in the Boston Music Hall and the impact its presence could have on the “cause of music,” as his comments in the *Journal of Music* illustrate. Only rarely did he acknowledge the war in the *Journal*, and even then his remarks were somewhat oblique:

In the midst of our national struggles, which might appear to affect very disadvantageously those branches of industry which are immediately connected with the amenities of peace, it is really surprising to find how prosperous many of those branches are. Music makers and musical instrument makers are alike fully and successfully employed. The demands of the army alone for hand instruments and their performers have been very large. Our teachers are well occupied, and the season bids fair to be a brilliant one in every way. Our noble Organ comes, in the midst of all, to give a new impetus to the cause of music, and expectation is now moving our whole musical community.⁶⁴

Even here Dwight's passion for music and the new organ rather than the war took center stage. He saw the “cause of music” as a shared concern for the entire musical population, a movement that would lead to a higher level of musical understanding and appreciation in Boston and, more broadly, the United States. In addition, this cause was one in which he could take an active and leading role. By contrast, nationalistic music compositions such as Gottschalk's *L'Union* were less likely to result in any appreciable progress, short of stirring up public sympathies for the performer. Such an egocentric goal was anathema to Dwight's transcendental concept of the community and its musical education. For him, patriotism was not a matter of simply playing a popular song; it was the honorable ambition to improve one's country.

⁶³ 14-17 September 1862: Battles of South Mountain and Antietam, MD; 7 November: Ambrose E. Burnside replaces McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac; 11-13 December: Battle of Fredericksburg, VA. David Herbert Donald *et al.*, 216-24.

⁶⁴ *Dwight's Journal of Music* (28 November 1863), 143.

Music provides one record of American life during the Civil War. Although northeastern cities were seriously affected by the war, with soldiers leaving and women assuming the work their husbands, sons, and brothers had done, music and other entertainments continued to play an important role.⁶⁵ Music publications prove that nationalistic and patriotic genres became more important. And finally and most specifically, Gottschalk's compositions discussed in this chapter demonstrate that patriotism was not confined to a few famous songs, marches, and broadsides but, through adaptation and embellishment, could even find its way into piano music.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Thomas H. O'Connor, *Civil War Boston: Home Front and Battlefield* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), especially Chapter 6, "So Near, So Far," 157-89. O'Connor draws attention to Julia Ward Howe's composition of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" in 1861 and also points out that the theaters and concert halls continued to operate throughout the war.

CHAPTER 6
LAST HOPES AND SINGING MARTYRS:
THE COMMODIFICATION OF MUSIC, SENTIMENTALISM, AND RELIGION

Sentimentalism in the Nineteenth Century

The terms sentimentalism and sensibility play a central role in contemporary scholarly discourse on literature and intellectual theory in the nineteenth century.¹ Often used interchangeably, these words identify simultaneous eighteenth-century developments in popular culture and philosophy that were centered in England but far-reaching in their influence. The “cult of sentiment”² was a phenomenon in which emotions and feelings, as opposed to reason and logic, were seen as the routes to moral and social improvement. This movement and its ideals were manifested in writings by authors as diverse as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), Charles Dickens (1812-70), and, later, D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930). Often, the emphasis on feeling was directly connected to the feminine experience, as in Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa* (1748), the tragic story of a woman’s moral virtue and her eventual ruin. This association has also been treated in modern scholarly works, including Ann Douglas’s seminal and controversial *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977) and J. G. Barker-Benfield’s 1996 work *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*.³ While Douglas investigates the impact of literary women and Protestant ministers on nineteenth-century American culture and each other, Barker-

¹ See Michael Bell, *Sentimentalism, Ethics, and the Culture of Feeling* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), and Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London: Routledge, 1993).

² See, for example, Michael Bell’s “The Cult of Sentiment and the Culture of Feeling” in Jürgen Schlaeger and Gesa Stedman, ed. *Representations of Emotions* (Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr, 1999), 87-98.

³ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Avon Books, 1977), J. G. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992). See also Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986).

Benfield focuses on the construction of gender identities in eighteenth-century British literature and culture. The divergent foci of the two books illustrate the wide-ranging influence the “cult of sentiment” has had.

In the United States sentimental novels were written at the same time as more scholarly essays by Transcendentalist thinkers like Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Such novels as Julia Maria Child’s *The Frugal Housewife* (1829) and Elizabeth Oakes Prince Smith’s *Riches Without Wings; or, The Cleveland Family* (1838),⁴ seen through a twenty-first-century lens as shallow, mawkish, and saccharine, were popular with the public. One of the most widely read works in this genre – and easily the most discussed since its appearance – was Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852). While it is a historical artifact for many reasons, including its purported role in the initiation of the Civil War and its stereotypical treatment of its black characters, the underlying moral tone of the book and its Christian tenor locate it squarely within the tradition of sentimental literature.⁵

Sentimentalism in literature was paralleled by the composition of similarly sentimental music, both in Europe and in America. Novels often incorporated musical allusions, as in the “Lillebullero” whistled by Tristram’s Uncle Toby (Vol. 1, Ch. 50) in Laurence Sterne’s nine-volume *Tristram Shandy* (1759-69), and Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774), which includes Werther’s 16 July diary entry about his beloved Charlotte’s “melody which she plays on the piano with angelic skill; – so simple is it, and yet so spiritual!”⁶ In the United States, Louisa May Alcott’s *Little Women* (1868) featured two characters who play the piano. The parlor pieces enjoyed by youngest sister Beth, who was reticent to play for an audience and prefers the shadow of twilight,

⁴ Judith Fetterley has begun a bibliographical project cataloguing fiction written by women in the 1820s and 30s at “American Women Writers: A Bibliography” [<http://www.albany.edu/~jf/index.html>], accessed 14 June 2007. Also see the website for the Society for the Study of American Women Writers, [<http://www.lehigh.edu/~dek7/SSAWW/index.htm>], accessed 14 June 2007.

⁵ The book sold 300,000 copies in its first year; its impact was so great that when Stowe met President Lincoln at the start of the war, he reportedly said, “So this is the little lady who made this big war.” See Charles Edward Stowe, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: The Story of Her Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 203.

⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, transl. R. Dillon Boylan (New York: Mondial, 2006). Available online at Project Gutenberg [<http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/2527>], accessed 12 September 2007.

contrast with the more serious Mozart and Beethoven works, such as the “Pathétique Sonata,” played by neighbor boy Laurie, who in the eyes of his grandfather “was getting too fond of it.”⁷ Alcott reinforced gender distinctions in multiple ways. Beth assumed a modest and retiring character, and played “pretty, easy music,” songs, and hymns, that contrasted with Laurie’s choice of the presumably more powerful compositions of Beethoven; also, Laurie’s grandfather made it clear that while music is quite acceptable as a pastime for a woman, it should not play too important a role in a man’s life.⁸

The pieces Beth and her real-life counterparts played would have included parlor songs written by American composers, like Stephen Foster’s “Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair,” as well as character pieces by European artists, including Frédéric Chopin’s nocturnes. There existed an understood set of criteria for such music: women were the most likely performers, although men were not barred from performing it; pieces were short, diatonic, and formally straightforward; and many works had evocative titles and texts that emphasized emotional subjects like love, family, religion, and death.⁹ In this way, music and sensibility were connected with yet another movement in the nineteenth century: the sentimentalization of religion.

Religion and Change in the Antebellum Period

In the decades before the Civil War the role of religion in the lives of many Americans changed significantly. The Second Great Awakening (1800 - 30s) inspired revival and social activism throughout the nation, much as the First, spearheaded by Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, had in the 1730s and 40s. In *Victorian America and the Civil War* (1994) Anne C. Rose devotes an entire chapter to this post-

⁷ Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*, ed. Valerie Alderson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Chapter 6. Available online at Project Gutenberg [<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext96/lwmen13.txt>], accessed 12 September 2007.

⁸ *Ibid.* That the music Beth plays is never specifically named, unlike the Beethoven sonata Laurie performs, reinforces the disparity. See also Petra Meyer-Frazier, “Music, Novels, and Women: Nineteenth-Century Prescriptions for an Ideal Life,” in *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* (Volume 10: 2006), 45-59, for a discussion of music and gender in American sentimental literature.

⁹ Of course, many pieces lie outside this general characterization; often ballads were modeled on operatic styles rather than folk ones and some, including “Jeannie,” were written from a male perspective. Stephen Foster’s “Open thy Lattice, Love” is an example of both the influence of opera and the masculine voice.

Awakening adjustment. For her the term romanticism “connotes . . . the intellectual task of recasting sacred meanings in secular terms.”¹⁰ Rose traces the move away from a nation founded upon organized religion and faith towards one that was increasingly enamored of sensuous delights. Rigorous and accepted belief systems were replaced by individual searches for universal meaning outside the restraints of the established institutions. As Rose explains it, religion shifted from a constraining set of rules and church schedules to an instrument of personal solace, whether found in the Bible, nature, or elsewhere: “a firm hold of [the Bible’s] meaning increasingly gave way to an aesthetic role for Scripture as a source of consoling allusions and personal uplift.”¹¹ Church attendance became more a matter of habit than of devotion; yet simultaneously, spiritual concerns and questions were foremost in the minds of intellectuals, including but not limited to philosophers such as the Transcendentalists.¹²

The previously steadfast idea of religion, therefore, became vulnerable to sentiment’s ambiguous and changing influences. Nature became a conduit for many people searching for spiritual experiences; Henry David Thoreau was not alone in such quests.¹³ Spiritualism, or the belief in communication with dead souls, also grew in popularity in the years before the Civil War, continuing into the early twentieth century.¹⁴ Popular literature was also affected. As Ann Douglas observes, both ministers and female writers transformed and complicated religion and sentimentalism in their influential publications: “[T]hey specialized in the domestic and religious concerns considered appropriate for members of their profession or sex. [Yet] they inevitably

¹⁰ Anne C. Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹² As an example, Rose cites letters written by James A. Garfield during the Civil War, who discussed religion with his superior officer, General William Rosecrans. Garfield, who was President of the United States for four months in 1881, was a teacher and lay minister in the Disciples of Christ before the war. See Rose, 64-65.

¹³ Among the many lured by the religion of nature were Henry Lee Higginson, James Garfield, William Hale White, William Wordsworth, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose 1836 essay *Nature* encapsulated these feelings. See Sydney E. Ahlstrom, “The Romantic Religious Revolution and the Dilemmas of Religious History,” *Church History* 46:2 (June 1977), especially pp. 158-63.

¹⁴ Bret E. Carroll, *Spiritualism in Antebellum America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

confused theology with religiosity, religiosity with literature, and literature with self-justification.”¹⁵ In such an environment, leisure pursuits like reading and music that could be infused with religious affect or content might serve a dual purpose: the consumer simultaneously turned away from organized religion to an activity that was inherently pleasurable, yet he or she also satisfied the social directive to maintain a semblance of religious conviction. While hymn-singing was a popular musical activity that fulfilled both goals, compositions for piano with religious themes, whether overt or implicit, also served a similar function.

Gottschalk's Religious Compositions

Louis Moreau Gottschalk wrote a number of religious works. Perhaps his earliest was a Mass, now lost, written in 1848 during his time at Clermont-sur-Oise, France, at the home and psychiatric hospital of Dr. Eugene Woillez. In his *Notes of a Pianist* he remembered inviting “some of the most docile patients of the asylum to hear it. . . . The result was so favorable that we were soon able to form in the chapel a choir of the insane of both sexes who rehearsed on Saturday the hymns and chants that they were to sing at Mass on Sunday.”¹⁶ Other lost compositions include an Agnus Dei and a piano solo entitled *Prière*, both identified in a c.1863 list of his works as composed in 1853. An *Ave Maria* for voice and piano was published posthumously by Ditson in 1873. Two of his Verdi transcriptions are religious in nature, his fantasia on *Jerusalem*, op. 13 (1850) and the *Miserere du trovatore*, op. 52 (1856-7), both discussed in Chapter 3. He also wrote at least one, but possibly two works entitled *Marche funèbre*, opp. 61/64 (1853-4). The two solo piano works discussed below are not overtly religious, but *The Last Hope* and *Le chant du martyr* clearly reference spiritual sentiments. Formal analyses make clear their connections to the sentimental musical styles in vogue at the time as well as to the structure of many Christian hymns.

¹⁵ Douglas, 8. Also see Ruth H. Bloch, *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), especially pp. 173-78. Bloch notes that “popular literary taste was shifting away from purely devotional religious literature to sentimental fiction” (173).

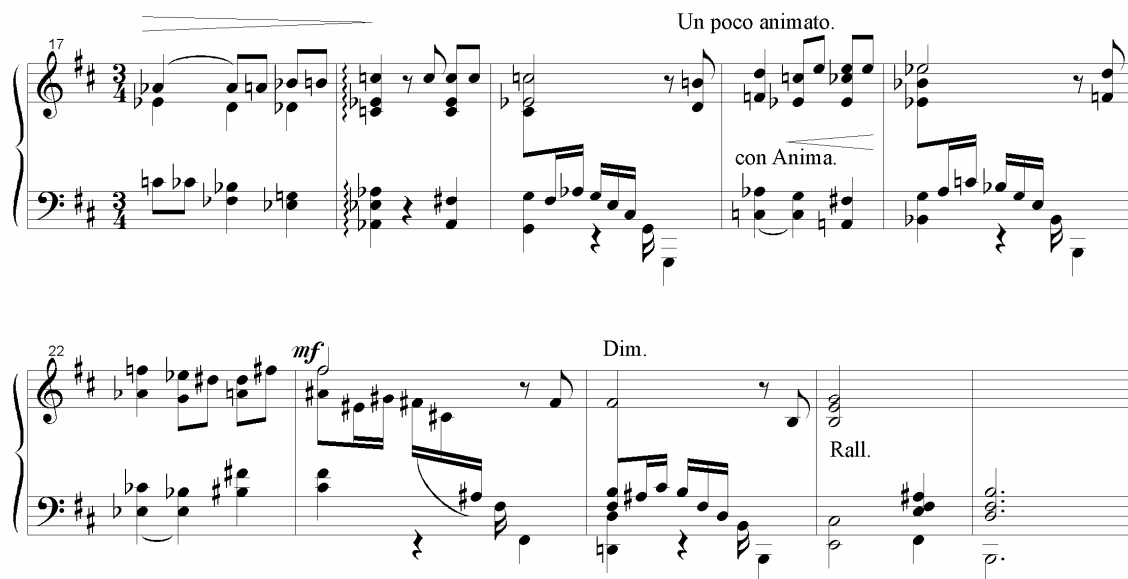
¹⁶ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Knopf, 1964), 110-11.

The Last Hope, op. 16

Published in 1854, *The Last Hope* was Gottschalk's earliest religious work in print. The first edition, subtitled a "religious caprice," was issued by Firth, Pond, & Co. in New York, and was dedicated to Gottschalk's cousin, Miss Annie Meyers of Philadelphia.¹⁷ In his *Notes of a Pianist* Gottschalk later recalled that he had sold the piece to the publisher for \$50. Two years later William Hall & Son purchased the rights to the composition and printed a revised version; later editions included B. Schott's Söhne in Mainz (1859), Leon Escudier in Paris (c. 1859), and Oliver Ditson in Boston (posthumous 1876). Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth the composition was included in multiple compilations, making it one of the most-published pieces by Gottschalk. A version for four hands was published in 1856 and reprinted in 1904.

The difference between the initial two published versions is minimal and limited to the first introductory section. The Firth, Pond & Co. edition is wholly in the tonic key of B major, while the Hall edition begins in D major before modulating to B major. The Firth edition also features only sixteen measures of simple chords and two *ad libitum* arpeggios, while the Hall introduction is twenty-six measures and more adventurous in harmony, moving through half- and fully-diminished seventh chords and distantly related harmonic areas, including A-flat major, E-flat major, and F-sharp major, as seen in Example 6.1 (see following page). Both are marked *religioso* and *piano* appropriate to the meditative style of the work. Because of the key change in the revised edition these first measures sound even more like a prelude to the rest of the composition; when the key shifts to B major it sounds like another beginning.

¹⁷ Miss Annie Meyers was the daughter of Leonard Meyers, a Philadelphia-based lawyer to whom Gottschalk had dedicated his *Forest Glade Polka*, op. 25, in 1853.



Example 6.1. Gottschalk, *The Last Hope*, mm. 17-26, William Hall & Son edition, 1856.

Twenty measures of preparation lead into the primary theme, which is heard characteristically in the “middle hand” of Gottschalk’s three-handed texture, seen in Example 6.2:

Example 6.2. Gottschalk, *The Last Hope*, mm. 47-54, William Hall & Son edition, 1856.

Hymn tunes are often associated with specific meters and set in a strophic form.¹⁸ Other typical characteristics of early nineteenth-century hymnody, such as the works of Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings, include straightforward rhythmic patterns with little syncopation, harmonic progressions that emphasize the tonic and dominant chords, a clear melody in the soprano, and the lack of a refrain or chorus.¹⁹ Gottschalk's melody is divided into two phrases of eight measures each, suggesting a regular meter and form. A short interlude of five measures leads into a complete reiteration of the melody, with only minor changes in the spellings of accompanimental chords (verse two of the hymn?). There are no modulations, no secondary themes, and a simple formal structure. The rest of the piece is devoted to a *brillante* coda of thirty-six measures. Extra staves provide a more challenging *ossia* version, "how the author plays it." Rapid chromatic runs in the upper octaves are accompanied by simple harmonic progressions in block chords in the left hand. The piece ends *pianississimo*. Gottschalk's work sounds more like an improvisation on a hymn tune than a virtuoso solo, and it is likely that in creating such a piece he fulfilled his intentions, and those of his publishers, for a religious-themed work.

Cover art for the various editions of *The Last Hope* deserves comment. The original 1854 edition, which featured the dedication "To My dear Cousin, Miss Annie Meyers," had no overt religious iconography at all. Instead, ornate filigrees and curlicues surround the oval-shaped frame in which the title and composer's name appears. Gottschalk's signature is reproduced on the bottom right corner, as well. By the second edition, however, the publishers capitalized on the work's subtitle as a "religious meditation," and the title and name of the composer are housed within an arch-shaped window, suggestive of a church or monastery, with a pastoral scene in the distance. At bottom right there appears a funeral procession en route to a church. A radiant, ribbon-wrapped cross is centered just under the apex of the arch, leaving no question as to the presumed programmatic content of the composition, as seen in Figures 6.1 and 6.2.

¹⁸ Since Isaac Watts (1674–1748), English and American hymnody have used conventional poetic meters to designate hymn tunes and pair texts with melodies. 77.77 indicates that each of the four lines in a stanza has seven syllables. Usually it is set in iambic tetrameter with the first unstressed syllable omitted. See *The Cyber Hymnal* at [<http://www.cyberhymnal.org/>] for more examples, accessed 3 September 2007.

¹⁹ Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: Norton, 2001), 144–5.



Figure 6.1. Gottschalk, *The Last Hope*, William Hall & Son edition, 1856, cover page. From the collection of the Center for Popular Music, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.



Figure 6.2. Gottschalk, *The Last Hope*, William Hall & Son edition, 1856, cover page; detail.

By the end of the century (or shortly after its turn) the iconography became more stylized, perhaps, but no less overtly religious in character. The Ditson edition features two crosses, one in each upper corner, as part of a border that suggests organ pipes. The arch from the Hall edition has been preserved but the rural church scene has disappeared.

Gottschalk was aware of the market potential for this religiously-themed composition, yet he benefited little from sales of the work, for which Hall had paid him fifty dollars. He recalled in an 1862 entry in his journal:

I had composed a few pieces, one of them of a melancholy character with which was connected a touching episode of my journey to Santiago, Cuba, and seemed to me to unite the conditions requisite for popularity. . . . This little piece was *Last Hope*, of which more than thirty-five thousand copies have been published in America, and which still produces yearly to its publisher, after a run of more than twelve years, twenty times the amount that it cost him.²⁰

The story connected with the composition of *The Last Hope* probably enhanced its popularity. In 1856 Gottschalk related the tale in a letter to a Parisian friend Gustave Chouquet, who promptly published it in *La France musicale*; later it appeared as a preface to editions in France and the United States. Briefly stated, while in Cuba Gottschalk met an elderly woman suffering from a terminal illness. She pleaded for him to play for her during her last hours “a little melody, an *ultima speranza*!” Gottschalk

²⁰ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 48-49.

improvised the hymnlike tune and the woman died, her wish fulfilled. The poignant story, with the melodrama of imminent death and the almost spiritual benediction given by music, positioned the piece within the context of both the sentimental and the religious, and virtually guaranteed its widespread appeal to female consumers. Gottschalk wryly acknowledged his audience in *Notes of a Pianist*: “Invariably at every concert a small, scribbled note requests me to play *Last Hope*. The other day I received one composed as follows: ‘Would Mr. G. kindly please 36 young girls by playing *The Last Hope*, which they all play.’”²¹

Le Chant du Martyr, no opus

Less is known about Gottschalk’s later religious composition, *Le Chant du Martyr*, subtitled “grande caprice religieux.” Composed around 1859, it was first published under the pseudonym “Seven Octaves,” by Oliver Ditson & Co. in 1864, and was dedicated “To my friend Charles Kunkel of Cincinnati.”²² Kunkel was a pianist, engaged by Gottschalk for some of his concerts in Cincinnati in 1862-64, and also a composer, who dedicated his 1860 *Restless Love, caprice brilliant*, Op. 13, “to my friend L. M. Gottschalk.” The Ditson edition of *Le Chant du Martyr* featured cover art that without overt religious iconography simply emphasized the word “martyr” with grand flourishes on the “M,” as seen in Figure 6.3 (see following page). The cover of a later publication of *Le Chant du Martyr* by Schott’s Söhne in Mainz featured a cross embedded within the “M” of “Martyr,” thereby highlighting the religious nature of the work even more directly.²³

²¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

²² Charles Kunkel (1840-1923) was born in the Rheinpfalz in Germany and immigrated to the United States at age eight.

²³ Copies of both the Ditson and Schott editions are housed in the Music Division, New York Public Library for Performing Arts, New York, but the Schott edition was unavailable for digital reproduction.

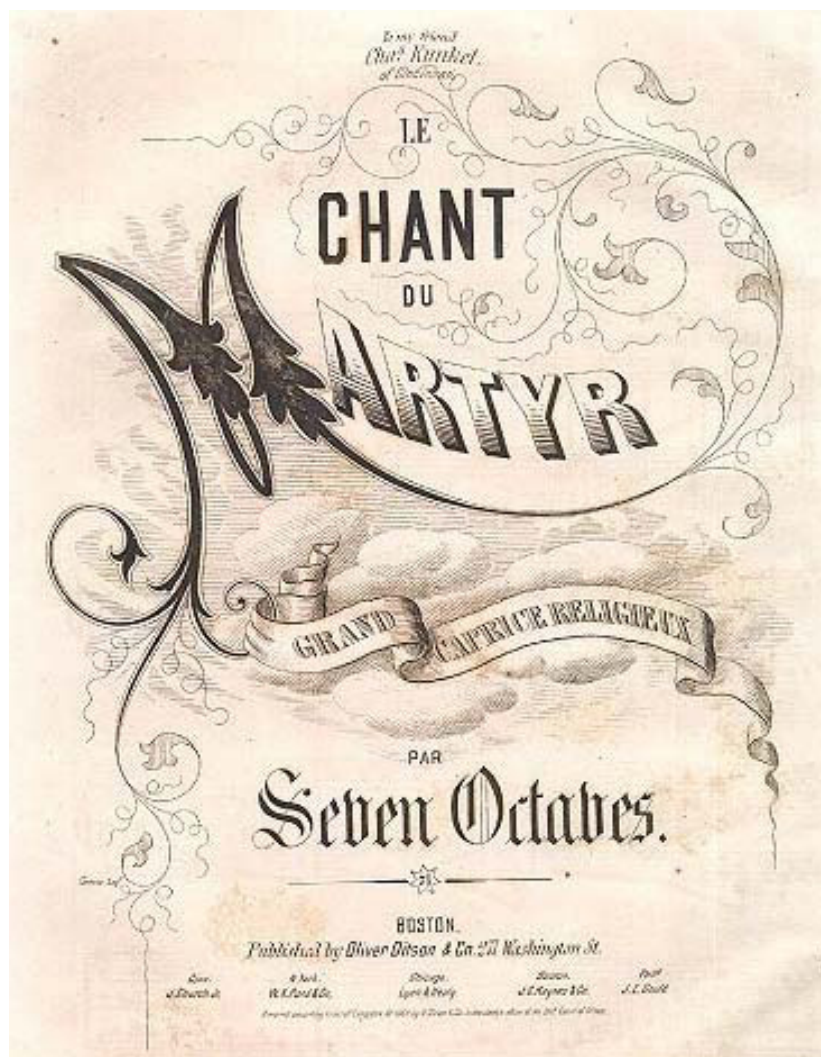


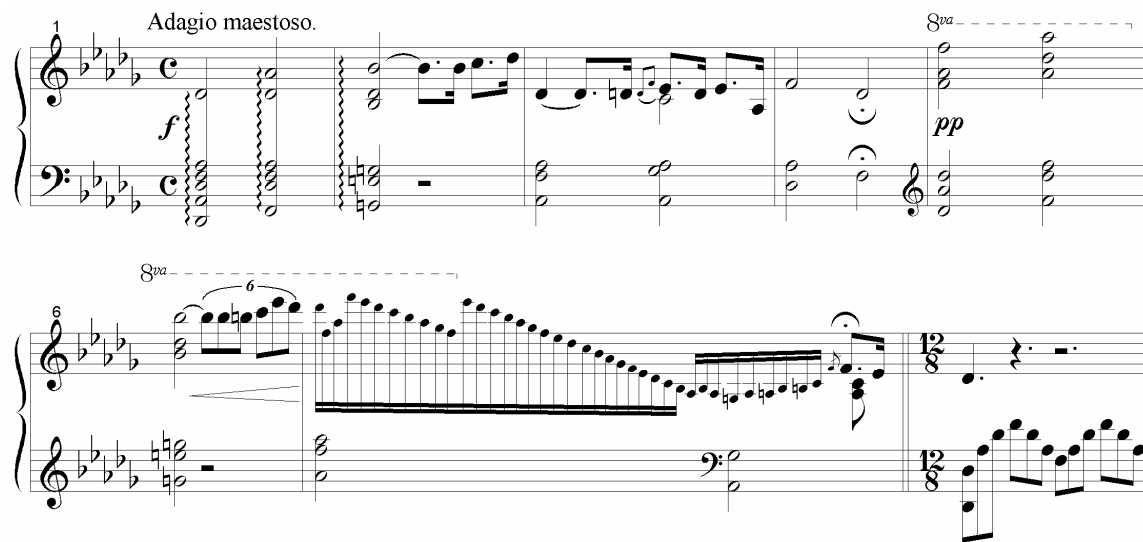
Figure 6.3. Gottschalk, *Le Chant du Martyr*, Ditson edition, 1864, cover page.

A manuscript copy housed at the New York Public Library for Performing Arts in Gottschalk's hand complicates the composition's history. There are two differences between the manuscript and the publication. First, the dedication, in French, here translated, reads "to my friend Maurice Strakosch, a testimonial of my sympathy for the man and of my *admiration for the artist*."²⁴ Second, the pseudonym that Gottschalk uses here is the name "Paul Ernest," another pen name that he first adopted while working

²⁴ Underlined in original. Translation mine.

with the Philadelphia publishers Gould & Co. in 1855.²⁵ At which point the nom de plume and dedication were changed is not clear, as the manuscript is not dated; however, Kunkel's 1860 dedication of his own op. 13 to Gottschalk may have partly motivated the alteration.

The formal structure of *Le Chant du Martyr* is similar to that of *The Last Hope*, although it is a longer piece. The *Adagio maestoso, forte* opening of the D-flat major piece contrasts with the *pianissimo* in measure 4. The eight-measure common-time introduction establishes the key, alludes to the overall shape and range of the melody in mm. 2-3, and, with its four-octave right-hand descending scale, warms up the fingers for the 12/8 primary theme.



Example 6.3. Gottschalk, *Le Chant du Martyr*, mm. 1-8.

This preparatory section had its basis in practice: Gottschalk was well-known for his improvisatory preluding to warm up his hands. Richard Hoffman remembered,

His deliberation, his perfect indifference to the waiting audience was thoroughly manifest as he slowly drew [his gloves] off, one finger at a time. . . . Finally disposing of them, he would manipulate his hands until they were quite limber,

²⁵ Gottschalk employed four different pseudonyms for his easier compositions during his American career; the other two were "Oscar Litti" and "A.B.C." Other works originally published by Ditson under the name "Seven Octaves" include *Love and Chivalry* and *The Maiden's Blush* (1859), *Fairy Land* and *Hurrah Galop* (1863), *The Dying Poet*, *Pensive*, and *Orfa* (1864), and *Radieuse* (1864).

then preludize [*sic*] until his mood prompted him to begin his selection on the program.²⁶

Accompanied by gently rocking arpeggios in the left hand, the theme is comprised of two eight-measure phrases, both of which are repeated immediately. The first six measures are played straightforwardly and simply, but thereafter the addition of grace-note arpeggios enhances the melody's sentimental quality.



Example 6.4. Gottschalk, *Le Chant du Martyr*, mm. 17-20.

A *forte* twenty-one-measure episode midway through, marked *animato* and *declamato*, shifts to the related key of B-flat minor. The dynamic expressivity of the octaves in the right hand is underpinned by repeated block chords in the left hand, as illustrated in Figure 6.5. The changes in dynamic, key, and texture make the brief section a striking contrast to the sentimental primary theme.

²⁶ Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 133-34.



Example 6.5. Gottschalk, *Le Chant du Martyr*, mm. 41-44.

Upon the return to D-flat major and the primary theme at measure 62, the left hand features arpeggiated triadic chords on each beat, while the melody is presented as the upper notes of descending triplet arpeggios in the right hand an octave above the treble staff. The accompanying chords alternate between the middle of the keyboard and above the melody, thereby creating a simplified version of the three-handed technique also seen in *The Last Hope*, as shown in Figure 6.6.²⁷ In this last section, the first phrase of the main theme is heard only one time, but the second phrase is repeated. A fifteen-measure coda continues the figurations, complemented by ever-diminishing dynamics and tempo; the work ends with arpeggiated tonic chords above the treble clef marked *ppp*.

²⁷ Perhaps the three-handed texture in these religiously-themed works could be viewed as an example of trinitizing, a representation of the Holy Trinity in music.

main identifying qualities, the freedom of thought and spiritual experience, virtually precludes any simple explanation. The Transcendentalists were a group of thinkers and social activists, mainly centered in New England, who broke away from the already liberal leanings of the Unitarian and Universalist faiths to explore alternative paths toward a communion with the divine. Nature was the best-known of these channels; Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854) recounts his time spent living in a cabin near that pond in Concord, Massachusetts, from July 1845 to September 1847.

Transcendentalists were not merely freethinkers, however; they were also active social reformers, as Anne C. Rose comprehensively demonstrates in *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850*.²⁹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Ellery Channing, Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, and George Ripley were just a few among many who strove to have an impact, both within private communities through the creation of Fourierist utopias like Ripley's Brook Farm and Alcott's Fruitlands, and in the larger nation by publication of lectures and essays like Channing's "On the Elevation of the Laboring Classes" (1840) and Emerson's "New England Reformers" (1844). It is not within the scope of this chapter to provide a comprehensive description of the many manifestations of Transcendentalism; however, the Unitarian underpinnings of the movement merit a closer examination within this discussion of music, religion, and sentiment.³⁰

In *The Unitarian Conscience* Daniel Walker Howe explores the ethical value system in place among the Harvard Unitarians before the Civil War.³¹ While distancing themselves from other Protestant faiths and Catholicism, Unitarians embraced certain aspects of both Christianity, such as the belief in God and the teachings of Jesus, and Enlightenment thought, including a commitment to science and reason. Emphases on

²⁹ Anne C. Rose, *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

³⁰ Perry Miller's seminal book *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology* continues to shape modern thinking about these complex and various individuals (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960). Also see Lawrence Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973) and the classic work by Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England* (1876, reprint New York: Harper and Row, 1959).

³¹ Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

ethics, metaphysics, and individual truth and morality stood in stark contrast to the dogma and directives inherited from Puritan ancestors. Even in this relatively broadminded environment, however, Emerson, an ordained Unitarian minister, felt constrained, and he ultimately rejected essential Christian tenets. He broke away from the church in 1832, as John Sullivan Dwight did nine years later.

Although communion with nature is perhaps the archetypical catalyst of Transcendentalism, there were other means by which to reach the divine. Music was one such medium, and it was acknowledged as such in a variety of writings of the time.³² In 1826 Sampson Reed published a pamphlet called “Observations on the Growth of the Mind.” In it he implicitly advocated Swedenborgianism,³³ whose main precepts were adopted by the Transcendentalists as their “revolutionary” theories on aesthetics. Reed and other Transcendental writers embraced many of the tenets of Swedenborgianism, while rarely openly acknowledging their debt to its theology, although in his 1844 essay “The Poet,” Ralph Waldo Emerson stated that “Swedenborg, of all men in the recent ages, stands eminently for the translator of nature into thought. I do not know the man in history to whom things stood so uniformly for words.”³⁴ In his pamphlet Reed expounded on the best ways to fill up a child’s mind:

It is. . . the continual endeavor of Providence, that the natural sciences should be the spontaneous production of the human mind. To these should certainly be added, poetry and music; for when we study the works of God as we should, we cannot disregard that inherent beauty and harmony in which these arts originate. These occasion in the mind its first glow of delight.³⁵

³² Irving Lowens has catalogued most if not all of such works in “Writings about Music in the Periodicals of American Transcendentalism (1835-50),” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10:2 (Summer 1957), 71-85.

³³ Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swedish scientist, philosopher, Christian mystic, and theologian. Swedenborgianism, also known as the New Church, shares important similarities with Christianity, including beliefs in one true God and the Trinity, but it is also distinct in its embrace of mystical principles, such as the belief in marital union continuing into the afterlife, and rejection of the doctrine of atonement. See Martin Lamm, *Emanuel Swedenborg: The Development of His Thought*, Tomas Spiers and Anders Hallengren, transl., Swedenborg Studies, 9 (West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2001).

³⁴ *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Brooks Atkinson, ed. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 303.

³⁵ Reprinted in Miller, 53-54.

Although Ralph Waldo Emerson claimed that “mine ear is untaught by nature or art in the mysteries of music,”³⁶ he nevertheless wrote a poem entitled “Music,” included among the minor poems in the Appendix to the posthumous edition of the *Works* in 1883.³⁷ “Music” refers in this case, however, not to instruments and voices but to the natural, “sky-born” noise of life, which “sounds from all things old [and] from all things young, / From all that’s fair, and all that’s foul.”³⁸ In other poems he also used the word “music” to describe the sounds of the ocean, the rain, and the wind.³⁹ Emerson was less concerned with manmade music than with translating into words these universal sounds:

For poetry was all written before time was, and whenever we are so finely organized that we can penetrate into that region where the air is music, we heard those primal warblings and attempt to write them down, but we lose ever and anon a word or a verse and substitute something of our own, and thus miswrite the poem. The men of more delicate ear write down these cadences more faithfully, and these transcripts, though imperfect, become the songs of the nations.⁴⁰

Music was significant in the lives of other Transcendentalists, as well. Louisa May Alcott’s frequent references to piano music in *Little Women* were directly influenced by the piano that stood in the parlor at Orchard House.⁴¹ In addition, Daniel Edgar Rider discusses the musical activities of George William Curtis, Margaret Fuller, Christopher Pearse Cranch, Elizabeth Peabody, and Henry David Thoreau in addition to Dwight in his 1964 dissertation.⁴² Thoreau in particular had a great affinity with music and sound, both

³⁶ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson: With Annotations, 1824-1832*, Vol. 2, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1909), 48.

³⁷ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Music.” The poem can be found with all of Emerson’s poetry and commentary at the American Verse Project at the University of Michigan, [<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/BAD1982.0001.001>] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Humanities Text Initiative, 1996), accessed 17 May 2007.

³⁸ *Ibid.* The three stanzas have six lines each, with a rhyme scheme of **ababcc**.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, including “The World-Soul,” “Woodnotes,” “Monadnoc,” “Merlin,” “Bacchus,” “The House,” “May-Day,” and many others.

⁴⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The Poet,” *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Brooks Atkinson, ed. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 289-90.

⁴¹ See Alfred F. Rosa, “Charles Ives: Music, Transcendentalism, and Politics,” *The New England Quarterly*, 44:3 (September 1971), 439.

⁴² Daniel Edgar Rider, “The Musical Thought and Activities of the New England Transcendentalists” (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1964).

manmade and natural. The fifth chapter of *Walden*, titled “Sounds,” comments on noises ranging from locomotive whistles, church bells, and the rattle of distant carriages to the songs of whippoorwills, owls, and bullfrogs.⁴³

Among the Transcendentalists, however, John Sullivan Dwight was by far the most vocal advocate for the spiritual potential of human music. In multiple published and unpublished essays and critical reviews, Dwight extolled its virtues and explained its influence upon individuals. His 1849 article for Elizabeth Peabody’s *Aesthetic Papers* eloquently expressed his feelings on music and its effects:

Music is both body and soul, like the man who delights in it. Its body is beauty in the sphere of sound, – *audible beauty*. But in this very word *beauty* is implied a soul, a moral end, a meaning of some sort, a something which makes it of interest to the inner life of man, which relates it to our invisible and real self. . . . Music is a universal language, subtly penetrating all the walls of time and space. . . . Music is religious and prophetic. She is the real Sibyl, chanting evermore of unity. . . . Every genuine strain of music is a serene prayer, or bold, inspired demand, to be united with all, at the Heart of things.⁴⁴

Dwight continued to write on music, especially for *The Harbinger*, a short-lived Transcendentalist journal, contributing a hundred and ten articles over its four-year run (1845-49).⁴⁵ When he established his own *Journal of Music* in 1852, Dwight created a personal forum to express his Transcendentalist principles and his opinions on all matters pertaining to music.

Both in *The Harbinger* and in his *Journal*, Dwight’s writings on music were often moralistic. It is likely that his background as a Unitarian minister played a role in his criticism of Gottschalk’s music. For Dwight, music and religion were one, as is clear in an address to the Harvard Musical Association delivered in 1841:

Are not some of the adagio movements, scattered through the instrumental works of Beethoven, almost the very essence of prayer? – not formal prayer, I grant, but earnest, deep, unspeakable aspiration? Is not his music pervaded by such prayer?...Does not his harmony affect us, just as when we look up to the stars in a clear night, and are filled with awe, as well as with unspeakable longing, and with a

⁴³ Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Other Writings*, ed. Joseph Wood Kutch (New York: Bantam, 1962), 190-99.

⁴⁴ Dwight, “Music,” *Aesthetic Papers* (Boston: E. P. Peabody, 1849), 25-36. Reprinted in Miller, *Transcendentalists*, 411-14.

⁴⁵ See Lowens, 81-88.

consciousness that our home's not here, – that there is another and an unseen world which only the heart knoweth, and which the pure in heart shall enter, though they are not of the successful ones after the world's way?⁴⁶

Citing Beethoven's compositions, Dwight reveals another facet of his understanding of music as religion: that regardless of whether a piece is designated as sacred, its inherent, abstract content allows it to become a pathway to the divine. For Dwight, the music of Beethoven was innately spiritual. By comparison, works tied too closely to the mundane world, which would describe most of Gottschalk's oeuvre, could not achieve transcendence.

Dwight wrote nothing in the *Journal* about *Le Chant du Martyr*, although he did have something to say about *The Last Hope* in 1862: "'Last Hope' hardly justified its title of 'Religious Meditation;' there were jack o' lantern freaks in it."⁴⁷ What Dwight probably had in mind in referring to "jack o' lanterns" was the "will o' the wisp" or *ignis fatuus*, ghostly flickering lights hovering in the twilight or night air.⁴⁸ By using imagery commonly associated with occult or supernatural phenomena, Dwight both dismissed Gottschalk's composition and condemned it as base and even degenerate – the opposite of uplifting and sacred.

Beyond *The Last Hope*

A look at the subsequent history of *The Last Hope* further complicates and enriches its already complex intersections of religion, sentimentalism, and music. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the melancholy tune was adapted in multiple versions as a Christian hymn. In a 1986 article in the *Newsletter for the Institute for Studies in American Music* Gottschalk scholar Robert Offergeld traced the hymn's provenance and concluded that it first appeared in an 1867 Methodist hymnal in an arrangement by Hubert Platt Main (1839-1925), a young Gottschalk devotee and himself

⁴⁶ John Sullivan Dwight, "Address Delivered Before the Harvard Musical Association, August 25, 1841," *The Musical Magazine*, 3 (1841):257-72.

⁴⁷ *Dwight's Journal of Music* (18 October 1862), 231.

⁴⁸ David J. Skal, *Death Makes a Holiday: A Cultural History of Halloween* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2002). Although the carved pumpkins or gourds were known in the United States by 1840, jack o' lanterns were not associated with Halloween until 1866.

a composer and publisher of music.⁴⁹ The text, a religious verse by English Congregationalist preacher Thomas Raffles, included four verses that focused on pious self-abjection and remorse. Offergeld connects this text to the scandal involving two girls from the Oakland Female College, mentioned in Chapter 4, that occurred during Gottschalk's time in San Francisco just before he departed for Lima in 1865.⁵⁰

Following the initial 1867 publication of the melody as a hymn tune, it appeared numerous times; Edwin Pond Parker's name appears frequently as an arranger of versions that slightly alter the second phrase of the melody, making the range smaller and thus easier to sing.⁵¹ Charles S. Robinson's 1878 collection includes the tune twice. Called "Mercy," the melody is not attributed to Gottschalk; Parker's name alone appears as arranger.⁵² The tune is accompanied by four different texts, the incipits of which are "Holy Ghost! With Light Divine," "In the dark and cloudy day," "Cast thy burden on the Lord," and "'Tis my happiness below." The second, attributed to hymn writer George Rawson (1807–1889), is especially intriguing; the first verse is reproduced below:

In the dark and cloudy day,
When earth's riches flee away,
And the last hope will not stay,
Saviour, comfort, comfort me!⁵³

⁴⁹ Robert Offergeld, "More on the Gottschalk-Ives Connection," *Newsletter for the Institute for Studies in American Music* 15:2 (May 1986): 1-2 and 13.

⁵⁰ For more on this episode, see Richard Jackson, "More Notes of a Pianist: A Gottschalk Collection Surveyed and a Scandal Revisited," *Notes* 46:2 (December 1989), 352-75.

⁵¹ Edwin Pond Parker (1836-1925) was pastor of the Second Church of Christ, Hartford, Connecticut, in the 1860s and was chief editor of the *Book of Praise* (Congregational, 1874). Perhaps the earliest instance of his adaptation appears in Charles S. Robinson, ed., *A Selection of Spiritual Songs With Music for Use in Social Meetings* (New York: Century Co., 1881 [reprint of 1878]), 79 and 159.

⁵² In a twentieth-century hymnal companion, the editor's annotation on the tune wryly comments: "Parker, a Congregational minister at Hartford made the arrangement from Gottschalk's piano piece *The Last Hope*, 1854. It first appeared in one of Charles S. Robinson's collections. It has been reharmonized to omit much of the objectionable chromaticism." Emory Stevens Bucke, gen. ed., *Companion to the Hymnal: A Handbook to the United Methodist Book of Hymns* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 376. The possible provenance of the alternate name "Mercy" used for the tune in many hymnals is posited by Robert Guy McCutchan in *Hymn Tune Names: Their Sources and Significance* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 101: "This name [Mercy] was given the tune because of the sentiment of the hymn with which it was early associated, Charles Wesley's hymn beginning 'Depth of Mercy, can there be.' The tune is also known as 'Manna.'" I did not find any surviving examples of Wesley's text with Gottschalk's melody. I am grateful to Grover Baker of the Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State University for his enthusiastic assistance in locating many of the sources for the hymn settings and their background information.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 159.

The inclusion of the words “last hope” is either particularly serendipitous or a public acknowledgement by Rawson, Parker, or Robinson of Gottschalk’s work as source material. Later hymnals dating from 1875 through 1980, from widely divergent Protestant traditions, including Methodist, Congregational, Unitarian, and Church of Christ, feature additional texts, with such first lines as “Holy Spirit! gently come,” “Sovereign and transforming Grace!” and “Lord, before thy presence come.”⁵⁴ The presence of the tune in the hymnals of so many denominations and with multiple texts signifies its extensive dissemination and acceptance throughout the Christian United States. Charles Ives employed the tune in his *Psalm 90* (begun 1893; final version completed 1924). Offergeld posits that Ives probably knew the melody foremost through its hymn version but perhaps also in its original piano solo form.⁵⁵

In writing piano works such as *The Last Hope* and *Le chant du Martyr*, Gottschalk capitalized on the public’s simultaneous yearning for the spiritual and gradual shift toward the secular. In these religious-themed compositions he connected the demand for parlor music with the new sentimental notion of religion, thus guaranteeing their popularity, measurable through extensive sales of sheet music. Gottschalk realized that religious sentiment was a marketable commodity and therefore profited from it. Dwight’s view of abstract Art music as a path to the divine meant that Gottschalk’s “religious works” were anathema to his Transcendental understanding of the spiritual. Theirs were two perspectives on religion that defied reconciliation.

⁵⁴ Charles S. Robinson, ed., *Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs: A Manual of Worship for the Church of Christ* (New York: Century Co., 1882 [reprint of 1875]), 225; Robinson, ed., *Laudes Domini: A Selection of Spiritual Songs Ancient and Modern for the Sunday School* (New York: Century, 1888 [reprint of 1884], 215; Ira D. Sankey, et al, eds., *Gospel Hymns No. 6* (New York: John Church Co. and Biglow and Main Co., 1891), 19; *Services for Congregational Worship* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1914), 30-31; and Albert Christ Janer, et al, eds., *American Hymns Old and New* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 616.

⁵⁵ Offergeld, 13.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

The efforts of Dwight and Gottschalk continue to influence American musical culture today. High Art music by European classical composers, held up by Dwight as a paradigm in the nineteenth century, is performed today in specialized concerts. The canon has enshrined the works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and they are regarded with appropriate esteem and, indeed, veneration. At the same time, modern performances abound of the operas of Verdi, Rossini, Bellini and Wagner that Gottschalk drew upon for his transcriptions and that Dwight found so objectionable.¹ The piano fantasias on these operas in fact played a key role in their popularization. Virtuosity, so much a part of music culture in the nineteenth century, has been joined by the cult of the masterpiece.

Virtuosity itself has become a key objective for modern soloists. In a paradoxical turn, the creation of the classical music canon has encouraged individual virtuosity among performers, as Allen Lott explains:

Ironically, with the establishment of a standardized and limited repertoire for the piano recital, there arose a need to focus on performers and their individual interpretations for the sake of variety, a necessary evil to perpetuate a seemingly immutable ritual. Today, when star soloists are the principal marketing ploy for symphony concerts, and when competitions seek to identify the next generation of celebrated performers in an efficient but artificial environment, it is impossible to believe that the virtuoso age is over.²

Because the music performed is limited to works within a prescribed canon and often repeated in concerts, performers are noted for their unique styles of interpretation more

¹ In *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Richard Taruskin points to the twentieth-century division between musical compositions for the canon and those for the repertoire. He notes that often the most popular composers of the nineteenth century, such as Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924), wrote works that were embraced by the public but shunned or ignored by academics and critics, for example *La Bohème* (1896), while the emerging canon was influenced most directly by German aesthetic philosophy and historicism. See especially Vol. 3: *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 664-67.

² Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 289-90.

than for their selection of repertoire. Hence the technically dazzling performances by Gottschalk also have a legacy in the classical music world today.

But Gottschalk's influence is perhaps more apparent in the vast growth of the great variety of popular music cultures in the United States. Here, too, performers are esteemed for virtuosic talents on instruments such as electric guitar or bluegrass fiddle. Rock bands and pop stars sell out arenas that seat thousands. And instead of playing the artists' famous works on their parlor pianos, devotees download favorite songs onto their MP-3 players.

Gottschalk's compositions and their varied inspirations have also continued to resonate, both in high art and popular genres. The black-influenced rhythms and harmonic progressions first heard in his *Souvenir de Porto Rico* emerged again at the turn of the twentieth century in ragtime.³ This music was itself later appropriated as exotic source material by white (typically European) composers, such as Claude Debussy in his well-known *Golliwog's Cakewalk* (1905) and Igor Stravinsky's *Ragtime* (1918).⁴

Another composer who envisioned an American musical style was Antonin Dvořák. His Symphony No. 9 (*From the New World*, 1893) was a call to American composers to write music based on indigenous sources. Among such Americans, George Whitefield Chadwick was one of the earliest to employ ethnic source materials, such as pentatonic scales and African-Caribbean rhythms in his Symphony No. 2 in B-flat major (1883-85) and *Symphonic Sketches* (1895-1904).⁵ Edward MacDowell replied directly to Dvořák's exhortation in his essay "Folk-song and its Relation to Nationalism in Music." He opted to use American Indian melodies in his Second (*Indian*) Suite for orchestra (1891-95) over black sources because, as he wrote, "If the trademark of nationality [in music] is indispensable, which I deny, why cover it with the badge of whilom [i.e., former] slavery rather than with the stern but at least manly and free rudeness of the

³ Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997), 314-27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 331. Southern reports that John Alden Carpenter (1876-1951) "seems to have been the first white composer to use ragtime style in art music, in his Concertino for Piano and Orchestra (1916)."

⁵ For more information, see Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

North American Indian.”⁶ With the founding of the Wa-Wan Press in 1901, Arthur Farwell (1872-1952) created a forum for the publication of Indianist and modernist works by himself and other composers.⁷ Amy Cheney Beach (1867-1944) similarly responded to Dvořák by writing a piano suite entitled *Eskimos* (op. 64, 1906) and basing her 1929 String Quartet on American Indian themes.⁸

A full chronicle of composers using black sources in the twentieth century is too extensive to be summarized here, but one deserves mention: William Grant Still (1895-1978) and his compositions *Africa* (1930) and the Afro-American Symphony (1930). The latter work, a classic four-movement symphony, features the tenor banjo as a solo instrument in its third movement and employs blues scales and melodies, jazz instrumentations, and traditional call-and-response textures throughout.⁹ In addition, the form of the traditional twelve-bar blues influenced the phrase structure of the first movement. The Afro-American Symphony was the first symphony by a black composer to be performed by a major orchestra. Still’s successors included black high Art composers Florence Price (1887-1953) and William Levi Dawson (1899–1990).¹⁰ Gottschalk’s work *The Banjo* announces the beginning of the tradition in which the works of these musicians participate.

Beyond such immediately perceptible effects in American music, the significance of Gottschalk and Dwight goes deeper. It is easy to reduce the two men to a dichotomy

⁶ Edward MacDowell, *Critical and Historical Essays*, ed. Winston James Baltzell (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), xxiii-xxiv. For more on MacDowell, see Alan H. Levy, *Edward MacDowell: An American Master* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

⁷ For more information, see Evelyn David Culbertson, *He Heard America Singing: Arthur Farwell, Composer and Crusading Music Educator* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992).

⁸ Adrienne Fried Block, “Amy Beach’s Music on Native American Themes,” in *American Music* 8:2 (Summer 1990), 141-66. For more on Beach see Block’s *Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: The Life and Work of an American Composer, 1867-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁹ Still composed the work as four character sketches linked to verses from poetry by dialect poet Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906); he also originally gave each movement a subtitle appropriate to its contents: *Longings, Sorrows, Humor, and Aspirations*. It was first performed in 1931 by the Rochester Philharmonic Symphony under Howard Hanson. See Catherine Parsons Smith, *William Grant Still: A Study in Contradictions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 114-51.

¹⁰ Price was born and raised in Little Rock, Arkansas, and had her Symphony in E Minor performed by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1933. Dawson’s *Negro Folk Symphony* was premiered by the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1934. See Southern, 425-27.

that opposes them diametrically in a number of ways: southern versus northeastern; Catholic versus Protestant; the cult of virtuosity versus transcribed notation; popular versus high art. One could take the comparison even further: Gottschalk's affinity for French culture and Dwight's for German may be the earliest example of the divide that became manifest in American musical life particularly at the turn of the twentieth century. Debussy's impressionist compositions, and later the works of Les Six, contrast with the expressionist music of Schoenberg and his students. In the nineteenth century, American students went to Germany to train in music; in the twentieth, they looked to Nadia Boulanger in Paris. Gottschalk and Dwight, so different in their viewpoints, may represent the very beginnings of this cultural tug-of-war in America. Yet binary opposition is too simple to be accurate, especially within the context of the richly complicated nineteenth-century American musical scene. Two concepts that originated in philosophy may nuance our understanding of the relationship between Dwight and Gottschalk.

The idea of the "Other" has been a central tenet of philosophy since Georg W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) first saw it as a part of natural human self-consciousness.¹¹ In his well-known master-slave parable, the concept is laid out thus: when self-consciousness realizes the presence of another consciousness, self-certainty is threatened and feelings of alienation result. A struggle for preeminence ensues, which is uneasily and incompletely resolved in a master-slave relationship between the two consciousnesses.¹² Issues of superiority, priority, and exteriority are all part of the concept of the Other. Edward Said has demonstrated that the idea of the Other played a significant role in the evolution of European nineteenth-century society in its establishment of a ruling hegemony over the Orient.¹³ And the notion of "Otherness" informs a study of Gottschalk and Dwight as well.

It is easy to recognize Gottschalk as being an Other: even within the diversity that was America in the mid-nineteenth century, he was uncommon. Born in New Orleans,

¹¹ Robert B. Pippin, *Hegel's Idealism: the Satisfactions of Self-Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹² Frederick Beiser, *Hegel* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 185-91.

¹³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), esp. 1-28 and 76-91.

with a French-Haitian-Jewish heritage, he looked and sounded different; he spoke English with a French accent. In Europe, Gottschalk was an Other because he was American, but in America, he was an Other because he was from Louisiana and performed works based on exotic and unusual sources. He himself recognized his Otherness, and commented on it in his *Notes of a Pianist* in 1864, just five years before his death:

“He plays only his own music.” Of all the criticisms of which I am the object on the part of the impotent and jealous who, like thorns and barren bushes, encumber every avenue of art in America, I avow that this is the one that I am the least disposed to accept. . . . I compose, and what I compose is unfortunately my own, and, further, the public seems to like my music; hence their rage. . . .

Sometimes, in my moments of discouragement, I feel what the white man felt in the midst of Negroes, when he was disconsolate because he was white and had not a flat nose. I begin to regret having received from God the afflicting gift of being able to create. . . . [H]e who has been cast in an original mold cannot abdicate his individuality, or that which gives him superiority, in order to reduce himself to the level of the first comer who knows how to read and has a voice loud enough to make himself heard. Do you insinuate that the classics are superior to all we accomplish? . . . If this be the case, “your humble servant,” is not the man for you. I do not understand that art is like a uniform in which all of us must be aligned and drilled like Prussian servants.¹⁴

For Dwight, Gottschalk was certainly the Other, threatening Dwight’s envisioned ideal of American music, yet in Gottschalk’s own eyes, the situation was reversed: Dwight was the “impotent and jealous” Other, Boston’s unreceptive, “stiff, pedantic, exclusive . . . oracle.”¹⁵

The fractious professional relationship between the two men, however, was only one facet of their personal lives. In fact, they shared some similar goals for music education and appreciation in America. Dwight saw the possibilities of music to improve the public, and stated as much in the first volume of his *Journal of Music* in 1852:

Music is a feature in the earnest life and culture of advanced American society. It enters into all our schemes of education. It has taken the initiative, as the popular Art *par excellence*, in gradually attempering [*sic*] this whole people to the sentiment of Art. And whoever reflects upon it, must regard it as a most important saving influence in this rapid expansion of our democratic life. Art,

¹⁴ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Knopf, 1964), 173-74.

¹⁵ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 232.

and especially Music, is a true conservative element, in which Liberty and Order are both fully typed and made beautifully perfect in each other.¹⁶

Gottschalk also recognized music's responsibility as a "saving influence" of humanity. In an 1865 entry in his *Notes*, he expounded his own philosophy on the effects of music, what he saw as a "physical, moral, and complex agent:"

Music is a physical agent; it impresses on the body shocks that shake the organs to their base. . . .[I]t quickens the pulse, slightly excites perspiration, and produces a species of voluptuous and transient irritation in our nervous system. . . .*Music is a moral agent*. Through the medium of the nervous system it brings the superior faculties into play; its language is that of sentiment. . . .Music awakens in us reminiscences, memories, associations. . . .*Music is a complex agent*. It acts at the same time on life, its forces, its instinct, its organism; it has a psychological action. . . .I will sum up: Music being a *physical agent* – that is to say, acting on the individual without the assistance of his intellect; a *moral agent* – that is to say, reviving his memory, exciting his imagination, developing his sentiment; and a *complex agent* – that is to say, having a psychological action upon the instinct, the organism, and the forces of man, I thence conclude that it is one of the most powerful means of ameliorating and ennobling the human mind, of elevating the morals, and, above all, of refining the manners of the people.¹⁷

The two men's positions regarding music's ennobling, elevating abilities are quite similar. The one conspicuous difference is that Gottschalk welcomed and endorsed the corporeal response to music, something Dwight rejected.¹⁸ The condition of simultaneous commonalities and differences suggests another philosophical concept that Hegel and others have explored: the idea of the dialectic.

The dialectic process of inquiry is also known as the Socratic method. According to Plato in his Socratic Dialogues, questions are asked in order to test hypotheses and reject those that lead to contradictions, thus leaving the questioner with better, more valid ideas.¹⁹ After Plato, the dialectic process was engaged by both Aristotle and Boethius as

¹⁶ Dwight's *Journal of Music*, 1:1 (10 April 1852), 4.

¹⁷ Gottschalk, *Notes*, 107-11. Italics in original.

¹⁸ Recall Dwight's irritation with popular tunes that "are hummed and whistled *without musical emotion*, whistled 'for lack of thought'; that . . . persecute and haunt the morbidly sensitive nerves of deeply musical persons, so that they too hum and whistle them involuntarily, hating them even while they hum them," ¹⁸ *Dwight's*, 4:7 (19 November 1853), 54.

¹⁹ For more information see Charles H. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue: The Philosophical Use of a Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

a means of furthering their philosophical viewpoints.²⁰ At the turn of the nineteenth century, the concept of the dialectic was adopted by members of the German Idealist philosophical school, including Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), and especially Hegel. Hegel's conception of dialectics was both as a method of investigation and as a phenomenon of the human condition.²¹ His ideas proved to be influential in the work of many philosophers of the following generations. Hegel's dialectic method was adopted by Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95), who paired it with historical materialism in works like *Das Kapital* (1867) and *Dialectics of Nature* (1883).²² In the twentieth century, musicologist and philosopher Theodor W. Adorno (1903-1969) expanded on and critiqued Hegelian dialectics in *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, written with Max Horkheimer, fellow member of the Frankfurt School, in 1947.²³ Most recently, Rose Rosengard Subotnik has addressed the many connections among music, language, and criticism using a dialectical model.²⁴ Among the ongoing explorations and analyses of the various eras and styles of dialectics and its continued use in modern philosophy, Hegel's viewpoint correlates most closely to the current discussion of Gottschalk and Dwight.

It is impractical and unnecessary to review all of Hegel's thinking on dialectic here, but a few observations may serve to illustrate how his theory can be applied to this

²⁰ On Aristotle, see J. D. G. Evans, *Aristotle's Concept of Dialectic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), especially pp. 31-52; for an exploration of dialectics in the writings of Boethius see Eleonore Stump's translation of *De topicis differentiis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), especially 179-204.

²¹ Robert C. Solomon, *In the Spirit of Hegel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 23-24.

²² Bertell Ollman discusses Marxist dialectics in *Dialectical Investigations* (New York: Routledge, 1993). The different but related uses of dialectics by Hegel and Marx are treated in Tony Smith, *Dialectical Social Theory and Its Critics: From Hegel to Analytical Marxism and Postmodernism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

²³ (Amsterdam: Querido, 1947); also see the translation, John Cumming, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1973).

²⁴ Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "The Cultural Message of Musical Semiology: Some Thoughts on Music, Language, and Criticism since the Enlightenment," in *Critical Inquiry*, 4:4 (Summer 1978), 741-68.

study.²⁵ According to Hegel's understanding of the dialectic, there are three stages of development: a thesis, its antithesis, and a synthesis, which resolves the tension between the two. Instead of opposition or refutation, the two viewpoints combine into a new understanding or at least contribute to an advancement of the dialogue.²⁶ In using this process while searching for ultimate truths, comprehension increases and becomes more encompassing.²⁷ For Hegel, the goal was "Absolute Knowing," an all-encompassing understanding that cannot be fully achieved in life. But while we can never comprehend all, the persistent investigation and revision of thought that occurs through dialectics results in a fuller idea of the whole.

Gottschalk and Dwight represent two different nineteenth-century perspectives on what American music was and could be. In Gottschalk we see the potential of popular music: its performance by famous personalities, its mass consumption by diverse audiences, and its capacity to draw upon native styles, instruments, and genres. In Dwight there lie the possibilities of Art music: the development of a thriving classical music scene in urban settings, its debt to European classical works, and its connections with academic institutions across the country. Both popular and high art play important roles in the lives of modern American citizens, and their worlds can and do intersect. Hundreds of composers and performers could be singled out as combining popular and art music in their works: Leonard Bernstein's use of salsa in *West Side Story* alongside fugue; John Williams's composition of orchestral film scores that evoke Strauss and Mahler. Philip Glass has worked with pop stars like David Bowie and Brian Eno; experimental rock musician Frank Zappa's 1979 album *Joe's Garage* has been called a "virtual opera."²⁸ Contemporary fusions of popular and art music suggest that the diversity of styles first present in the nineteenth century in the United States have moved

²⁵ According to one Hegelian scholar, "Hegel's dialectic is a continual source of irritation." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Hegel's Dialectic: Five Hermeneutical Studies*, transl. P. Christopher Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 3.

²⁶ John McTaggart and Ellis McTaggart, *Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896; reprint, Boston: Adamant, 2005), 1-11.

²⁷ Solomon, 25.

²⁸ David Nicholls, "Virtual Opera, or Opera Between the Ears," in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129:1 (2004), 100-42.

beyond what Dwight or Gottschalk likely envisioned. But their ideas and works stood on the threshold of this movement, at a time when such connections were just beginning to be made. In the nineteenth century, a variety of genres and styles, influences and individuals were inextricably linked in a web of cultural intersections that thrives in the diversity of music in the United States today.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Lafayette, Louisiana, Laura Moore Pruett received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Music with a concentration in Vocal Performance in 1998 from Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi. In 2000, Pruett earned her Master's degree in Historical Musicology at Florida State University. While there, Pruett taught courses in music appreciation, music history and literature, and sight-singing and ear training, and served as the President of the Society for Musicology. For her dissertation research she was awarded grants from the Presser Foundation, Mu Phi Epsilon, and the Florida State University Office of Graduate Studies. Pruett is a member of the American Musicological Society, the College Music Society, and the Society for American Music. She currently teaches music history and appreciation and serves as the music librarian at the Robert W. McLean School of Music at Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro.