CHAPTER 16: PROFESSIONAL POPULAR MUSIC IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD[1]

> *If you won't let me sell out, how about a short-term rental?--*
>
> Anonymous musician

Introduction

Music Publishing
- *The forms of musical publications*
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[1] A variety of sources were used in writing this chapter, but one author deserves particular mention: Nicholas E. Tawa. Two of his books, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS: THE PARLOR SONG IN AMERICA, 1790-1860 (Bowling Green Univ.: Bowling Green, OH, 1980) and HIGH-MINDED AND LOW-DOWN: MUSIC IN THE LIVES OF AMERICANS, 1800-1861 (Northeastern Univ.: Boston, 2000), were absolutely essential. Mention, too, should be made of George Stuyvesant Jackson's survey compilation of songsters between 1824 and 1850, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM (Bruce Humphries: Boston, 1933); Lester S. Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT: A CENTURY OF HUMOROUS SONGS IN AMERICA, 1805-1905 (Univ. of Oklahoma: Norman, OK, 1971); and Jon W. Finson, THE VOICES THAT ARE GONE: THEMES IN 19TH-CENTURY AMERICAN POPULAR SONG (Oxford Univ. Press: New York, 1994). Also particularly helpful in preparing this chapter was the website at http://www.parlorsongs.ac/, *The Parlor Songs Academy*, an educational website, and Russell Sanjek, AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC AND ITS BUSINESS, THE FIRST FOUR HUNDRED YEARS: VOLUME II, FROM 1790 TO 1909 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988),

- The Songs
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Introduction

Before we get to the substance of the chapter, we need to address an important question: What is "popular music"?

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[2] An additional category of songs, songs used by social movements, can be found in the next chapter, Amateur Popular Music in the Antebellum Era.

Simply put, “popular music” is *commercial* music, music made to be bought and sold. Right away, you need to remove the negative connotations that may have insinuated their way into your head with the phrase “commercial music.” The Romantic bohemian lurking in all of us wants to deny that the grubby streams of commerce could possibly produce anything of artistic value and lasting merit. Horsecrap. All “commercial” means is that an artist is producing something sufficiently valued by her audience that they are willing to hand over money for access to her art, thus allowing her to devote her time to producing more art. *Almost every off-the-wall, interesting artist in the 20th century was a commercial artist*: Henry Cowell, Conlon Nancarrow, John Cage, Harry Partch, George Crumb, Cecil Taylor, Moondog, Sun Ra, Hasil Adkins, John Coltrane, James Booker, Patrick Sky, Terry Riley, the Velvet Underground, Albert Ayler, Captain Beefheart, Kinky Friedman, Townes Van Zandt, George Clinton, Pere Ubu, the Residents, the Slits, Africa Bambaata, ESG, Prince, Nina Hagen, Steve Earle, the Art Ensemble of Chicago, Black Flag, Sonic Youth, the Pixies, David Murray, Daniel Johnston, Slint, Henry Threadgill, Bjork, Neutral Milk Hotel, and anyone else you care to name. They all *sold* music. “Commerce” is *not* a dirty word: It’s a way of keeping an artist alive and giving her time for her art. We need to purge from our brains the Romantic Age neuroses that lock us into contempt for anything but bohemian angst. Bohemian angst is the con job run by hacks who have to fall back on image in lieu of talent. Some commercial music is good; other commercial music is superb. Some commercial music is bad; other commercial music is *excruciatingly* bad. “Commercial” says *nothing* about the quality of the music in question.

What “commercial” *does* tell us is something about the way the music is conceived, produced, and distributed. When the music is conceived, at some point the question is asked. “Who will buy it?” The artist may adjust the music to better suit the audience, or may change audiences to suit the music. In either case, the question of fit between music and some group of people has to be considered if the artist wants to keep eating. In producing the music, the artist has to analyze the nature of the medium in which production will occur. Will the music be performed as a public concert? Will it be sold as sheet music? What instruments or voices and what levels of competence are possible (or likely)? An artist might write a fairly difficult piece for performance by a small, professional ensemble, then simplify and otherwise change the piece drastically as sheet music for amateur pianists. And distribution requires the artist to work with other players in the music business: Performers, publishers, pluggers, and theater owners, for example. If you're the artist, they have to be convinced of the commercial possibilities of your art or be so taken by it that they are willing to work with you despite diminished profits.[3] At every step, you have to look outside yourself to gauge what is possible given your art, your situation, and your intentions. For one artist, the goal may be to produce art as close to her own taste as she can given practical exigencies. For another, it may be to produce the art most desired by the great majority of the public. Both kinds of art require talent; neither precludes excellence; and sometimes an artist can do both at once. But in either case, the music is intended to be popular enough with *some* audience that the audience is motivated to pay for access to it, even if that audience is very small.

We've already talked about some of the elements of popular music in the 19th century. Folk songs and folk dances crossed into popular culture, showing up in sheet music and at commercial dances.[4] We've also seen the sale of a wide variety of sheet music bought for performance at home on the piano, including art music, light classics, operatic pieces, songs from the musical theater, popular songs, and novelty pieces.[5] We also saw art performers, such as Jenny Lind and Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who toured America and helped promote the sale of all sorts of goods, musical and otherwise.[6] And we discussed wind bands, who by 1850 were becoming the most popular form of musical entertainment in America's towns and cities.[7] In many of these cases, someone believed that music which hadn't been intended to be commercial had commercial possibilities, then acted on that belief. What we need to look at in this chapter is music that was intended from the start to win over audiences–usually *large* audiences.

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[3] Yes, that does happen . . . on *very* rare occasions. Remember, the rest of the folks in the music chain (and their families) have to eat too. You know how it is: Once you get started with food, you're hooked.

[4] In the chapter entitled FOLK MUSIC OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AND FEDERAL ERAS.

[5] In the chapter entitled THE PIANO BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

[6] In the chapter entitled ART MUSIC IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA.

[7] Also in ART MUSIC IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA.

The title of the chapter is misleading in one respect: The most popular form of professional music of the period is not included here. That music was the music of minstrelsy. Minstrelsy will be covered in its own chapter, after the chapters devoted to the music of slavery.

What did popular music look like in the early days of the United States? Here's a quick snapshot of the New York City of 1796:

> The inhabitants of New York are very fond of music, dancing, and plays; an attainment to excellence in the former has been considerably promoted by the frequent musical societies and concerts which are held in the city, many of the inhabitants being very good performers. As to dancing, there are two assembly-rooms in the city, which are pretty well frequented during the winter season; private balls are likewise not uncommon. They have two theatres, one of which is lately erected, and is capable of containing a great number of persons . . . But the amusement of which they seem most passionately fond is that of sleighing, which is riding on the snow in what you call a sledge, drawn by two horses. It is astonishing to see how anxiously persons of all ages and both sexes look out for a good fall of snow, that they may enjoy their favourite amusement; and when the happy time comes, to see how eager they are to engage every sleigh that is to be hired. Parties of twenty or thirty will sometimes go out of town in these vehicles towards evening, about six or eight miles, when, having sent for a fiddler, and danced till they are tired, they will return home again by moonlight, or, perhaps more often, by *day*light.[8]

Way back in ye olden days, music was made by both amateurs and professionals, and it was for *playing*, as well as for listening and dancing. This chapter looks at the popular music performed by professional singers and musicians. It will discuss the music business, the composers and professional performers of popular music, the types of popular songs, the performing venues, and the performing styles of the period. The following chapter will look at the popular music produced by amateurs.

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[8] From Francis Baily, JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN UNSETTLED PARTS OF NORTH AMERICA IN 1796 & 1797 (Baily Brothers: London, 1856), pp. 121-22. Baily was an important astronomer (the solar effect known as "Bailey's beads" and a lunar crater are named for him) who was also interested in insurance calculations and the problem of determining longitude.

Music Publishing

The forms of musical publications

Music appeared in a variety of printed formats after the Revolution. Newspapers and magazines published occasional songs. Songsters (small oblong books that could be shoved in a pocket) were compendia of lyrics with suggestions as to common tunes to sing them to, and some songsters included music, too. Single-page broadsides were ubiquitous. Sheet music, pamphlets, and ordinary-sized songbooks for specialized collections of music could also be had.[9]

Good examples of the printed music available after the Revolution comes from Louis Pichierri's survey of the sorts of printed music that could be found in New Hampshire in that period.[10] First, newspapers occasionally published newly written songs, usually citing the tune to which the printed verses were to be sung. In New Hampshire, for example, the *New Hampshire Gazette* published Thomas Paine's "Adams and Liberty" on June 12, 1798[11] and J.M. Sewall's "Song for the celebration of the 17th July, 1799" on July 23, 1799. *The Oracle of the Day* published an anonymous Fourth of July ode on July 6, 1793; "Neighbor Sly" by Charles Dibdin on September 7, 1793; "Columbia's sons in Songs proclaim" by J.M. Sewall on April 4, 1795; and "Nancy; or the Sailor's Journal" by Charles Dibdin on March 22, 1797. And *The New Hampshire Spy* published a song from the comic opera *The Better Sort; or, The Girl of Spirit* on March 31, 1789; two odes in celebration of the Fourth of July, both to the tune of "God Save the King," on July 7, 1789 (both had earlier been sung at the Globe Tavern in Portsmouth); and "An Ode for Independence" by Daniel George on July 11, 1789.[12]

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[9] Even in a work this sprawling, there's only so much I can do to list and describe the early music of America. If you're interested in more detail, see O.G. Sonneck's BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EARLY AMERICAN SECULAR MUSIC (H.L. McQueen: Washington, D.C., 1905). A copy of this work ay be viewed or downloaded at Hathi Trust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark:/13960/t04x5vd1f;view=1up;seq=10. For more information about early American music up to 1839, go the website, *Early American Secular Music and Its European Sources, 1589–1839: An Index*, located at https://www.cdss.org/elibrary/Easmes/Index.htm.

[10] From Louis Pichierri, MUSIC IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1623-1800 (Columbia Univ.: New York, 1960), pp. 58-64.

Second, beginning 1789 and lasting until 1796, the *Massachusetts Monthly or Monthly Museum of Knowledge* promised a musical selection in every issue.[13] The composers included such luminaries as William Billings, Samuel Holyoke, and Jacob Kimball.[14] And, of course, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, imported from England, also published songs.

Third, there were songbooks. Books advertised for sale in *The New Hampshire Gazette* 1792 and 1793 included *Ramsay's Songs*; *American Songster*; *London Songster*; *Steavens Songs*; *Cheats of London (A Song Book)*; *Cheerful Companion (A Song Book)*; *Kitty Fisher's Song Book*; *Sky-Lark, being an elegant collection of Songs* (price, four shillings); *Songster's Companion*; *Roundelay, or the New Syren (a collection of choice Songs)*; and *Buck's Delight (Song-book)*. The years 1798 and 1799 saw advertisements for *The Columbian Songster* (six shillings); *Freemason's*

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[11] This was to be sung to the tune of the drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven." The same tune was later used for "The Star Spangled Banner."

[12] The music used for this song was written by Horatio Garnet and published in the *Massachusetts Magazine* in July 1789, pp. 452-53.

[13] This periodical was published by Isaiah Thomas, discussed in REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY MUSIC, THE INTERREGNUM, AND THE EARLY MUSIC BUSINESS.

[14] See the chapter addressing religious music of the Revolutionary era for discussions of these composers.

Pocket Companion, a collection of the newest and most celebrated Sentimental, Convivial, Humorous, Pastoral, Hunting, Sea, and Masonic Songs, Being the largest and best Collection ever published in America; *The New-Philadelphia song book* (four shillings, sixpence); *Humming-Bird* (3 shillings, or three shillings 9 pence if you wanted the version with "modern toasts and sentiments"); *Vocal Companion* (in three shilling and one shilling sixpence versions); *The Echo; or Federal Songster, being a collection of the most celebrated Songs now in vogue; consisting of Patriotic, Bacchanalian & Sentimental etc. etc.*; and *The Social companion* (one shilling sixpence).[15]

Fourth, songs and music from "comic operas" were also sold to amateur musicians, with prices running about 25¢ for a booklet of music. Titles included *Poor Soldier* by William Shield (1787), *The Lord of the Manor* by William Jackson (1790), *No Song No Supper* by Steven Storace (1792), *Romp* by Thomas Dibdin[16] (1792), *Love in a Village* by Thomas Arne (1794), *Highland Reel* by William Shield (1794), *The Woodman* by William Shield (1794), *Slaves in Algiers, or a Struggle for Freedom* by Alexander Reinagle (1794), *The Quaker* by Charles Dibdin (1794), *Lionel and Clarissa* by Charles Dibdin (1794), *Mountaineers* by Samuel Arnold (1795), *Gentle Shepherd* by Allan Ramsay (1795), and *Children in the Wood* by Samuel Arnold (1795).

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[15] As has already been noted, in this period prices could be found both in the old British currency and the new dollars and cents American currency. But music was a special outlier in this regard. Music was almost always sold in the pounds-shillings-pence denominations of Britain almost up to the outbreak of the Civil War. This was long after most other sorts of sellers had abandoned price quotations in British currency units. Partly, this was for "tone." Indulging in music was often a status-seeking activity, as was discussed in the chapter entitled THE PIANO BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. There was more social uplift in British pound-shillings-and pence than there was in dollars and cents.

[16] Just because life is not confusing enough, there are two Charles Dibdins, father and son. This one, Thomas, is the son of one and brother of the other. They all wrote musicals, hoping that everyone would tear their hair out trying to keep all their Dibdins straight. The two "Charles Dibdin" comic operas cited here were both by Daddy Dibdin.

Fifth, in addition to periodicals, sheet music, and songbooks, an amateur could learn songs from musicians willing to give instruction in music and from music instruction books. A January 9, 1789 advertisement in the *New Hampshire Spy*, for example, offered for sale "London-made Violins, German Flutes . . . a very fine-ton'd Piano Forte, [and] Books of Instruction for all these instruments."[17] Some books offered both instruction and "the newest tunes" for various instruments (evidently confident that their instruction would take).[18] Vocal "preceptors" (*i.e.*, instruction manuals for the voice) included *The Art of Singing*.

With the notable exception of the New England psalmodists, the great majority of the composers of the songs sold in America before the 1830s were British. Some were Brits living in England (Thomas Arne; James Hook; Dibdin, Dibdin, & Dibdin; William Shield; and Steven Storace), others were British but living temporarily in America (William Dempster, Charles Horn, and Henry Russell); and still others were British and recently emigrated to America (Alexander Reinagle, James Hewitt, Benjamin Carr, and Raynor Taylor).[19] Many of these composers had the sort of musical training unavailable in America.[20] There were few native

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[17] Quoted in Pichierri, p. 23. The same ad also offered music for concerts, duets, trios, church music, and a variety of country dances.

[18] One of the instruments for which both instruction and new tunes was offered was the fife, indicating that the instrument saw civilian use as well as military use.

[19] Reinagle wrote, among other things, a hugely popular song, "The Little Sailor Boy." Carr's big hit was "Cousin John." As we've seen in the chapter entitled REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY MUSIC, THE INTERREGNUM, AND THE EARLY MUSIC BUSINESS, both Carr and Hewitt were publishers in addition to being composers and performers. That's what's known as a "shameless plug."

[20] Russell, for example, studied in Italy with Bellini. But don't let that fool you into thinking he was an expert. Much of his music had problems with such things as using the proper harmonies to back his melodies. The average post-Beatles rock guitarist or keyboard player understood harmony better than many of the popular composers of the early 1800s,

American composers immediately after the Revolution (once you got past Joseph Hopkinson, who wasn't popular, you started sucking air), and it took several decades to grow our own composers in significant numbers.

The music business

One example of the course taken by a single song will give you a better idea of what was happening in the music business generally prior to the 1830s.

In 1821, Englishman Henry Rowley Bishop published a volume of *National Airs*. Included in the songbook was a "Sicilian Air" which, unbeknownst to others, Rowley had actually invented rather than going to all the trouble of snooping around in Sicily for Genuine Sicilian Airs. Rowley had studied with the Italian composer, Francesco Bianchi, so he had some experience in the Italian music department.[21] Then, in 1823, Rowley found himself writing the music for an operetta to be put on at London's Covent Garden Theater. The operetta was entitled *Clari; or, The Maid of Milan*, and Rowley needed a bucketload of Italian-sounding music. So, he grabbed his "Sicilian Air" ("Sicilian" isn't strictly "Italian," but since Rowley had invented the damned thing in the first place, this was of no importance) and he used it as the music for one of the songs in the operetta. The lyrics to the song were written by John Howard Payne, an American living in England,[22] and they went as follows:

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even the reasonably well-taught ones.

[21] Foreign names lose some of their *éclat* when you translate them into English. "Francesco Bianchi" becomes "Frank White." Try sticking *that* on a serenade and see what happens.

[22] He'd had some success as an actor in New York, but he was also known for having written a smutty play (by 1806 standards) entitled *Julia; or the Wanderer*. In the play, older men try to seduce the 16-year old title character, double entendres ensue, and one man says "Damn me" several times. New Yorkers pretended to be shocked. All those who were *really* shocked were from out of town. As you might expect, the play was a success.

‘Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble there's no place like home.
A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
Which seek thro' the world, is ne'er met elsewhere.

refrain:
Home! Home! Sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home!
There's no place like home!

An exile from Home, splendor dazzles in vain;
Oh! give me my lowly thatch’d cottage again!
The birds singing gaily that came at my call,
And gave me the peace of mind, dearer than all:

(refrain)

To thee, I'll return, overburdened with care,
The heart's dearest solace will smile on me there.
No more from that cottage again will I roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.

(refrain)

The song, “Home! Sweet Home!” was a monster. Sheet music soon sold over 100,000 copies in Britain.[23] It also achieved some popularity in the United States as an across-the-ocean import. Then, in 1852, Bishop republished the song in the United States as a parlor song,[24] and the country went nuts over it. Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti sang it. Both sides in the Civil War sang it. The amount of sheet music it sold was literally incalculable, in part because its British origin meant that every big and piddly publisher was churning the thing out without permission. By the end of the century, everyone was convinced that it was an American folk song (and, I suppose, by that time it was).[25]

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[23] The sale of 5,000 copies was considered a big hit. The sale of 100,000 copies was mind-boggling.

[24] By then, Bishop was *Sir* Henry Rowley Bishop, the first composer to be knighted. Payne later became the American ambassador to Tunis.

Let's look at a few of the stages of the progress of "Home! Sweet Home!" First, the tune was stolen from somewhere else. This was fairly common, although it was more common in America than in Britain. Americans weren't much on writing music, especially when there was so much good British stuff and art music and opera tunes and folk music ready to steal. Rowley's case was a bit unusual, since (a) he was British and (b) he was stealing from himself.[26] Second, the song started life as part of a comic musical, which was the primordial ooze from which a large number of popular songs crawled. Third, the song was a hit in England before coming to America. A song that had already become a British hit reduced the odds of failure in America, since the song already had a demonstrated track record, and its Britishness gave it a good shot of prestige in America, especially in New England and the middle Atlantic states.[27] Fourth, the song was printed in America . . . again, and again, and again. The song was unusual only insofar as the thing kept selling: Most hit songs died after a few years. And because "Home! Sweet Home!" was British, no one had to ask permission and no one had to pay royalties. So, when things were slow, it made sense to run off a load of "Home! Sweet Home!" and see what happened.[28] Fifth, it had its greatest success when celebrities sang it. There aren't any celebrities today like Jenny Lind and Adeline Patti: They were Beyoncé and Princess Di rolled into one. Once sheet music could be printed with the blurb "Sung by the Swedish Nightingale, Jenny Lind," you couldn't shovel the sheet music out fast enough to all those eager young ladies seeking status and romance by virtue of their musical accomplishments. And that, too, was part of the pattern of musical marketing of the day. The sheet music often didn't tell you who the lyricist or composer were, but it was sure to let you know if some Broadway star or foreign musical celebrity touring in the US had sung the thing. Audiences in the sticks (and there were lots of sticks in early America), wanted to be as "with it" as their city cousins. Knowing that Catherine Hayes had sung the thing at Niblo's in New York gave them confidence that what they were buying was *á la mode*.[29] And at some point–no one knows when–some enterprising publisher decided to emulate the British publishers and slipped an entertainer $50 to sing one of the publisher's songs. And thus the sin of payola came to America. *Much* more on that later.

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[25] You can surmise any number of reasons for the song's popularity: the image of home as a stable island in a world that was constantly changing; a desire for a single "home" among rootless Americans who kept moving; associations of "home" with childhood; the thought of a place held together by family and love, rather than the harsh commercialism and exploitation of the external world. It was a retreat into navel-gazing from an overwhelming world.

[26] This is either plagiarism or onanism, I can't sort out which.

[27] The Jeffersonians may have been squinching up their eyes hating Brits like crazy, but Federalists and most other Americans still admired and aped British culture.

[28] At one point, there were 49 sheet music versions of "Home! Sweet Home!" just for the piano, including one piece described as "Variations and

Copyright[30]

Tremolo."

[29] That confidence was often misplaced. For those living in out-of-the-way places who couldn't be sure of what was fashionable and what wasn't, some publishers ran a subscription service that sent subscribers a "guaranteed popular and choice selection" on a regular basis. Some, too, put together end-of-the-year albums of the "best" music of the year, to give as gifts or just to stay current in musical matters. Publishers got rid of a lot of crud that way.

[30] James N Green, "The Rise of Book Publishing in America, 1782 to 1830," found on the Wharton School of Business website at http://www-management.wharton.upenn.edu/raff/documents/Green_2.pdf on 10/10/18 was helpful in writing this section. For a discussion of copyright in the United States before the 1790 act, see the chapter entitled REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY MUSIC, THE INTERREGNUM, AND THE EARLY MUSIC BUSINESS, subsection *Copyright*.

The first federal copyright law, passed in 1790, provided for a term of protection for a copyrighted work of fourteen years, plus an additional fourteen year term of protection upon application of the author of the work. The act granted copyright protection *only* to citizens of the United States or to residents of the United States.[31] The copyright gave the holder the exclusive right to print, reprint, publish, or sell the protected work. A consent to publish could be granted in writing, usually for a fee, with the terms of that consent bargained between the copyright holder and the publisher. Notice of a copyright had to be published in a newspaper and be printed on each copy of a published work. Publishers who infringed on a copyright could have their work confiscated, be fined 50¢ per sheet, and be liable to a suit for damages from the copyright holder.[32] There was a one year statute of limitations on a suit for infringement.

An amendment to the original copyright law in 1802 raised the penalties to include forfeiture of any plates used to print the offending works, a fine of $1.00 for each print, and a $100 fine on top of that, to be split between the author and the government. It also provided increased protection for designers and engravers and required that the year of copyright be added to every copyrighted work as part of the required notice of copyright.

In 1831, the copyright law was re-written.[33] The new law included explicit protection for printed music.[34] Up until then, music had been filed for copyright protection under the provision that provided protection for engravings. In addition, the term of the copyright was extended to 28 years' protection, plus a renewal for 14 years. The 14-year renewal could also be applied for by the author's estate. The statute of limitations for starting a copyright action against an infringer was increased from one year to two years. In addition, the new law eliminated the requirement that notice of a copyright be printed in a newspaper. The new law also clarified the form of notice that must be given on each copy of a copyrighted work and made clear that the penalty for failure to give proper notice was forfeiture of the copyright.

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[31] There was some justification for this. In the 1780s, British publishers dumped cheap versions of their books (especially the Bible) in America, doing serious economic damage to local printers. Consequently, the new United States was not friendly to foreign booksellers.

[32] The 50¢ per sheet fine was divided between the government and the copyright holder.

[33] The new copyright law was largely the result of lobbying by Noah Webster and printers of Bibles.

[34] The protection was strictly for *printed* music. Public *performances* of music were not protected.

Later antebellum amendments of the 1831 law included a provision in 1834 that a copyright could be transferred to another party, provided a written record of the transaction was made within 60 days. An 1846 amendment required that a copy of the copyrighted work be filed both with the Library of Congress and with the Smithsonian Institution, in addition to the copy that had to be filed with the Secretary of State.[35] In 1856, copyright protection was amended to permit the copyright holder to license and otherwise restrict public performances of a work.[36] And in 1861, Congress permitted copyright cases to be heard by the Supreme Court regardless of the amount of money at issue.

The most important provision of the 1831 copyright law was unchanged from the original 1790 copyright act: Copyright protection was available only to United States' citizens or residents. It was not available to non-citizens.[37] Thus, as before, it was cheaper to print foreign works without permission or fee than it was to print works copyrighted by American citizens.[38]

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[35] This requirement was dropped in 1859 then reinstated in 1865.

[36] This revision was the result of theater managers' and star performers' insistence that plays and accompanying music–including any interpolated music–were part of a dramatic work to which they held all rights. Thus, if a composer's song were added to a play, the composer lost his or her rights to the song. The 1856 revision provided that the copyright remained with the author and that the author alone had the right to license performances (unless the author had legally transferred the copyright). Any performances without the author's permission risked a minimum $100 fine for the first offense and a minimum $50 fine for each subsequent offense.

[37] Foreign composers tried to get around the law by adding an American to the writer's credits. But courts insisted that, to obtain a

Up until the 1840s, this meant that songs in English (which generally meant British works) and foreign instrumental works were more frequently and cheaply printed and sold than their American counterparts. The rise of American songs *vis a vis* British songs came with the rise of minstrelsy and the popularity of singers in the style of the Hutchinson family. Minstrelsy and the Hutchinsons popularized a new, American style of music that could not be gotten from British sources. This is not to say that British songs ceased being popular. They still enjoyed considerable popularity, especially among those who preferred parlor songs (and generally turned up their nose at minstrel music). But by the late 1840s, the balance had shifted: American music and its composers, such as Stephen Foster, were coming into their own.

One other development is worth noting. The London publishing house of Thomas Boosey (later Boosey & Son, and still later Boosey & Hawkes) lost a copyright case in London in the late 1840s. The major thrust of the case is not relevant here, but one side effect of it was that it became clear that a short stay in Canada could permit Americans to obtain British copyrights on their musical compositions. Now, enterprising Americans could have the best of both worlds: a European copyright for themselves and no American copyright for the Europeans whose works they stole.

Print technologies[39]

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copyright, the contribution of each author be clearly stated on each copy of the work. The publishers of those works weren't about to do that, since that would have required them to pay royalties.

[38] And, as before, publishers' financial advantage over most authors gave them the whip hand in controlling the copyright through the judicial system.

[39] This section is taken in large part from Elizabeth M. Harris, *Printing Presses in the Graphic Arts Collection: Printing, Embossing, Stamping and Duplicating Devices* (The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution: Washington, D.C., 1996).

American printing presses in the 18th century were slow and unwieldy. These presses, known as “common presses,” consisted of wooden frames in which a platen containing the type was pulled down onto the paper by means of a screw. Because the frame was wooden, there was significant “give” in the frame. This meant that only half of a sheet of paper could be printed at a time. Thus, each sheet of paper had to be stamped twice, the first pull on the press printing the top half of the page, and the second pull printing the bottom half of the page. For this reason, the press was also known as a “two-pull press.” The press also took two operators to run it, a puller to pull the bar that brought the type into contact with the paper and a beater to ink the type. Such a team could typically print about 240 full sheets of paper printed on one side per hour.

Most common presses in America were imported from England until about 1800. With the 19th century, several American companies began producing presses, and these became standard. The American presses also simplified the mechanism for bringing the type into contact with the paper, thus making the press more robust and easier to repair. Since most American presses were found in relatively small communities, the American common press was found to be adequate for most American printing needs. Moreover, because it was easier to transport and repair than more complicated machines, it was well-suited to a country that was only partially settled. The wooden-framed common press, therefore, was in use in some parts of the country throughout the 19th century.

Nevertheless, there was obviously room for improvement in the wooden-framed common press. The first improvement on this side of the Atlantic was the Columbian press, invented by Philadelphia mechanic George Clymer.[40] Clymer had begun building wooden-framed presses in 1800, but in 1813 he began making his own version of the iron-framed presses appearing in Europe. His Columbian press used a system of levers and counterweights to make pulling on the press less cumbersome. In addition, because the iron frame did not have the same undesirable elasticity of the old wooden frame, the press could print an entire sheet of paper with a single press. Thus, the iron-framed Columbian press was a single-pull press. Unfortunately, it also cost $400, which was about double the cost of a wood-framed common press. There weren't many Americans interested in paying that much for a press, so Clymer left for England in 1817, where he found a good market for his new press.[41]

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[40] This was sometimes called an “eagle press” because of the wrought iron eagle that decorated the top of it.

Although Clymer gave up on the American market for iron-framed presses, others did not. Several manufacturers produced cheaper, one-pull iron presses by the 1820s. The most popular of these was the Washington press, invented by Samuel Rust, patented in 1821, and revised in 1829. The Washington press was so successful that other companies began producing their own versions of the machine when Rust's patents expired. It became the standard press of the 19th century and was in use well into the 20th century.

An even simpler press, the platen jobber, was invented to serve small-time printers who mostly produced such items as posters, notices, tickets, newsletters, letterheads, and other small-batch printed materials.[42] The original platen jobber was invented by Stephen P. Ruggles in Boston in the 1840s and was improved by George P. Gordon in the 1850s. The platen jobber employed a sort of clamshell action, in which the typeface closed onto the portion of the press holding the paper. The machine was small, cheap, easy to set up, and self-inking. It was slower than other presses, but because it was used for small jobs, that was relatively unimportant.

A series of inventions by Alva Burr Taylor and, later, Stephen Tucker, both employees of R. Hoe & Co., created the cylinder press in 1844. In this press, a piece of paper was laid on a bed of inked type, then a heavy cylinder supported and guided by w bar on either side of the type, rolled over the paper, pressing it into the type. Cylinder presses were among the first presses to be mechanized, although hand-powered versions of the press were the most popular. One version of the cylinder press, the

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[41] Clymer sold some Columbian presses before leaving for England, but not many. Most Clymer presses later found in the United States were importations from England.

[42] When I was a kid, small-time printers were still using a platen jobber to print business cards.

Adams Cottage Press,[43] was a portable press for amateurs and businessmen. During the Civil War, the Army of the Potomac adopted the Adams press as a traveling press for printing notices. If you were a music store that wanted to do a little publishing on the side, some sort of platen jobber or a hand-powered cylinder press were probably your best bets.

The most significant advance in printing was mechanization of the process. But the problem of mechanization wasn't simply a matter of creating the proper technology to make mechanization possible. It was also a social matter: There had to be a social *need* for thousands of copies to be turned out in a very short time. America in the early part of the 19th century had no serious need for such a press. Thus, it isn't surprising that the first mechanized press appeared at the *London Times* in 1814, the newspaper with the largest circulation in the world. That press, Frederick Koenig's flatbed cylinder press, embodied basic design principles that presaged the future of mechanization, especially in its use of a cylinder to achieve great speed.

America's first mechanized press, on the other hand, was a dead end. This came in 1824 in Boston with Daniel Treadwell's mechanized wooden-framed bed-and-platen press. Rather than using a continuous rotary principle, as had Koenig, Treadwell's mechanism relied on a reciprocating motion, requiring the mechanism to stop and reverse course after each print. This limited the speed of the machine. Nevertheless, the bed-and-platen press could turn out copies four times faster than a hand-operated press, and the copies it produced were considered to be of high quality. Treadwell's machine was copied by such inventors as Isaac Adams and Otis Tufts . . . but the future lay with the cylinder.

American mechanized cylinder presses began appearing in the 1820s in the newspapers of the country's largest cities. The most effective machines appeared mid-century. These were double cylinders, with one cylinder carrying the type and the other providing the pressure needed to press the paper against the type. Paper was fed between the two cylinders. The fastest antebellum machines turned out 20,000 sheets an hour, making them about 20 times as fast as the mechanized bed-and-platen press.[44] Such machines were steam powered and stood 40 feet long by 20 feet high. Given their tremendous output, there weren't many jobs other than producing newspapers in large cities that required such machines.[45]

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[43] This machine was patented by Albert Adams in 1861, and it was manufactured in New York by the Adams Press Company.

Just as complex as the problem of creating the best sort of press for producing music was the question of the best method of creating a master for stamping out printed copies. There were, originally, two general methods of transferring ink to paper that a master might use. One was the intaglio process, already described: Valleys were cut into the master; those alleys were filled with ink; and the paper was pressed hard enough onto the master that it contacted and picked up the ink. The second was a raised face: The matter to be printed rose up from the flat face of the master; the top of the raised portion was inked; then the inked surfaes were brought into contact with the paper.

Printing music is more complicated than printing text. Music printing requires the coordination of several different communicative elements: Notes (including their value and their precise relation to other notes), note positions on bar lines, dynamic markings, and written instructions have to be coordinated in their vertical and horizontal dimensions with other marking, and this has to be done with absolute precision. This creates problems with which a typesetter of text does not have to face.

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[44] Even greater speeds were achieved after the Civil War when continuous rolls of paper (known as "webs") were substituted for pre-cut sheets. By the end of the century, rotary web presses could print, cut, and fold 50,000 12-page papers an hour.

[45] Another technology used during the 19th century was the copperplate press. The copperplate press worked on the intaglio principle: Grooves were etched into the copper, and ink was deposited in those grooves. A paper was laid on the plate, then a cylinder rolled over the paper to press it into the grooves. Such presses had been used as early as the 1500s, and the process was mechanized in the 19th century. Toward the end of the century, photogravure printing, a variant of the copperplate process, appeared. In photogravure printing, the etching was done chemically, usually when a photograph was projected onto the copper plate. After the plate was etched, it was bent and fitted onto a cylinder, then printing proceeded according to the usual double cylinder process.

The earliest and crudest method of creating musical masters was woodcutting, that is, carving a negative image of the desired score out of wood. Wood was too grainy and uneven for the intaglio process to work in wood. Thus, all woodcut printing used a raised face. This meant that huge amounts of wood had to be carved away from the bar lines, notes, marks, and letters. This wasn't easy, and music from woodcuts tends to look amateurish (see Playford's early *English Dancing Master* for an example).

A huge jump in quality was the engraving method, which made use of the intaglio process. Engraving required someone to etch the bar lines, notes, marks, and letters into a sheet of metal, which would then be used as the master. The metal used in engraving was originally copper; later, pewter became the metal of choice. Unfortunately, engraving was a slow and highly skilled process. This meant that it was costly, and the high cost of engraving a set of plates could only be justified if the resulting piece of music was likely to sell enough copies to justify this expense. Certain devices were used to speed up the process and cut down the expense. Engravers used scorers for staves and bar lines;[46] gravers for crescendos diminuendos, ties, and ledger lines; and punches for note heads, clefs, accidentals, and letters. Despite these aids, engraving remained expensive . . . but the results were unsurpassed.[47] And once an engraved plate was made, it could e stored for future use.[48]

A third method of printing was movable music type. The trickiest part of using movable type was coordiating all the varies elements of a musical score so that each element was in its proper place. One way of accomplishing this was by running a page through the printing process multiple times, producing staves, text, and notes in succession. The resulting scores were sometimes not as well-coordinated as engraved scores, but they were usually usable.

A big advance in movable music type came with the invention of stereotype printing. In stereotype printing, once the master (known as a "forme")[49] was made, it was pressed into paper maché or plaster to form a negative of the master.[50] Then, this negative was used as a mold for a single metallic sheet master (called a "stereotype" or "cliché") that would be used for the printing instead of the set type in the forme.[51] This meant that the leading, furniture, and chase that made up the forme could be reused for other projects, while the stereotype could be stored for future, additional printings.

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[46] Which is why the results are called musical "scores."

[47] Some of the most expensive music made today is still made by the engraving process.

[48] The size and importance of a publishing firm could be measure by the number of plates in its library.

The fourth process for producing printed music was lithography. Lithographic printing took the same artistic skill as engraving, but since lithographic images were painted or drawn, rather than etched, the method was faster than engraving (and therefore cheaper).

Lithographic printing is, literally, printing by stone.[52] A Bavarian, Alois Senefelder, was first able to print music in 1796 by using a water-absorbing limestone instead of a metal engraving to print the image. Senefelder learned that he could draw or paint the desired image on the stone with an oil-based or fat-based ink.[53] The un-inked parts of the stone were then treated with gum arabic and water, which were absorbed into the stone.[54] Then, an oil-based or fat-based ink was rolled onto the stone.

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[49] The forme consisted of "leading" (the type), the "furniture" (the wooden framing), and a "chase" (the metal case holding the whole thing together).

[50] Known as the "flong." Do you care?

[51] And, yes, it's from this printing process that we eventually get our current meanings for "stereotype" and "cliché." Originally, these terms referred to something that was a mere copy or imitation of something else (*i.e.*, a copy or imitation of the forme).

[52] "Lithos" is the Greek word for stone. Hence "new stone age" is "neolithic" and "old stone age" is "paleolithic."

[53] In reverse, of course, since the printed image will be backwards in relation to whatever you put on the stone.

[54] Originally, Senefelder treated the un-inked areas with nitric acid, which ate away the uni-inked stone, thus leaving the inked areas raised for

The ink was repelled in those areas that had been treated with water but it stuck in those areas that had been covered with oil-based or fat-based drawings or paintings. A paper was laid over the stone and a leather scraper bar was drawn across the paper. The result was a sheet of music or a picture.[55] By the 1840s, lithographic printing was common in the United States.

Chromolithography, printing in color, also became a possibility. As many as seven colors could be superimposed on one another to produce complex color palettes (most chromolithographs used two to four colors). Each color had to be printed separately, however, and lining up the page exactly for its next layer of ink was a royal pain. And using stones in the first place was cumbersome.[56] But chromolithography was cheap and quick compared with other methods of color printing. Before you knew it, most middle class houses had “chromos” of famous paintings or homely sayings hanging on the walls . . . and had cheap music set up on the piano.[57]

Although lithography was also used for producing scores, lithography was especially helpful in producing covers for sheet music, especially color covers.[58] The previous method of producing covers, engraving, was so

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printing. The water process was an improvement on his original idea.

[55] Later, the stone images were transferred to metal plates, and these were fitted to cylinders that could be used in double-cylinder printing.

[56] Appropriate stones were originally imported from Europe until the right sort of limestone was found in Kentucky.

[57] By the 1850s, experiments with photolithography had begun. Eventually, zinc plates would be substituted for stone, since these could be bent into a roll and fitted to a rotary press. Today, aluminum, mylar, and polyester are commonly used as the master media for high-speed lithographic printing. Most books–and music–are produced by means of offset lithography.

[58] As an alternative that lasted into the 20th century, some covers were individually hand-colored by staff artists. And, yes, that is bizarre. I have some of these at home and, frankly, they look a bit weird.

slow and expensive that covers were either kept simple or were not used at all, to reduce costs. Lithography made the production of even complicated and multicolored covers inexpensive . . . which meant that they became more common.[59] Such covers became standard after the discovery of gold in California . . . and before the recession of 1857 required cost-cutting in the music business.

The use of mechanized printing, movable musical type, stereotype printing, and lithography meant that printed pages could be produced more cheaply. Cheaper production meant more sales. And the platen jobber and the hand-powered cylinder press allowed small businesses to go into publishing in a modest way at a reasonable cost.[60] So, improved, lower-cost print technology–along with the spread of pianos and other instruments, the spread of music education, cheaper and more widespread efficient transportation, cheap rates for bulk mailing, and national prosperity--was yet another reason for the growth of the publishing industry in the 19th century.

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[59] The first great artist of lithographic printing was David Claypoole Johnston, an actor who became an ex-actor after taking up lithography. He read Charles Hullmandell's THE ART OF DRAWING ON STONE, worked for the owners of the first lithographic printshop in the United States, run by John and William Pendleton in Boston, and subsequently became one of the most in-demand lithographic artists for music covers of the antebellum era. He was particularly known for his caricatures, particularly caricatures of white actors in blackface. Among the other artists known for their music covers were James Queen, who worked for Peter S. Duval in Philadelphia; Fitz Hugh Lane, Benjamin Champney, Robert Cooke, and Nathaniel Currier (of Currier & Ives fame), all of whom worked for the Pendelton shop in Boston (then known as Thayer's); and the great American artist, Winslow Homer, who worked at J.H. Bufford's Lithography in New York City in the 1850s.

[60] Such as a bit of song by a local poet or a broadside prompted by some pressing social issue or by a particularly juicy murder (especially if motivated by sex).

The music publishers[61]

About 10,000 pieces of music were published between 1800 and 1825. Most of these were works intended to be played by amateur musicians. Therefore, if they were art music, most of the published works were simplified versions of that music.[62] And most works for student musicians were sold through teachers, who received a deep discount (usually 50%) for the publications they sold. About 400 of the published works were songsters, books containing lyrics only and referring to a well-known song for the tune. Religious music, including hymn books, shaped-note books, and camp meeting books, were also a lucrative part of the market.

One important change in American book and magazine publishing came in the 1790s. During that decade, fewer and fewer publishers engaged in manufacturing their own books. Rather, they selected the books to be published, edited them, marketed them, and distributed them, but they didn't *print* them. That job was increasingly done by a printer hired for the task. A distinction between publisher and printer was emerging, in contrast to the printer-publishers of the colonial era.

Music publishers were something of an exception to the above generalization. The printing of musical scores was a specialized task, and not all general printers were interest in or capable of tackling the job. Thus, it was more common for music publishers to print their own books than was the case in publishing generally . . . and it was also more common for printers capable of printing musical scores to get into the business of music publishing.

As the century wore on, America grew rapidly, and publishing grew just as rapidly to keep up with it. By the late 1850s, the 18 major publishers of the early republic had become about 90, and they were scattered all over the country. More publishers meant more published music. Tawa cites an article from a 1854 issue of *Dwight's Journal of Music* that gives an excellent picture of the increase in song publication in the United States from 1819 to 1854. The reporter stated that a visit to the Copyright Bureau of the Department of State revealed about 300 volumes of 250 pages each consisting of sheet music registered for copyright protection.[63] The first volume included all songs published from 1819 to 1834. The second volume included all songs from 1834 to 1838. Volume three was 1839-1840. Two volumes were need for 1840-41. By 1843, three volumes were needed to hold all the publications. 1847 required five volumes; 1850 required six; and 1854 required eight. And, since only Americans and foreigners resident in America could be granted a copyright, the explosion of copyrighted songs meant that more and more composers were Americans.[64]

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[61] This subsection relies heavily on Russell Sanjek, AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC AND ITS BUSINESS, THE FIRST FOUR HUNDRED YEARS: VOLUME II, FROM 1790 TO 1909 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), Chapter 3.

[62] The printing of the original versions of many serious art works was not commercially feasible. There were exceptions, however: About 30 of Beethoven's works were published in this period.

More publishers meant more competition. It was at this point that the larger firms (whose efficiencies of scale could afford such things) began to include lithographed covers on their music, thus distinguishing themselves from the poor, second-rate wretches who were unable to afford such a luxury. The covers included blurbs announcing who'd sung the piece and where it had been sung, and perhaps even deigned to mention the composer, especially if he or she had previously written a hit (which fact would also be announced on the cover). Central to the cover, however, would be a picture that (a) illustrated some scene from the song, (b) illustrated the artist who'd sung the song,[65] or (c) had an illustration completely unrelated to the song or a singer but would be considered

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[63] Anyone seeking copyright protection had to mail a copy of their song or other musical work to the Bureau for recordation.

[64] Publishing didn't only become bigger–it also became *faster*, especially in the larger firms. By the 1850s, Oliver Ditson claimed that, in a pinch, it could turn out a new hit song in three and a half days.

[65] Jenny Lind was managed in America by P.T. Barnum. You can bet the farm that if the image of Jenny Lind appeared on the cover of a bit of sheet music, Jenny and P.T. were getting a cut of the action.

“artistic” by the sort of person likely to be attracted to such music.[66]

Publishing moved with the population, and the country’s spreading transportation webs increased the reach of shipped publications even as they became cheaper to manufacture and ship. As the population moved south and west, so did publishing. One force pushing publishers south and west early in the century was the popularity of religious singing, prodded by the Second Great Awakening, a resurgence among mainline churches in reaction to the evangelists, and the shaped-note movement. Thus, Bostonian Jacob Kimball, Jr.’s THE VILLAGE HARMONY[67] sold more than 25,000 in the eleven years between 1795 and 1806, in editions one through seven by Henry Ranlet, publisher.[68] By contrast, South Carolinian Billy Walker’s shaped-note songbook, SOUTHERN HARMONY, sold more than 600,000 copies between 1835 and 1854. Both were huge hits for their time, but the numbers show that there was gold in the South for religious publishing. Such works as Allen D. Carden’s THE MISSOURI HARMONY (prob. 1820), William Moore’s COLUMBIAN HARMONY (1825), and William Caldwell’s UNION HARMONY, OR FAMILY MUSICIAN (1837) demonstrated that the west, too, was fertile ground for sowing religious music.

This period also saw some changes in the relationship between authors and publishers . . . at least, if you were a *very successful* author. Samuel Holyoke retained the copyright on his popular INSTRUMENTAL ASSISTANT and insisted that he receive half the copies made of that work (which he, in turn, could sell to music stores, teachers, and his own students). Authors of popular hit songs might receive a royalty of 10% (*after* the costs of production and discounting had been recouped), but they weren’t allowed to audit the books, so take that with a couple of truckloads of salt. And eventually an author actually managed to support himself on royalties alone. That was Stephen Foster. Keep in mind that he didn't live very well and had to rely on his own business acumen . . . which meant that he was frequently mugged by publishers (metaphorically speaking).[69]

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[66] Anyone who remembers the sleazy covers of the first-rate, post-WWII mystery paperbacks realizes that correspondence between cover and contents is purely optional.

[67] The first edition was probably 1795, although I’ve also seen the date 1798 for it. The later date seems less likely, however. The sixth edition was published in 1803 and the eighth edition in 1807. The five years between 1798 and 1803 is a pretty tight squeeze for five editions, but it’s not impossible.

[68] The book went through 17 editions, the last c. 1823

Music publishers also entered into relationships with music stores and music teachers. Some music stores and publishers entered into combinations that essentially made then co-publishers. The publishers and the music stores shared costs on some scores, and both parties' names appeared on the work as publishers. In some cases, any music store that was part of such a syndicate with a publisher received a 25% discount and exclusive rights to the work. In other cases, the stores rented the stereotype plates of the work from the publisher, got a local monopoly on the work, and ran off copies as needed, and adding the store's name as publisher to that of the original publisher.

Music books grew in importance through the antebellum era. In 1820, music books were a $2,500,000 business. Just before the Civil War. music books were a $20,000,000 business, an 8-fold increase. Much of this increase was due to the new throngs of music teachers coming out of the music conventions and normal schools. Music teachers sold about 3/4 of the printed music purchased in the United States in the latter part of the antebellum era. Much of this music was foreign music for which no royalty had to be paid.

Philadelphia, New York, and Boston remained major music centers, but, as already noted, publishing was spreading southward and westward along with the general population.

Philadelphia[70]

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[69] If you think that this is much different from today's music business, tell that to a professional musician sometime. Be sure you leave enough space for her or him to fall on the floor laughing.

[70] This section includes information taken from the website of the library at the University of Pennsylvania, found at https://www.library.upenn.edu/collections/rbm/keffer/pubs.html, as well as from Sanjek, AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC, V. II.

In a previous chapter,[71] we discussed Philadelphia publishers who appeared in the 18th century, including the Carr family, Moller & Capron, John Aitken, George Willig, and George E. Blake. Of these, Moller & Capron and John Aiken ceased operations early in the 19th century (Willig bought Moller & Capron and incorporated it into his own operations), and the Carr family moved the bulk of it business to Baltimore in the same period. Both Willig and Blake published into the 1850s and remained important publishers in Philadelphia during that time.[72]

Other publishers appeared in Philadelphia, too, during the first part of the 19th century. Allyn Bacon started his own music publishing business just after the War of 1812. Bacon was one of the first publishers to print the work of American composers and lyricists, as reflected in Bacon's *American Musical Miscellany*. The first volume of the *Miscellany* came out in 1818, and the twelfth and final volume was printed in 1821. The work was the first collection of American songs only. Included among the American songwriters in the *Miscellany* were Thomas Van Dyke Wesienthal (Navy and Marine veteran), Henry W. Young (a Philadelphia painter), Jean L'Huiler (violin and guitar teacher), Frederick A. Wagler (bandleader and musician form Washington, D.C.), James Hemmenway (African-American bandleader); James F, Hance (a New York cabinetmaker), Charles F. Hupfeld (founder and early leader of the Musical Fund Society), and Arthur Keene (Irish actor and immigrant).[73] Bacon's engraving was done by his brother, George, and its high quality was reflected in one of the most artistically-engraved works of the time, the 268-page *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*. This was a collection of the early works of Anthony Philip Heinrich, the Bohemian immigrant who was probably America's first full-time composer of art music. Bacon, Heinrich, and Heinrich's ex-salesman, Abraham Hart, published the work jointly. Finally, Bacon published the first American edition of the best-loved song of the century, "Home, Sweet Home."

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[71] That is, in REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY MUSIC, THE INTERREGNUM, AND THE EARLY MUSIC BUSINESS.

[72] George Jr. took over his father's business, then he sold it in 1856 to George W. Lee and William W. Walker, both of whom had worked as clerks in the Willig company. They ran the company as Lee & Walker, who were known as the first American publisher to put out songs by Gilbert and Sullivan (they sneaked a stenographer into public performances of the operettas). Lee and Walker later sold the company, plates and all, to Oliver Ditson in 1875.

[73] That collection of composers is worth looking over. It's a heck of a cross section of who was writing music in that day. The only one missing was Felicia Hemanns . . . or another representative female writer. We'll

Allyn Bacon became A. Bacon & Co. when bother George joined the firm in 1818. George moved to New York City to open a music store and founded a new publishing firm, Bacon & Raven, in 1841. Brothers Johann Klemm and A.F. Klemm bought Allyn Bacon's printing plates about 1834, and the Klemm family ran a publishing firm based on those plates until the 1880s.[74]

In 1835, Augustus Fiot and Leopold Meignen founded Fiot, Meignen, & Co. Meignen had been born in France and was a graduate of the Paris Conservatory. He was a conductor, composer, and teacher who had served as a bandmaster in the army of Napoleon. That firm lasted until 1839, when Fiot continued to publish by himself until 1855. In that year, he sold his business to John E. Gould, a business associate of Oliver Ditson. After leaving the firm, Meignen taught such noted Philadelphia composers as William Henry Fry, Charles H. Jarvis, Michael Hurley Cross, and Septimus Winner. He also conducted the Musical Fund Society orchestra from 1846 to 1857 and conducted Handel and Haydn Society orchestra in the 1850s.

Septimus Winner was a songwriter and publisher who was eventually admitted to the Songwriters' Hall of Fame. His early songs were written for the publishing firm of Lee & Walker and included "The Village Polka" and "How Sweet Are the Rose." His first hit, however, was published by a publishing firm he established with Joseph Schuster (Winner & Shuster) from plates he cut himself, and it was a monster. "What Is a Home without

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get to her in eight or so chapters.

[74] Johann and A.F. were the children of John Klemm, who emigrated to America from Germany in 1736. He was America's irst organ maker, and he built five organs for the local Moravians (he was, himself, a disillusioned Moravian).

a Mother?" (1850) was copied by many other writers. He was especially known for the songs he wrote under the pseudonym, "Alice Hawthorn." The most famous and popular of these were "Whispering Hope" and "Listen to the Mockingbird."[75] He also wrote "Der Deitcher's Dog" (better known under the title "O Where, O Where Has My Little Dog Gone?") published in 1864[76] and "Ten Little Indians" (turned into a minstrel song in 1868, "Ten Little Niggers"). Winner served as music editor for a competitor of *Godey's Lady Book*, *Peterson's Ladies National Magazine*, and also wrote a column for another *Godey's* competitor, *Graham's Magazine*. He also wrote a series of instruction books for playing musical instruments using his "Eureka Method." He was briefly arrested for treason for writing "Give Us Back Our Old Commander, Little Mac, the Peoples' Pride," which allegedly caused discontent in the Union ranks. "Little Mac," of course, was that popular military disaster, General George McClellan.[77]

When Shuster left the publishing company in 1856, it became Sep. Winner. In 1871, when Winner's son joined the firm, it became Sep. Winner & Son. Winner died in 1902.

Other antebelllum era Philadelphia publishers included C. Taws (1800-1833), William M'Culloch (1806-1807?), R. H. Hobson (1829-1834), MIller & Osbourn (1832-42), J. G. Osbourn (1842-?), F. W. Miller (1832-

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[75] This was an enormously popular minstrel song in 1855, along Stephen Foster lines. The song sold more than 20,000,000 copies between 1855 and 1905. The melody was taken from a tune whistled by an African-American barber, Dick Milburn. Milburn worked as a The first edition included Milburn's name as a composer, but after the rights to the song were sold to Lee & Walker, only "Alice Hawthorne" was given credit.

[76] The melody wasn't Winner's. It came from a German song, "Im Lauterbach hab'ich mein Strumpf verlorn."

[77] You'll learn plenty about McClellan, the incompetent commander of the Army of the Potomac, in the chapters devoted to the Civil War. Winner was released from prison when Lincoln pardoned him–on condition that he apologize and destroy the plates for the offending song.

1850), Kretschmar & Nunns[78] (1834-1836), John F. Nunns (1834-1842), J. C. Smith (1840-1843), E. Ferrett & Co. (1844-1854), G. André & Co. (1850-1879), T. C. Andrews (1850s?), Stayman & Brothers (1850s), J. E. Gould & Co. (1853-1858), Wm. F. Duffy & Co. (1854), Beck & Lawton (1854-1864), J. E. Winner (1854-1907), John Marsh (1856-1867), Wm. R. Smith (1858-1881), and Wm. H. Coulston (1859-1864).

New York

Most of the publishers who bean publishing in New York City in the 18th century–Benjamin Carr, James Hewitt, Michael Paff, and George Gilfert–died or left the publishing business in New York by 1812. In their place were new firms, and these were destined to make New York the publishing capital of the United States.

One publishing company began as a piano and organ manufacturing company. Adam and William Geib emigrated from London to New York in 1798. They were joined by their father, who had taught piano-making to the two sons, the following year. The brothers' firm manufactured thousands of pianos and some church organs as well.[79] They became the most popular antebellum piano makers in New York. They added publishing to the company's output in 1815, turning out 400 songs and music collections. In 1829, publishing was moved to a subsidiary under the direction of the Geibs' brother-in-law, Daniel Walker. That subsidiary was sold to Stephen Gordon, a resident of Hartford, in 1843.

Edward Riley opened his own music store in 1811. Riley had operated a music publishing and printing shop in London until he emigrated to New York in 1805. He worked for other printers as an engraver, and he also made instruments and taught piano, flute, and voice.

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[78] For a list of publications by the firm of Kretschmar & Nunns, see https://www.loc.gov/notated-music/?fa=location%3Aphiladelphia%7Ccontributor%3Akretschmar+and+nunns.

[79] Most of the organ-making was done by the father's independent firm. The father went bankrupt when a Providence, Rhode Island church failed to pay him for an organ he'd made for them. He went bankrupt, but not before thoughtfully moving most of the firm's assets to his sons' company.

Riley made and sold instruments, gave lessons, and published 450 works before his death in 1829, After Riley died, first his widow, Elizabeth, then his son, Edward Jr., took over the business. Edward Jr. was a virtuoso on the flute who led several groups of musicians who concertized in New York. When Edward's time was absorbed by playing in the Philharmonic Society, his brother Frederick took over the store. The Rileys sold their musical plates to Stephen S. Gordon in 1850.

As described in REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY MUSIC, THE INTERREGNUM, AND THE EARLY MUSIC BUSINESS, the Paff brothers bought John Jacob Astor's music store, went into publishing, , then sold the business to William Dubois in 1817. Dubois continued to publish musical works using the Paffs' plates. Robert Stodart, the inventor of the celebrated English grand action piano, partnered with Dubois. The pianos that Dubois and Stodart manufactured weren't of the quality of the English grand action pianos, but the Stodart name raised expectations (and prices). Dubois bought out Stodart in 1834, then he briefly partnered with Philadelphia engraver George Bacon from 1836-39 to operate the publishing part of the business. After 1839, Dubois devoted himself entirely to piano manufacturing. Eventually, Oliver Ditson bought the company's plates.

One of the country's biggest publishing firms had its birth in Edward Riley's music shop. Immigrant John Firth went to work for Riley as a flute and fife maker after fighting in the War of 1812. There, he met William Hall,[80] who also worked for Riley. Each of the pair married one of Riley's daughters, then they went into business for themselves in 1815. Their music store, Firth & Hall, began publishing in 1827. They bought plates from various sources in addition to making their own. Firth & Hall was one of the first publishers of minstrel music, and they also published songs by Henry Russell and the Hutchinson Family, two of the most popular performers in antebellum America. They also manufactured pianos under the direction of Sylvanus B. Pond, who later became a partner in the firm.

William Hall quit the partnership in 1847 and went into business with his son, James F. Hall. He took over the Firth & Pond store and piano factory on Broadway as he site of his own music store and publishing firm, Hall & Son. The store became a popular meeting place for people in the music world. It was particularly popular with music teachers, who bought there much of the music they sold. Hall advertised widely, and he sold music not only in the United States but also in Europe and Australia. Hall & Son's musical catches were Louis Moreau Gottschalk[81] and William Wallace.[82] Gottschalk's music sold well, and his "The Last Hope" was a publishing bonanza.[83] Both composers signed exclusive contracts with Hall & Son, and Wallace went to work for the firm as an arranger. Wallace also concertized, including performing at "gift" or "lottery" concerts that musical instrument makers used to unload excess stock.[84]

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[80] Hall was a commander of a company of volunteer militia during the War of 1812. He later became a brigadier general of the militia, and was known as General Hall in business circles. He was in charge of the militia that suppressed the Astor Place riots.

After Hall left Firth & Hall, the company was reconstituted as Firth, Pond, & Co. The firm was highly successful, both as a publisher and as a purveyor of pianos. Sylvanus Pond left the company in 1850 to write and compile church music, and his place was taken by his son, William A.

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[81] For discussions of Gottschalk, see the chapters entitled THE PIANO BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR and ART MUSIC IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA.

[82] Wallace was a British subject, an ex-Australian sheep farmer, and bigamist who settled in New York from the late 1840s to 1855 (when he returned to Britain). Wallace and Edward Fitsball had written the highly successful opera *Mauritania* in London in 1845, which included the popular songs "Let Me Like a Soldier Fall" and "Scenes That Are the Brightest."

[83] At the time, "The Last Hope" was the only piece published in America by Gottschalk that was not originally published by Hall & Son. Oliver Ditson had acquired the song from Gottschalk, and the firm later sold the song to Hall & Son for $50. That turned out to be a serious error. Much later, between contracts with Hall & Son, Gottschalk sold several pieces to Ditson (including his second-biggest seller, "The Dying Poet"). Eventually, Ditson acquired the rights to all of Gottschalk's American-published music after the elder Hall died and the son left the pubishing business.

[84] The tickets to such concerts also served as lottery entries. Drawings at the concert determined which audience members won which instruments as prizes.

Pond.[85] It was one of the four largest New York publishing firms (the other three being Hall & Son, Horace Waters, and Berry & Gordon[86]), with total sales in 1855 estimated as being $24,000,000 (back when a million dollars was serious cash). Moreover, Firth, Pond not only did their own printing, but they also printed music for other publishers. They published nearly five new pieces per week for about 225 annually, requiring about 1,000 new plates per year.

A big reason for the success of Firth, Pond was their exclusive contract with one of the most popular songwriters of the 19th century, Stephen Foster. Early on,[87] Foster sold his songs outright to E.P. Christy (of Christy Minstrels fame) for $5 each, because he didn't want his name associated with "trashy" minstrel music. Christy put his name on the music and published it with Charles Holt.[88] Beginning in 1948 with "My Brudder Gum," Foster published with Firth, Pond on terms that Foster himself had proposed: a 2¢ royalty per song and 50 copies of the sheet music. The contract was not originally exclusive, so Foster also published songs with a Baltimore publisher, F.D. Benteen. Firth, Pond published "Old Folks at Home," "My Old Kentucky Home," "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground," "Old Dog Tray," and "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair" (the latter of which was not a hit at the time).[89] When Foster's newer, non-minstrel songs sold poorly, he sold all future royalties on his Firth, Pond songs to the firm for $1,500. The failure of his new songs, his Southern sympathies, and his alcoholism led to shabby treatment from the antislavery and prohibition-minded Firth, Pond, and Foster began publishing with anyone who would buy his music.

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[85] That way, no one had to change the letterheads on the stationary.

[86] Berry & Gordon were big because Oliver Ditson was a silent partner).

[87] Yes, I know this use of so-called prepositions is frowned upon. But since "on" in this context is a directional rather than a preposition, I don't give a rat's ass.

[88] This was how "O Susanna" was published, for example.

[89] F.D. Benteen got "Camptown Races." For more about Foster, see the chapter entitled THE CIRCUS, THE THEATER, AND EARLY MINSTRELSY, and the subsection *Minstrel music doubles down on sentiment: Stephen Collins Foster*.

John Firth dissolved the firm in 1863 and retired. The partnership assets were split between Firth and Pond. Most of the Foster copyrights went to Pond. Those that went to Firth, including "Old Folks at Home," "Nelly Bly," and "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground," eventually passed to Oliver Ditson. Operatic soprano Christina Nilsson added "Old Folks of Home" to her concerts in 1872. The Fisk Jubilee Singers, the Hampton Institute singers, and other African-American ensembles added such songs as "Old Folks at Home" and "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground" to the repertoire in attempts to "elevate" the choirs.[90]

After the dissolution of Firth, Pond, William Pond formed Wm. A. Pond & Co. with John Mayell. The company sold instruments, their accouterments, and sheet music and published music. As a publisher, Pond specialized in music from the New York theater, over which he had a near monopoly, and became one of the country's most important publishers. Various Pond relatives helped run the firm until the 1940s, when the firm was absorbed into the Carl Fischer company.

William E. Millet began a music store and publishing company beginning in 1834 in a short-lived partnership with Samuel C, Jollie. When Millet split with Jollie, he ran the firm alone until his sons joined the company and it was renamed Millet & Sons. Millet & Sons bought Joseph F. Atwill's catalogue in 1849 when that publisher moved to San Francisco to open Atwill & Co. In 1851, Millet bought the Dubois and Warriner piano and musi store. In 1855, it sold many of its plates and other assets to Oliver Ditson. Millet & Sons went out of business in 1879.

William Scharfenberg studied piano with Johann Hummel and played violin in his native Germany before emigrating to America in 1838. Upon the death of his friend, another German immigrant named Daniel Schlesinger, Scharfenberg became the premiere pianist in America. At a memorial concert for Schlesinger, the German fraternal organization, the Concordia, performed with Scharfenberg as featured pianist. This group evolved into the New York Philharmonic Society in 1842. Scharfenberg opened his own music store in 1853, and the store became an informal headquarters for the Philharmonic Society. Scharfenberg's store specialized in foreign music and advertised itself as carrying "a more complete assortment of classical and modern European music than any city in Europe, not excepting London, Paris, Vienna, or Berlin."[91]

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[90] In the 20th century, African-American activists managed to eliminate these songs–and their racist language–from the "spiritual" repertoire.

Stephen T. Gordon was born in New Hampshire, moved when he was a child to Boston, then opened his first music store in Hartford, Connecticut. He came to New York City to work for the New York branch of John E. Gould's music store and publishing firm. There, he met piano maker Thomas S. Berry. In 1854, the two formed Berry & Gordon, with Oliver Ditson as financial backer and silent partner. In 1855, the firm changed its name to S.T. Gordon. The company bought the catalogue of Boston publisher Russell & Richardson in 1861, when Gordon died in 1890, his son took over the business until his own death in 1914. The Consolidated Music Corporation took over the company in the 1960s.

The Dodworth family dominated New York's brass band, concert, and dance scenes.[92] Their brass band was one of the first organized in the United States and was the first to incorporate saxophones and other reed instruments into the group. The father of the Dodworth family, Thomas

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[91] Quoted in Sanjek, AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC AND ITS BUSINESS, p. 85. One of Scharfenberg's employees was Gustave Schirmer, also a German immigrant. Other companies hired Schirmer away (for a while, he managed the other important importer of foreign music in New York, Breusing & Kearsing). Schirmer, of course, eventually founded his own publishing company, first in partnership with Bernard Beer in 1861, then on his own after the Civil War. He eventually hired his former employer, Scharfenberg, as an editor until Scharfenberg's death in 1895.

By the way, the "Kearsing" of Breusing & Kearsing was Evich Kearsing, who was related to the Kearsing family of British piano makers. Their pianos topped American piano sales until the 1830, when homegrown piano makers, such as Firth & Hall and Dubis & Stoddart began to dominate the market.

[92] For more about the Dodworth family, see the chapter entitled THE CIVIL WAR AND MILITARY MUSIC, subsection *The Dodworth 71st New York Regimental Band*.

Dodworth, had been a dancing master in Britain. The family opened a series of Dodworth dance academies beginning in the early 1850s and lasting until the end of World War I. All the Dodworth children–Allen, Thomas, Charles, and Harvey–played brass or other wind instruments, and their family band was one of the best-known antebellum bands in the United States. Allen wrote much of the music that the band played and that their students danced to, and Harvey published it. Harvey also published a pocket-sized etiquette manual and compendium of socially-approved dance steps.[93]

New York was also the home of branches of European publishers who believed that they could make a profit selling copies of art music to Americans.[94] The first European publisher to establish a presence in New York was Johann Anton André, whose sons, August and Anthony André, arrived in New York in 1843.[95] The store they opened offered fine lithographs of piano and vocal music, both printed abroad and locally. August also opened a branch of the store in Philadelphia. August set up a distribution chain that included W.C. Peters in Cincinnati, Henry McCaffrey in Baltimore, Carl Fritz in St. Louis, and Ludovico Gabici in New Orleans.

An even bigger foreign fish in the New York pond was the British publishing firm of Novello & Co., who opened a New York branch in 1852 called Novello's Sacred Music Store. Novello had begun publishing in London with his *Collection of Sacred Catholic Music*. He found that he had to publish his collection himself because anti-Catholic sentiment in Britain caused existing publishers to reject the work. Novello then expanded to other sorts of religious music, including sacred music by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Hummel.[96] He also published secular works, instruction manuals, and textbooks. One of his important innovations was that his organ music provided a complete, rather than providing the bass note and numbered harmony notes characteristic of figured bass scores. Novello kept his prices low by printing his own music from movable type, and he offered a wide selection. That and his dedication to religious music got him dubbed "Music Sellers to the Court" by Queen Adelaide,[97] Catholicism or no Catholicism.

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[93] In 1885, Allen Dodworth published DANCING AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION, in which Allen bemoaned the English dance tradition's capitulation in America to a series of French dances. The book also included a complete guide to the cotillion, including more than 250 accompanying figures.

[94] They couldn't do much with popular music, since American publishers were able to put out cheap editions of Euopean popular songs without paying royalties to the composer or the original publisher. The art music market wasn't as profitable, but there weren't many American publishers to compete with in that market.

[95] Andre held the rights to Mozart's entire catalogue. He was also the partner of Alois Senefelder, the inventor of lithography.

Because Novello kept prices low, he was able to ship tons of manuscripts across the Atlantic to his New York store. Novello's soon dominated the American market for oratorio scores and sacred art music. In 1861, Henry Littleton became a partner in Novello's. He bought out the other partners in 1865, and he further expanded the American operation.[98]

Boston

The earliest publisher in Boston to print secular music was the Musical Repository of Peter Van Hagen. Van Hagen arrived in Boston from New York in 1796. In Boston, he made his living engaging in the typical hodge-podge of activities required of a music professional who wanted to keep eating and sleeping indoors. Van Hagen conducted, taught, repaired and tuned pianos and harpsichords, and, in 1798, opened his Musical Repository, where he printed and sold music scores. Van Hagen & Son published many secular pieces, including one of the republic's first hits, "Adams and Liberty."

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[96] He also published a five-volume collection of Purcell's sacred music, thus providing access to some of the most important music written for the Church of England.

[97] Queen Adelaide was the queen consort of William IV, who was the last of the Hanoverian kings (Georges I-III) and reigned from 1830-37. Adelaide, Australia is named for her. Oh, and "queen consort" means that you're queen only by virtue of marriage to the reigning king. You don't actually get to rule anything or have people's heads chopped off.

[98] Littleton was a shrewd operator who knew a good thing when he saw it. While looking for music in Sardinia, he scooped up the Italian rights to the Bessemer steel process.

Ebenezer and Daniel Merriam founded E. & G. Merriam in 1797, using one of Benjamin Franklin's old presses. They were experienced printers who published a local newspaper and multiple editions of a secular songster, THE ECHO. They also pirated Noah Webster's BLUE-BACKED SPELLER until Webster caught them and warned them to desist.[99]

The most successful early secular publisher in Boston, however, was not Van Hagen or the Merriams. It was Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner. Graupner was, at one time, the leading publisher of music in Boston. Indeed, he published about 600 of the 900 music pieces published in Boston between 1800 and 1825.[100] He was best known as a publisher of polite art music.

Graupner was born in Germany, moved to England, then emigrated to Charleston in 1795. He arrived in Boston within a few years and soon became the director of the Federal Street Theatre pit orchestra. In 1801, he established the first of several music schools in partnership with François Mallet. Soon afterward, the partners announced the opening of a printing shop for music.[101] Within the next few months, they issued 90 pieces of music. When the partnership dissolved, Graupner retained his Musical Academy and a Repository of Music and quickly began building up his collection of musical type. He began selling sheet music, books, and musical instruments (included English-made pianos). Graupner continued as a performing musician, and he was a founder–and highly respected member--of Boston's Philharmonic Society in 1810.[102] Graupner was also influential in the formation of the Handel and Haydn Society, and he was the publisher of choice for New England's composers. He printed sheet music; instruction books for piano, flute, and clarinet; dance music, sacred music, and choral music. He had to trim his operation back after a son-in-law drove part of it into bankruptcy, and he further withdrew from business after the death of his wife in 1822.[103] He continued to publish in a small way and to teach. The rise in popularity of minstrel songs further alienated Graupner from the publishing mainstream of the developing 19th century. He lost his dominance because he championed older styles of music in a musical world that was rapidly changing.

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[99] Later, two of Daniel's sons, George and Charles, would found G. & C. Merriam in Springfield, MA. They sold sundries, collections of church music, and multiple runs of Orange Scott's camp meeting songster, NEW AND IMPROVED CAMP-MEETING SONG BOOK (1829). In the 1840s, they paid Noah Webster $3,000 for a 14-year copyright renewal of Webster's DICTIONARY. They turned out a one-volujme edition of the work by ditching Webster's spelling and usage reforms. The result was so popular and earned so much money for Webster and the Merriams that they were also able to obtain rights to an edition of Webster's BLUE-BACKED SPELLER, despite their father's sins against Webster. And thus was the Merriam-Webster dictionary born.

[100] He was also regarded as America's finest double-bassist and oboist.

[101] Graupner learned engraving, which also allowed the firm to serve as a job printer to other music publishers.

Graupner had little competition during much of his career. Most of the other firms printing music were the sort of miscellany shops that could only afford to print and sell music, make and sell instruments, and tune instruments by also stocking books, stationary, umbrellas, glass, combs, brushes, drygoods, engravings, and anything else that might turn a buck. Boston's taste for popular music was small before 1840 (when the minstrel fad hit high gear), and the local established churches did much of the distributing of religious music, so it was difficult to make a living selling music alone. Graupner established his name early, and latecomers had a hard time competing against him.

One example of Boston's smaller publishers was the firm run by William Pelham in 1796. Pelham had been away from Boston for a number of years. When he returned, he bought the Boston Book Store. That store had been a resource for smaller instruments–flutes, hautboys, and violins--plus strings, music books, instruction manuals, and so on since colonial times. In time, the books and music in the store became a circulating library.[104] Pelham transferred the business to William Blagrove, his nephew, in 1804, and Blagrove added cards and chessmen to the store's stock. Blagrove began selling his music at a steep discount in 1810, then sold the business to Samuel Hale Parker in 1811. Parker expanded the music collection, buying hundreds of music books and ample sheet music, and he turned the collection into the largest circulating library in New England. It was in Parker's time that the store added pianos, new sheet music, theater tickets, and fiction to his stock. He also begun printing small runs of songsters and sheet music. This was small-time publishing within a larger firm and wouldn't have meant much for the history of Boston publishing if he hadn't hired in 1823 the 12-year old Oliver Ditson as an office boy. That got Ditson into the publishing business and changed everything . . . but not right away. We'll get back to Ditson.

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[102] Much of the repertoire of the Philharmonic Society consisted of Haydn's symphonies. Graupner had played under the direction of Haydn in London, thus providing an irrefutable basis for Graupner's own understanding of Haydn's works.

[103] Also in 1822, Susanna Haswell Rowson closed her famous Boston boarding school for young ladies, at which Graupner had taught. This is the same Susanna Rowson who had earlier written CHARLOTTE TEMPLE, the prototype of bodice-rippers.

Another music firm was Charles and Elna Hayt's umbrella factory. In addition to manufacturing and selling umbrellas, the brothers sold musical instruments. In 1815 they joined Lewis and Alpheus Babcock in the Boston Musical Instrument Manufactory. When recession hit in 1819, the company was sold to John Ashton, a music dealer and agent for Gottlieb Graupner.

George K. Jackson was an English immigrant who had studied organ, been a singer at King's Chapel, and came to the United States in 1796. He worked in the middle states and New York in various musical positions before moving to Boston to play the infamous organ that was finally installed at the Brattle Street Church.[105] He also directed a very popular *Messiah* , helped found the Handel and Haydn Society, and became musical director at St. Paul's Church. He published collections of church music through local stores. Then in 1821, Jackson and his sons (Edwin and Charles) formed their own Musical Warehouse and Variety Store. They sold domestic and imported pianos, their father's music collections, concert music, popular songs, and "ladies indispensables" (*i.e.*, soap, perfume, etc. . . . evidently, soap was considered dispensable for men). Jackson *père* died in 1822, and Edwin continued the operation). He opened a New York branch of the store in 1825, then sold the business in 1826.

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[104] A circulating library was an invention meant to provide access to books and music when these were few and expensive and when there were not yet public libraries in most places (Philadelphia had one, invented by you-know-who . . . you know, the kite-flying Philadelphian who invented almost everything back then). You paid a fee for a set period of time, and for that time you could borrow books and music from the library.

[105] See the chapter entitled PROFESSIONALS AND AMATEURS IN THE 18TH CENTURY, subsection *Church musicians* for the history of Thomas

Herman Mann, a bandleader, musician, and printer, opened a bookstore and music press in Dedham, Massachusetts near Boston in 1798.[106] He eventually added a branch in Providence, Rhode Island. Mann put out a newspaper and did job printing, including publishing such musical works as Oliver Shaw's very popular FOR THE GENTLEMEN, a book of instrumental music for a four-piece dance ensemble. He also published collections of sacred music, including Shaw's PROVIDENCE SELECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS[107]

A larger operation was run by James Lang Hewitt, son of James Hewitt and brother of Confederate songwriter John Hill Hewitt. James Lang opened a music in Boston. By the time of his father's death in 1827, he had a catalogue containing a wide range of domestic and European music. The stock included 200 pieces of music, teaching manuals, and pianos. The catalogue was the basis for a mail-order business that promised delivery to anywhere in the United States and in the West Indies. His publishing firm was best known for Lowell Mason's enormously popular music to "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" and Hewitt's brother John's

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Brattle's church organ.

[106] His brother was Elias Mann, a well-known singing master.

[107] This collection included the songs "Mary's Tears" and "There's Nothing True but Heaven," both from verses by Thomas Moore. These songs made Shaw one of the most popular songwriters of his day.

even *more* enormously popular “The Minstrel’s Return’d from the War.”[108]

An even larger operation was the music store run by John Rowe Parker, a member of the choir of Boston’s First Trinity Church. In 1817, Parker opened his Franklin Music Warehouse in a space just vacated by Gottlieb Graupner. Parker sold pianos (which were made on site), church organs, chamber organs, string instruments, and wind instruments. He also sold music. Parker dealt in both domestic and imported music, but he focused especially on theater songs. He rented plates from British music firms to run off his own editions of their works, including a subscription edition of Novello’s multi-volume set of Handel’s oratorios. He supplied music, too, to publishers in New York and in other parts of the country, He was the first publisher to issue a separate catalogue of his music, the 55-page *Catalog of Music and Musical Instruments* issued in 1820. He became America’s leading music source, claiming to stock every piece of music published in the United States and stock a large collection of European music.

Beginning in 1817, Parker contributed a column entitled “Euterpeiad” to the *Boston Intelligencer and Morning and Evening Advertiser*. The column’s primary purpose was to review musical events in Boston, but Parker also commented on such music-related items as metronomes, instrumental and vocal styles, and various musical gadgets. Then, in 1820, Parker ceased writing his column and became the founding editor of a new music magazine, *The Euterpeiad, or Musical Intelligencer*. More on that in the next subsection.

Both Gottlieb Graupner and John Rowe Parker, however, were minnows compared to Oliver Ditson. If you’ll remember, we left him at age 12, working for publisher Samuel Hale Parker as an office boy. Ditson worked his way up to junior salesman and library attendant, then left at age 15 to learn printing from Isaac Butts, printer of the *North American Review*, and from Alfred Mudge. Mudge gave Ditson responsibility for printing work for Samuel Parker, thus introducing Ditson to the complexities and possibilities of printing musical text. He struck up a friendship with members of the Graupner family, including Gottlied, and furthered his education in the printing of music. Ditson began publishing music with the compositions of Chales Zeuner, organist for the Handel and Haydn Society. Ditson hired Zeuner as his music editor and staff composer, directing him to write music for the poems of Thomas Moore and Dorothea Hemans.

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[108] More about that song, including a series of sarcastic remarks, in a couple dozen pages or so.

Ditson's success led Samuel Parker to make him a partner in his own business in 1836, when Ditson was 23 years old. The energy level of the new firm of Parker & Ditson was a level of magnitude higher than that of Parker's previous firm. When he married the daughter of a successful shipowner, he acquired sufficient funds to buy out Parker and become sole owner of his own music company, Oliver Ditson. His sole employee at first, John C. Haynes, was eventually given an interest in the company, and it then became Oliver Ditson, & Co. Ditson sold instruments and bought and sold foreign and domestic music. But what particularly caused his enormous growth was his willingness to scoop up plates and copyrights as they became available.[109] By 1845, Ditson was the leading American publishing of uncopyrighted European music.[110] By 1855, Oliver Ditson & Co. was America's largest music house. By 1861, it also became one of the largest American music supply stores. And Ditson continued to buy copyrights and plates and absorb entire companies as the century progressed. By the end of the antebellum period, Oliver Ditson & Co. stocked more than 200,000 volumes of music, was running twelve presses 24 hours a day, and was using more than 480,000,000 sheets of paper annually. It also owned John Sullivan Dwight's *Journal of Music*, America's leading music periodical.[111] By buying up the plates and copyrights of other publishers, buying out other publishers outright, and by becoming silent partners in still more publishers, in addition to publishing its own enormous music catalogue, Oliver Ditson & Company had become an industry behemoth.[112]

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[109] You should have noticed the pile of goodies that Ditson helped himself to during this chapter.

[110] This was a result of his publication of the first US edition of Handel's *Creation*. The publication of such music expanded with Ditson's creation of his own printing and engraving department in 1850. The department was run by Gottlieb Graupner's son, John. Among other things, it published Amrican editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas, Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Mendelssohn's *Song without Words*, a series of *Stanard Operas*, Manuel Garcia's *The Complete School of Singing*, and much more.

A Boston publisher who eventually contributed his mite to the Ditson empire was Elias Howe, Jr.[113] Howe was a fiddler who taught himself to play. Because he was a fiddler, his main source of musical income was playing for dances. As he acquired experience, he collected a large number of fiddle tunes. Eventually, he must have learned that the *real* money in the music business is in publishing. He presented himself and his collection to a local printer, Wright & Kidder, and promised to pay the company in part from the money collected from his sales of the collection. Wright & Kidder agreed, and they ran off 500 copies of *The Musician's Companion*, a collection of tunes arranged for fiddle, in 1840. Because the *Companion* included non-copyrightable foreign tunes that other publishers had already issued, Howe had trouble getting his collection into music stores (since the owners were afraid of retaliation from established publishers for whom Howe's versions would be duplicative competition). Howe sold his copies door-to-door and to general stores, newspaper stores, and stationers. The work was popular, and its fame spread outside New England.

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[111] The prestige and wide circulation of the *Journal* spread Ditson's name, thus attracting foreign publishers to do business with him.

[112] Ditson also partnered with Lowell Mason for $5,000 apiece to get into the chamber organ business by manufacturing melodeons. The pair were responsible for fostering the birth of Mason & Hamlin in 1854, at one time the biggest maker of melodeons in the country. Later, Ditson turned to manufacturing drums, ukeleles, and other instruments.

To browse a collection of the music published by Ditson between 1800 and 1922 (including music from plates made before the formation of the Ditson company), see the website of the Smithsonian Institution at https://www.loc.gov/collections/historic-sheet-music/?fa=contributor:oliver+ditson+%26+co&sb=date_desc. For downloadable music published by Ditson, see the IMSLP Petrucci Library at https://imslp.org/wiki/Ditson and the Open Library at https://openlibrary.org/publishers/Oliver_Ditson_Company.

[113] This wasn't the sewing machine guy . . . it was his cousin. He was also related to Julia Ward Howe, who wrote "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

By 1840, Howe had sold enough copies of the *Companion* that he'd not only paid off his debt to Wright & Kidder but also open his own shop in 1842. Then, in 1845, he went into partnership with Henry Tolman and began publishing instruction manuals for playing a variety of instruments, including the violin, banjo, flute, accordion, concertina, melodeon, and clarinet. In addition to instruction to allow the reader to learn the instrument otherwise unassisted, each book also included several hundred tunes. Each book sold for a modest 50¢. The line of publications was a terrific value and proved highly popular.

Even more popular was Howe's *Ball-room Hand Book* later in the decade. This book was devoted to the new dance styles that had come over from Europe in the 1840s, including the waltz, galop, schottische, and polka.[114] The book was widely used by dance bands and orchestras. These groups generally included two violins (one for the melody and one for rhythmic backing) and, where possible, a cello, a piano, and at least one wind or brass instrument.[115] More instruments (flute, clarinet, harp, cornet, and other horns) could be added as available. In a pinch, a band could do with just the two violins. In a tighter pitch, the second violin could be jettisoned. By 1850, Howe had books for all of these instruments, each containing more than 150 "favorite marches, quick-steps, waltzes, hornpipe, contra-dances, songs." They also contained the figures and instructions that the second violin would call out to the dancers. Howe's books became the standard reference for dance bands.

About 1850, Howe sold his rights to his collections to Oliver Ditson. The deal included a proviso that Howe refrain from publishing for ten years. Instead, Howe Managed the South Reading Ice Company during the

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[114] See the chapter entitled AMATEUR POPULAR MUSIC IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD for discussions of these dances.

[115] As the 19th century era progressed, ballrooms grew larger as the public's enthusiasm for dancing waxed. To meet the demands of larger rooms, bands of 10 to 16 instruments became common.

1850s.

Howe returned to publishing in 1861, and he soon had produced about 200 works, many published under such names as "Gumbo Chaff," "Patrick O'Flanigan," and "Mary O'Neill. Howe also began manufacturing (or contracting with local manufacturers to produce) drums, drum accessories, and fifes and publishing instruction books for these instruments for Union army bands.[116] By the end of the Civil War, the Elias Howe Company published and sold music, produced and sold instruments of all sorts, sold musical accessories, and sold wood or the construction of instruments. Especially remarkable were the Howe-Orm mandolins and guitars that became particularly after Howe's death in 1895. The Elias Howe Company eventually stopped doing business in the 1930s.

George Reed began publishing in Boston in 1850. Reed had run a music store in the city since 1839. Then, he partnered with George D, Russell, his chief clerk, to form the publishing firm of G.P. Reed & Co.[117] G.P. Reed published much of the major concert music produced in Europe, which led to its being regarded as one of the most important publishers in Boston.[118] When George Russell left G.P. Reed to partner with Nathan

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[116] Lincoln offered him a commission as a Lieutenant Colonel and the job as Director of Bands for the United States Army. Howe declined. Either he decided to stick with what he knew best or he knew what a pain in the ass such a high-level job in a military organization would be.

[117] One of the early hires of G.P. Reed & Co. was a very young P.F. Healy, who later worked for Ditson and was later a partner in the Chicago publishing firm of Lyon & Healy.

[118] For examples of publications by G.P. Reed & Co., see the Smithsonian Institution website at https://www.loc.gov/collections/songs-of-america/?q=&fa=location%3Amassachusetts%7Csubject%3Asheet+music%7Ccontributor%3Ag.+p.+reed+and+co&all=true&st=grid and https://www.loc.gov/collections/historic-sheet-music/?fa=contributor:g.+p.+reed+%26+co%7Csegmentof:ihas.100001291.0/%7Cpartof:music+division&sb=shelf-id&st=gallery.

Richardson,[119] Reed sold most of his publications to the new partnership. Richardson was determined to publish "elevated" (*i.e.*, European) music and kill off all the trashy (*i.e.*, American) music that was then popular. This didn't work out, so he resigned himself to publishing trash. This included publishing the early popular songs of George Root, such as "Hazel Dell" and "Rosalie, the Prairie Flower." When Richardson died in 1859,[120] Henry Tolman took his place in the partnership, newly re-named Russell & Tolman. In 1860, the partnership began publishing the *Boston Musical Times*. In 1861, the firm sold a part of its publications to S.T. Gordon of New York City, and Russell left Tolman to partner with his brother. Tolman continued to publish the *Boston Musical Times* until 1869, when he sold it to George W. Stratton.

The South

The growth of population in the cities and towns of the South and West in the antebellum era meant that there were more theaters and opera houses than ever before. A larger population and an increased number of venues in the South and West meant that more parts of the country could import professional entertainment. People began to have opportunities to hear art music, popular theater music, and minstrelsy on a regular basis. Many listeners decided that they liked what they heard in the theater and wanted to hear more music like that . . . and wanted to *play* music like that. This meant opportunities for music publishers in the South and West.[121]

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[119] Yes, this is the same Nathan Richardson who wrote the hugely popular THE NEW METHOD FOR THE PIANO-FORTE in 1859. For a discussion of Richardson and his books, see the chapter entitled ART MUSIC IN THE POSTWAR YEARS, PT. 2: VOCAL MUSIC, THE BUSINESS OF ART MUSIC, AND MUSIC EDUCATION.

[120] According to the doctors, he had been suffering from delusions since 1858. I would argue that, given his business acumen, he had been suffering from delusions considerably earlier than that.

[121] The entertainment you picked was becoming a status marker too. If you could afford tickets to see each of the performers who came to town, *and* had a piano, *and* had the time and money to take piano lessons, *and*

The three cities that became centers of music publishing in the South in the antebellum era were Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans.

Baltimore

Locally printed music appeared in Baltimore in 1794. George and Henry Keatinge were Irish-born immigrants who arrived in Baltimore in 1790. George was a bookbinder and Henry was a musician and bookseller, and they soon started a bookstore and circulating music library. Because George played piano and flute and was a Mason, he established connections with the local music community and was appointed leader of the local militia band. In 1794. the brothers published *The Democratic Songster*, a collection of popular Republican songs and original songs. They later published *The Baltimore Songster*, an American reprint of the *British Jovial Songster*, which had been published in London more than 20 years earlier. The brothers also obtained a set of musical type and began doing their own printing, rather than relying on newspaper and job printers. They also acquired Charles Hupfield as a music editor, and he published his own music with the Keatinges, including the *Musical Preceptor*, an instruction book published in 1808.[122]

Arthur Clifton was a songwriter and music publisher who came to Baltimore from London shortly after the War of 1812. He remained in Baltimore for the rest of his life.[123] Clifton produced concerts, taught,

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could afford to buy the latest music, *and* knew what the latest music was (thanks, perhaps, to a strategic magazine subscription), you could lord it over all the out-of-fashion saps in your home town. Thus, if you were in the upper middle class, an investment in music could give you a nice little status boost, if such things appealed to you. The urge to be the chief monkey in the zoo mystifies me.

[122] Hupfield moved to Philadelphia in 1812 and became one of the founders of the city's Musical Fund Society. He was also the first conductor of the Society's orchestra.

[123] He was hiding. His real name was Philip Anthony Corri, son of London publisher Domenico Corri. He had been a popular musician and a founder of the London Philharmonic, but all London had a laugh at his

composed, ran a music store, sold pianos, and published. His published music was not only sold locally but also distributed widely by Philadelphia's George Willig. He also was a founder of Baltimore's Anacreontic Society. Clifton died in 1832.

John Cole was a major publisher in Baltimore. The young Cole and his family arrived in Baltimore from London in 1785. As a boy, he received some musical instruction from the music schools of Andrew Law and Andrew Adgate, but he regarded himself as largely self-taught. Cole was interested in religious song early in his career, and he compiled almost 30 collections of sacred music. Although he compiled music for various church denominations, much of the music he collected, edited, and composed was intended specifically for the Episcopal Church of the United States.[124] He started his own music store and became a publisher and printer in 1802. His published sacred music collections included *Sacred Music* (1803), *Episcopalian Harmony* (1811), *The Seraph* (1821 and 1827), *Primitive Psalmody* (1836), *Parochial Psalmody* (1840), *Laudate Dominum* (1842 and 1847), and *Chants for the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (undated). He was eventually joined in his business by his son, George Frederick Handel Cole, and the firm was renamed John Cole & Son. The Cole's publishing enterprise got a boost when it bought some of the music plates sold by Carr's firm. By 1825, John Cole & Son had published about 250 pieces of music, more than 20% of all the music that had been published in Baltimore. In 1839, the firm was sold to F.D. Benteen,[125] who in turn sold it to W.C. Miller & J.R. Beachum in 1862. The Baltimore firm of Miller and Beachum was purchased in 1873 by (surprise, surprise) Oliver Ditson.

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expense when his wife ran off with another man. He remarried when he got to Baltimore. I don't know whether anyone bothered to get a divorce before that marriage.

[124] He was involved in the sacred music of St. Paul's and Christ Church in Boston, both of which were Episcopal Churches.

[125] F.D. Benteen was associated with George Willig. After printing "Oh, Susanna" without permission or copyright payments, a settlement allowed him to publish that work and a few other works by Foster. He also published some of John Cole's later works.

Cole was highly regarded in Baltimore as a composer. An early collection of his own work, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems* (1803), included the anthem "Mt. Vernon," which was sung at the funeral ceremonies for George Washington in Baltimore. He was also selected to compose the "Song for the Day," the Fourth of July song created to mark the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Lowell Mason included some of his tunes in his hymn books. His background in the singing schools and eventual association with Mason made him something of a transitional figure between the New England psalmodists and the "good music" school represented by Mason. At one period in his life, he advocating a return to the musical practices of Ravenscroft, Bach, Handel, and Mozart.[126] Then, he returned to shape-note and New England psalmodist practices in part in his *Union Harmony* of 1829. Some of his music included both native psalmodist practices and European principles. Cole was, at best, a modestly talented composer who reflected the ongoing musical debate of his time between native and European music.

The connections between Willig and several Baltimore publishers prompted George Willig, Jr., the son of Philadelphia publisher George Willig, to open up a music shop and begin publishing in Baltimore in 1829. Willig, Jr. was among the first to publish "Jump Jim Crow" and other minstrel songs. He also became a publishing outlet for his friend, John Hill Hewitt. Willig's taste in popular and art music was conservative, and he was willing to published songs by fading artists and in passé styles than other publishers. This did not preclude hits, such as J.Y. Stoddard's "The Evergreen Waltz." Although Willig, Jr.'s musical taste was conservative, his appreciation for print technologies was thoroughly up-to-date. Willig *fils* was a member of the Board of Music Trade, a publishers organization founded in 1855,[127] and eventually became its president. In 1866, the company was renamed George Willig & Co. when his sons joined the firm. Willig, Jr. died in 1874, and his sons, Joseph and Henry, took over management of the firm.

Henry McCaffrey, a clerk with F.D. Benteen, started his own music store in Baltimore in the late 1840s. The store and its publications were sufficiently successful that he was asked to be part of the 1855 organizational meeting of the Board of Music Trade. He sold his business to Oliver Ditson in 1895.

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[126] Unfortunately, the "genteel" music he turned out in this period of his life was highly derivative and not very satisfying.

[127] More on that later.

John E. Boswell started a music store that published music in the mid-1830s. In 1851, he also began to manufacture pianos. The latter business proved so profitable that Boswell sold his plates to New York's S.T. Gordon just before the Civil War.

Charleston

The first music printed in South Carolina was produced in Charleston, South Carolina in 1803 by J.J. Negrin. THE FREE-MASON'S VOCAL ASSISTANT,: AND REGISTER OF THE LODGES OF MASONS IN SOUTH-CAROLINA AND GEORGIA [punctuation in the original] was intended for Negrin's fellow lodge members. It contained, among its 256 pages, 16 pages of music for 18 songs and two Masonic anthems.

Charleston became a major publishing center in the South. E. Morford, also of Charleston, was a dealer for the Philadelphia publishing firm of Carr & Schetky. Morford's name as publisher found its way onto the title page of various musical works originally published by other firms, including such firms as those of Blake, Willig, Carr, Hewitt, and Mallet. Most of this music came from the London theater or from such transplanted British composers as Benjamin Carr and Alexander Reinagle.

Charles Gilfert, a transplanted northerner,[128] opened his Music Repository in Charleston in 1813. Gilfert had published music in New York City before moving south, including his music for the War of 1812 song, "Patriotic Diggers" and music for theatrical works in New York. Once in Charleston, Gilfert published and sold both songs and instrumental music.

The John Seigling company began publishing prior to 1817. It began by publishing the work of local composers, then in 1817 it acquired the plates of Charles Gilfert (who left publishing in that year because he became manager of the Charleston Theatre) and the plates of Philip Muck (who had published music between 1813 and 1817). In 1819, Seigling began publishing the work of André Louis Eugene Guilbert. Guilbert had first published with Philadelphia's Klemm & Willig, including works for harp and piano that Guilbert sold to his students. In the first five years of its life, Seigling published about 100 works.

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[128] He was related to New York publisher George Gilfert.

New Orleans

New Orleans differed from the rest of the South. It was the South's biggest city, busiest port city, wealthiest city, most cosmopolitan city, and a city with it own beliefs about race relations.[129] It was the city where "Anglo" was a minority and the dominant influences were African, Spanish, French, native, Italian, and Irish. It was a Catholic bastion in a Protestant nation; it was statutory law without common law; and, rejecting Calvin, it believed in joy without guilt. The city's rival ethnicities formed militia groups and bands that competed with one another in parades and processions triggered by every religious, civic, national, and seasonal excuse that human ingenuity could devise. It was also a city with its own music culture, one more strongly influenced by opera and the rhythms of the Carribean than the rest of the United States. And it had a congenital, incurable addiction to dancing. New Orleans wasn't like anything else.[130]

We know of composers in New Orleans before we know of publishers. There were at least 100 performances of original art music in New Orleans between 1805 and 1830. The only piece of music from New Orleans published prior to 1825 was Philip Laroque's *Battle of the Memorable 8th of January*, published in 1815 by George Willig of Philadelphia in celebration of Jackson's victory at New Orleans.

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[129] Free black men went armed. Free black women, especially "quadroons" (those with some white blood), had affairs with white men and, although forbidden to marry, were able to enter into contractual relations with one another that were marriage in all but name. Shades of blackness mattered a great deal in New Orleans, with "creoles" of mixed race receiving considerably better treatment than those who were all black. Indeed, creoles discriminated against their darker brethren with the same willingness as whites. Blacks, whites, and creoles had their own parts of town, but they intermingled on a day-to-day basis. And, as was common in most port cities, waterfront crooks and grifters did their business with a grand unconcern with the race of their conspirators, abettors, and victims.

[130] It still isn't.

The first evidence of a publishing presence in New Orleans appears in 1823, when George Pfeiffer, a distributor for publisher George E. Blake of Philadelphia, began adding his name to the covers of Blake's scores. Emile Johns appeared in New Orleans a year earlier in 1822, but only as a piano teacher and soloist. Johns was a Polish-born concert pianist who had trained in Vienna. He came to New Orleans in 1818 to further his music career, and 1826 began to sell sheet music. He soon became a distributor of Pleyel pianos. In 1830, he established E. Johns & Co., a music seller and printer. E. Johns became a printer and lithographer in 1834, Johns wasn't mentioned as a publisher until 1837, when the city directory listed him as a bookseller, printer, importer, and publisher of music (including music he himself had written).[131]

Johns sold his business in 1842 to William T. Mayo. Mayo associated himself with F.D. Benteen and George Willig, Jr. in Baltimore, Lee & Walker in Philadelphia, and Firth, Pond, & Co. in New York. Mayo issued hundreds of music publications and was, briefly, one of the biggest publishers in New Orleans.

Mayo sold his business to Philip P. Werlein in 1854.[132] Werlein had moved to New Orleans in 1850 and worked at Ashbrand's Music Store. In 1853, he acquired enough money to buy in as a partner at Ashbrand's. His purchase of Mayo's music store and publishing firm made Werlein the South's biggest publisher, with representatives in Mobile, Natchez, and Memphis. He was also the only publisher from the deep South invited to join the Board of Trade before the Civil War.[133]

Benjamin Casey established his own music store and publishing business shortly after Johns'. He published "La Cachucha" by an unknown printer and "Old Rosin the Bow" with lithography by Jean Houguenague.

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[131] Johns' name was added to another Willig publication, "Bounding Billows," in 1827. His own publication, *Album Louisianais*, may be the earliest piece of music both written and produced in New Orleans. But, since the piece is not dated, this is not certain.

[132] Werlein had previously owned a music store in Vicksburg, Mississippi.

[133] He was fined and reprimanded by the Board for pirating "Dixie" (and thereby becoming the first southern publisher to issue the song).

The earliest dated sheet music produced in New Orleans arrived on January 21, 1838, when the weekly *L'Abeille* printed "Le doute," produced by local printers Jerome Bayon and Justin Sollée. The first sheet music with an illustrated cover was published in 1840, the "Grand Tippecanoe March," lithographed by Houguenague.

Important additions to the city's music sene were Henri and Clementine Wehrmann, who emigrated from France in 1849.[134] Clementine was a gifted engraver, and Henri was a printer and lithorapher. They were the first printers in New Orleans to focus almost exclusively on music, and over the next 50 years, the couple produced about 8,000 pieces of sheet music. The Wehrmanns were introduced to the New Orleans printing sene by Louis Xavier Magny, a lithographer who produced superb covers. His covers included work for the pro-Millard Fillmore song of 1849, "The Rangers Lament for Poor Old Joe," "Valse du Tivoli," "The Crescent Mazurka," "The Golden Bird of Hope," and "Polka Quadrilles." Magny lithographed many of the pieces published by William Mayo.

The biggest publisher in New Orleans before the Civil War was A.E. Blackmar. The publishing companies formed by the Blackmar brothers are discussed elsewhere.[135]

Louis Gunewald immigrated to the United States from Germany in 1852. He served as organist at three Catholic churches in the city, then opened a music store and publishing house in 1856. His earliest known published piece carries an 1858 imprint. Grunewald also sold such musical instruments as pianos, drums, and fifes. He remained open during the Civil War by dint of not publishing openly Confederate music. The firm he created finally closed in the 1970s. Grunewald's success with his music store and other enterprises eventually allowed him to purchase an opera house and a hotel.

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This does not exhaust the publishers in the South during the antebellum period. Lesser publishers and those in smaller cities included John Schreiner (Memphis), John Burke (Memphis), George Oates (Charleston), J.W. Randolph (Richmond), Samuel Bromberg (Mobile), and Joel H. Snow (Mobile). Mention should also be made of W.C. Peters & Sons, originally from Louisville but based largely in Cincinnati by 1845. Peters, one of the country's most important publishers of religious music, is discussed below.[136]

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[134] At the time, Clementine's father, Auguste Böhne, was already an established music dealer in New Orleans. He would himself become a publisher before the outbreak of the Civil War.

[135] In the chapter entitled THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS SONGS, PT. II, *Publishing in the South*.

The West

When the antebellum era began, "the west" was Ohio. When it ended, "the west" was California.

Cincinnati

Cincinnati was the largest city in the west until Chicago became the central hub of the country's railway system in about 1860. The area had two paper mills by 1811 and nine printing offices by 1826. Steam presses appeared in the late 1820s.

The first sign of a serious interest in music in Cincinnati was the founding of a three-man piano factory in the city in 1822. The pianos sold for $200-$400. Unfortunately, the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 and a canal down from Cleveland brought the factory into competition with factories on the east coast, and the factory closed soon thereafter.

Uriah and Joseph James issued Cincinnati's first publication in 1832, a collection of popular song lyrics entitled *The Eolian Harp* [sic]. The collection was sufficiently successful that local publishers in many parts of the United States printed copies of it. Also in the early 1830s, the Nixons, a couple from Britain, started Cincinnati's first musical seminary.

At about the same time, Timothy B. Mason, the brother of Lowell Mason, arrived in Cincinnati. The Masons were on a crusade to destroy "incorrect" music and replace it with "correct" music. Translation: The Masons wanted to stop the music of the psalmodists (based on the music of such English provincial composers as William Tans'ur, Joseph Stevenson, John Arnold, William Knapp, and Aaron Williams) and replace it with the music of the 18th century Classicists. They also wanted to rid the world of the shape-note music notation of the psalmodists and replace it with standard music notation. Timothy brought his brother Lowell's method of teaching and writing music to Cincinnati in the early 1830s. He also assembled a 240 page book of the rudiments of music and sacred songs, THE OHIO SACRED HARP, and brought it to publisher Truman & Smith. Since most Ohioans insisted on singing in the fasola shaped-note tradition, Truman & Smith converted Timothy's standard notation into shaped notes. Timothy was not happy.[137] Eventually, however, Timothy succeeded in introducing his brother's teaching methods–and standard notation–to the Cincinnati public schools. In 1849, he partnered with W.F. Colburn to form Mason & Colburn, a publishing firm that turned out books and sheet music for the music convention movement.[138]

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[136] The firm is also discussed in the chapter entitled THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING AND OTHER WHITE RELIGIOUS MUSIC, *The Catholic Church and its music in the antebellum United States*.

Another early publisher was Tosso & Douglas, a music store that also issued its own music. During William Henry Harrison's presidential campaign, partner Joseph Tosso, a European-trained concert violinist born in Mexico, composed "General Harrison's Grand March, and Tosso & Douglas published the piece in 1840. He was widely associated with "The Arkansas Traveler," and many incorrectly believed that he had written the tune.

As previously mentioned, a branch of one of the country's most important religious publishers, W.C. Peters & Co., was founded in Cincinnati in 1839. The firm was run by William Cumming Peters and his son. Peters was a British immigrant by way of Canada who supported himself, in part, by teaching flute, piano, and violin. He had previously partnered with two piano dealers in a Pittsburgh music store. Peters was also a regular performer in Louisville and taught, composed, and arranged music for Moravian communities near Pittsburgh. Peters moved to Louisville in 1830, established a music store there in 1838, then founded the Cincinnati store in 1839. Peters and sons William and Alfred moved to Cincinnati in 1845, leaving son Henry to run the Louisville store.[139] Most of W.C. Peters & Son's early music was written by Peters himself, but he also issued the first published version of "Jump Jim Crow" (given to him by "Daddy" Rice) and several songs by Stephen Foster, whom Peters had known from his days in Pittsburgh.[140] One of the songs that Peters published was "Oh! Susanna," which Peters bought for $20, the first money that Foster had earned from his songs. Profits from "Oh! Susanna" helped fuel Peters' expansion, and by 1851 the firm had a catalogue of 1,600 items. In the previous six years, the store had sold more than 3,000 pianos and employed 30 people. Peters had become so large that he was one of the firms invited to the 1855 founding of the Board of Music Trade.

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[137] It's things like this that make me wonder if there might not be a god after all. It's not that I have anything against standard notation. It's just that I despise arrogance . . . and the missionary impulse begins with arrogance.

[138] See the chapter entitled AMATEUR POPULAR MUSIC IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD, *Teaching music teaching* for a discussion of the music convention movement.

Cleveland

Nathan Brainard moved from New Hampshire to Cleveland in 1834, where he opened a music store with his four sons, Silas, Henry, George Washington, and Joseph. Brainard went into partnership with Henry J. Mould in 1837 and Silas married Mould's daughter, Emily, in 1840.[141] Silas published the firm's first sheet music in 1845. A year later, he and Henry were in Chicago, opening their Music Salon and Fancy Goods and Confectionary in partnership with brother-in-law Brooks Mould. Henry returned to Cleveland a few years later.

When W.C. Peters left Louisville, George Washington Brainard and brother Joseph moved in and opened their own store. Their two chief competitors were Henry Peters and David P. Faulds. Peters partnered with Timothy and Thomas Cragg in 1851 to form Peters, Cragg & Co. Louis Tripp bought out Peters several years later to form Tripp & Cragg. That firm was later admitted to the Board of Music Trade. David P. Faulds was a leading instrument dealer and publisher and another of the founders of the Board of Music Trade. Oliver Ditson eventually bought him out in the 1890s.

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[139] The Pittsburgh store remained in operation and was the third branch of the family business. It was this branch that issued Peters' music magazine, *The Olio*.

[140] Foster was working in Cincinnati as a clerk at the time.

[141] This would not be the last Brainard-Mould union; Henry and Laura Mould married a few years later. The Brainard-Mould store, meanwhile, had expanded into manufacturing and selling candy and candles and importing pickles, fruits, and preserves for sale.

Joseph Brainard returned to Cleveland in the late 1850s. Charles and Henery became partners in the Cleveland firm and renamed it S. Brainard's Sons. This firm became part of the Board of Music Trade.

St. Louis

James Charless was the first printer in St. Louis in 1808, shortly after the United States bought the Louisiana Territory. For the sound reason that he was the only printer in that region, excepting New Orleans, the government awarded him an exclusive contract to do its printing in the area. Charless' first music-related printing was Angus Humphraville's *Missouri Lays and Other Ditties*, a collection of ballad lyrics. published by John A. Paxton.

A publication advertised as "The first Piece of Music published WEST of the Mississippi" appeared in 1839. This was the sheet music for G.H. Draper's "The St. Louis Grand March," published by Nathaniel Phillips, an umbrella maker and owner of a store for men's furnishings and various other items. Phillips had a mail-order connection with Oliver Ditson, and he sold both Ditson's publications and his own, locally-sourced music. Phillips also published music from other parts of the United States, including several pieces by Nelson Kneass, entertainment manager of the Ice Cream Saloon in Pittsburgh.[142] Phillips acquired a lithographic press in

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[142] Given this information, the reader no doubt asks, "Why should I care?" Well, because Nelson Kneass was a member of the Sable Harmonists minstrel troupe off and on. The Ice Cream Saloon was the site of the first public performances of Stephen Foster's songs, including "Away Down Souf" [sic] and "Oh! Susanna." Kneass also tried to copyright "Way Down Souf" under his own name, but was stopped when Foster's brother, Morrison, informed the judge that Kneass was committing a fraud by

1842. One of Phillips' noteworthy publications after that acquisition was the highly popular "St. Louis Quickstep" by J.W. Postlewaite in 1849. Postlewaite was a free mulatto who was a musician, singer, and bandleader in St. Louis and who, in addition, owned a music store and a coffeehouse.[143]

James and J.R. Phillips (no relation to Nathaniel Phillips) published their first piece in St. Louis in 1847, "Lou'siana Belle" by Stephen Foster. This was one of the hand-written music pieces that Foster had sent to various parts of the United States in the hope of attracting a publisher. The Phillipses heard it performed in St. Louis by Nelson Kneass and immediately published it. The Phillipses published for several years until selling their operation to Balmer & Weber.

Germans Charles Balmer and Henry Weber opened their music store in St. Louis in 1848. They soon began publishing music, including pieces written by Balmer. They qualified for the Board of Trade in 1860, and they became a major music supplier and piano dealer in the midewest. Leo Feist bought the firm in 1907.

The only other St. Louis music publisher of note in the antebellum era was John Green, who qualified for the Board of Trade in 1873.

Chicago

In 1833, when Chicago was still a village of 600 inhabitants, fiddler Marc Beaubien performed in his own tavern to attract customers. Soon after, Marc's brother, Jean Baptiste, arrived aboard a lake schooner with his piano. The village also contained Miss Myther's music school, a vocal quartet at St. James Church (where, later, the first pipe organ in the city

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claiming the song as his own. In 1848, Kneass became famous as the composer of the music to "Ben Bolt," from a poem written in 1842 by Thomas Dunn. Now, aren't you sorry you asked?

[143] Postlewaite's probable music teacher, German immigrant and publisher Charles Balmer, self-published his "St. Louis Fireman's Parade March" in 1847. Postlewaite may have been a significant influence on Scott Joplin, according to Samuel Floyd, who asserts that lived near Postlewaite's store when he arrived in St. Louis about 1885. Floyd has located about 15 publications from various publishers by Postlewaite.

would be installed).

By 1836, the city's population had increased to more than 2,200 persons. In that year, Osbourn & Strail's general store[144] advertised the sale of musical instruments; songs for voice, piano, and guitar; and marches and waltzes for the piano. The latter was made possible by a local art dealer who imported pianos from the east. Also at that time, an African-American named Wilson Perry advertised his services as a musician for "assemblies, balls and parties on as reasonable a basis as can be furnished in this place."[145] The following year, Beaubien's tavern was converted into a theater, as was the second floor of a local tenement, in which, among other performers, nine-year old Joseph Jefferson III, who had performed as a pickaninny with "Daddy" Rice, danced for coins.

P.T. Barnum's blackface-themed show arrived in town in 1840 with dancing star John "Jack" Diamond.[146] The Brainard & Mould Music Salon and Fancy Goods and Confectionary store opened in 1848, an outpost of Cleveland's Brainard & Mould. This was he first major publisher to appear in Chicago. Brainard returned to Cleveland, and Brooks Mould sold the confectionary business in 1849 to concentrate on music. B.K. Mould issued the first piece of music published in Chicago in 1853, the "Garden City Polka."[147] By this time, Chicago was big enough to be attracting national acts of all sorts.[148] The city also had a Sacred Music Society, a Mozart Society and Choral Union, and operatic performances. With the opening of the Illinois-Michigan Canal that connected the Mississippi and the Great Lakes and construction of a series of railroads that would connect Chicago with every city in the country, Chicago was poised to become the major transportation hub of the United States.

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[144] Specifically, Osbourn & Strail sold groceries, dry goods, and crockery. Later, a branch of the store advertised itself as Osbourn & Strail Musical Supplies.

[145] Sanjek, AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC, V. II, p. 132.

[146] Diamond's career is briefly described in the chapter entitled THE CIRCUS, THE THEATER, AND EARLY MINSTRELSY, *The Virginia Minstrels*. The Jack Diamond who visited Chicago in 1840 was apparently the real Jack Diamond, not one of the various imitators who followed in the wake of the original (whose obsessions with drink and prostitutes made reliable-looking imitators look attractive).

[147] Joseph Cockroft was able to produce stereotype molds by this time, but Mould instead sent his print work to eastern printers, as did other local publishers.

In the early 1850s, Eli Benson's Apollo Music Store sold musical instruments and sheet music in Chicago from eastern publishers. Benson apparently moved temporarily to Nashville, Tennessee in the mid-1850s, returned to Chicago in the 1860s, then moved permanently to Memphis by the late 1860s.

Brooks Mould partnered with Robert G. Greene in 1854 to expand his musical operations to include substantial wholesale as well as retail sales. Both Mould and Greene were important members of the Chicago Philharmonic Society, founded in 1850 with Mould's help.[149] Mould and Greene took over a three-story building, with the second floor devoted to melodeons and the top floor to pianos. Mould left the music business before 1857 to become an accountant.

Meanwhile, Grrene firm began publishing in 1855, using local printers. Greene also started a local factory to produce melodeons. Greene also started Chicago's first music magazine, the *Western Journal of Music*. Unfortunately, Greene died in 1857, still in his twenties.

Before Mould left the music business, he rented some of the space on Mould & Greene's third floor to a guy who had swapped some land in Iowa for four eastern-made pianos. The guy in question, William Wallace Kimball, ran a piano rental business in the Mould & Greene building until 1858, when he found his own building and, later, began to manufacture pianos as well as rent them. Kimball would eventually become one of the largest instrument makers in the country.

The first nationally-important song published in Chicago came in 1856. That was "Lorena," written by Rev. H.D.L. Webster and Joseph P.

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[148] These included the Hutchinsons, big-time minstrel shows, Kunkel's Nightingales, Edwin Booth, and Edwin Forrest . . . and the delights of such acts as Signor Blitz's Trained Canaries.

[149] The orchestra's first season was a disaster, and Mould helped the unit survive by promoting concerts and balls to keep the orchestra afloat.

Webster (no relation)[150] and published by Adoniram Judson Higgins and Hiram Murray Higgins (brothers). The song was a hit by 1857 and was one of the most popular songs among Southern soldiers during the Civil War. The Higginses were native New Yorkers who had been in a peripatetic family singing group until they alit in Kentucky. The pair had been singing masters who returned east in 1854 to study with Lowell Mason and George Root. When they went back west to Chicago, they founded their own publishing company . . . mostly to publish music by family members. The Higgins family also hired Joseph Webster to edit *The Flower Queen*,[151] a monthly music magazine and promotional newsletter for their firm.

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[150] The reverend wrote the words and J.P. the music. The reverend also produced a poem entitled “Willie’s Gone,” which would become the most famous member of a macabre series of “Willie” songs (ex., “”Little Willie,” “Poor Willie’s Gone,” “Poor Willie’s All Alone,” and “Willie Lee”). The series eventually morphed into a spate of short, gruesome doggerel poems that floated around the country in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Some examples:

> Willie saw some dynamite,
> Couldn’t understand it quite;
> Curiosity never pays,
> It rained Willie seven days.

Also,

> Little Willie
> Pair of skates
> Hole in ice
> Golden gates.

And, the best known,

> Little Willie from the mirror licked the mercury right off,
> Thinking in his childish manner it would cure the whooping cough.
> At the funeral, Willie’s mother turned and said to Mrs. Brown,
> “‘Twas a chilly day for Willie when the mercury went down.”

The latter poem was sung, so it may have been a holdover from the “Willie” songs. There’s always been room in America for bad taste, especially if its funny. By the way, I’ve produced these poems from memory, which (I’m well aware) says something unfortunate about me, as well as about my mom and my grandfather, from whom I learned them.

But perhaps Joseph's most important contribution to the Chicago music scene came in 1867, when he teamed up with Sanford Fillmore Bennett to write "In the Sweet By and By." That one was published by Lyon & Healy and remained a monster well into the 20th century.[152]

Joseph Webster edited *The Flower Queen* for just a few issues before he quit. The job was then turned over to an ex-New Yorker who had worked for the *New York Musical Review* before coming to Chicago, Chauncey Marvin Cady. He was mostly known for writing the temperance song, "Cold Clear Water" while he was on the staff of New York publishers, Hall & Son. He changed the name of the magazine to *The Musical Review and Flower Queen*. The magazine proved so successful in the Midwest under Cady's editorship (especially among the audience most important to publishers, music teachers) that Oliver Ditson bought it in 1858. In 1859, he partnered with Ebenezer Root (George Root's brother), to form Root & Cady, which would become the most important publisher in the Midwest and one of the most successful in the country. More on that firm in the chapter entitled THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS SONGS, *Publishing in the North*.

The Higgins firm expanded . . . just before the Higgins brothers split up. H.M. Higgins continued to run the music store, turning it into the second most successful store in Chicago, after Root & Cady. Higgins sold the printed music and publishing to J.L. Peters of New York and St. Louis in 1867. He retained the musical instrument trade, but this was later sold to Demotte Brothers, who in turn sold it to Peters.[153]

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[151] *The Flower Queen* was named after a mini-opera for children, written by George Root and Fanny Crosby.

[152] Three bars of "In the Sweet By and By" appeared on J.P. Webster's tombstone, and the song was sung at his funeral.

[153] Higgins became interested in the occult. He moved to San Diego and died there in 1879 while trying to raise seedless lemons.

Other western cities

Detroit's first music store appeared in 1844, courtesy of Adam Crouse, a dancing teacher from Pittsburgh. [154] By 1854, Crouse's store stocked 12,000 pieces of music, including a small number of locally-written material that Crouse had published. In 1854, Crouse dedicated himself to selling pianos, and two of his clerks, Dwight Amsden and Henry Hawley, took over the music store.

Also in 1854, German immigrants Charles F. Stein and William Buckheister opened the Boston Music Store in Detroit. They printed some of their own pieces until Stein returned to Germany at the start of the Civil War. Perhaps the most flamboyant advertiser on the Detroit music scene was J.J. Whittemore, who opened a music store in 1857.[155] He may have been related to J. Henry Whittemore, who was publishing in Detroit by 1862. Detroit also saw the publishing firms of Whittemore, Swan, & Stephens and Whittemore & Stephens in the 1870s, but which Whittemore belonged to these firms is unknown.

Music publishing began in San Francisco in 1852 with Joseph Atwill. Atwill had previously been a publisher in New York City, many of them so-called "Negro Melodies" for minstrel shows. His first publication in San Francisco was "The California Pioneers," with two buckskinned settlers on the cover. He also re-published in California many of the songs he had previously issued in New York

Mathias Gray also opened a music store and publishing company in San Francisco in 1859. A measure of how successful the operation became is that Oliver Ditson bought the firm in 1889.

The Board of Music Trade

One of the most important developments in music publishing near the end of the antebellum period was the formation of the Board of Music Trade in 1855.

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[154] Apparently, Crouse and Stephen Foster knew one another. Foster dedicated his song, "The Voice of Days Gone By," to Crouse. The song was published by Firth, Pond, who also published and instrumental piece by Crouse.

[155] Whittemore was, at least, still in the state of Michigan in 1894, when he was sued by the state.

For most of the antebellum period, foreign music outsold American music, at times by a margin of ten to one, despite the fact that most foreign music cost *more* than domestic music. There were a number of reasons for this. First, and most important, there was a widespread belief among the American public that foreign music was better than American music. This was, after all, the music of Beethoven, Mozart, Chopin, Liszt, Schubert, Paganini, Mendelssohn, Wagner, and Brahms. Foreignness was a trump card: There was no way that the music of American George Frederick Bristow was going to outsell the music of someone named Karl Scheisskopf or Pietro LaDeficiente. In addition, British popular songs that had proven themselves in London were much less of a risk for an American publisher than the song of an American composer with no track record of success. Second, there was a *lot* of foreign music to choose from. American publishers didn't have to pay royalties to foreign composers. And, since they could charge a great price for the stuff, there was always a temptation to run off a bunch of Beethoven when things got slack, hold a sale, and make a bunch of bucks. Of course, if you got overly optimistic, there might be a lot of Beethoven left on the shelves when the sale was over, but since "no royalties" meant that the stuff was cheap to produce and since even with the sale the price was pretty high, that wasn't a big deal. Plus, you knew that Beethoven would be salable for the foreseeable future: Sooner or later, *someone* would buy the stuff. With lots of foreign music in the music stores, customers were necessarily steered in the direction of "foreign" by the stores' stock. Third, it was only beginning in the 1840s that there was enough American music in print to constitute any sort of serious competition for the foreign flood. On the other hand, much of the outpouring of domestic music in the 1840s was minstrel stuff, which didn't do much to raise the prestige level of American compositions.

By the 1850s, however, a rise in the number of composers and publishers, improvements in the level of American art music, and a growing audience for popular songs of the parlor, theatrical, or Hutchinson varieties (and, yes, minstrel stuff, too)[156] greatly increased Americans' willingness to buy domestic. By 1854, about 57,000 American songs and instrumental works had been copyrighted since the founding of the republic . . . and a great many more American works had been produced but not copyrighted. Foreign music began to stack up on the shelves of smaller publishers (larger publishers unloaded their foreign stuff through their music teacher discount program).[157]

At the same time, the music business had been changing in other ways during the first half of the 19th century. For one thing, costs were up. The general cost of living had risen, more far-flung distribution and a new need for advertising added to the red side of the ledger, an increased expectation of artistic and often multicolored cover pages was an additional expense, and, although advances in technology made printing cheaper (especially for large printers who could amortize the cost of the machines quickly), the new technology was *expensive*, and it took time for the average company to pay off the investment. And then there were those pesky royalties to American writers and the damned 50% discount to music teachers. Prices had stayed the same; costs had gone up; and printers and publishers were being squeezed.

To make things worse, the major publishers were having trouble turning adequate profits on their publications of foreign, non-copyrighted material. The lack of a copyright cut two ways. True, foreign works were accessible because the American publisher didn't have to get permission to print them and cheap because the American publisher didn't have to pay royalties. But that also meant that *any* American publisher could print those works cheaply. If a major publisher advertised a new work by, say,

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[156] This was thanks in large part to such composers as Stephen Foster and George Wurzel (*i.e.*, George Root) who had piqued the American middle class's taste for home-grown music . . . even if it was sung by minstrels.

[157] Remember, music teachers bought up to 75% of the art music the major publishers produced. They received a whopping 50% discount for this music from the publishers, then re-sold the music to their students, usually at list price. This was an important component of the music teachers' salaries. Without it, they would have had to raise prices for teaching. More on this in a bit.

Mendelssohn and started a nice run on the work, a horde of other major publishers and quickie discount printers could–and did--turn out a bunch of Mendelssohn, give music teachers discounts well *beyond* the standard 50%, and steal most of the profit from the original American publisher (who was busy stealing *all* of the profit from Mendelssohn and *his* publisher). What should have been some of the most hot, tasty works in the catalogue, given the ease and cheapness of production and the American consumers' preference for foreign music, turned out to be an unexciting mess of lukewarm oatmeal.

Then, on January 1, 1855, Hall & Son in New York announced that it was cutting the price of all foreign, non-copyrighted works in half while maintaining the price of American copyrighted works. Two other New York firms, Horace Waters and Schuberth & Co., joined Hall in the cuts. These publishers thought that the bumped-up prices for foreign music made it easier for cut-rate printers to undercut the majors. By reducing prices themselves, Hall, Waters, and Schuberth believed that they might hold onto a larger share of the market, thus making up for the lost profits resulting from the price reductions. At the same time that these firms made the price reductions, Hall also committed the sin of stating prices in *American* money, dollars and cents, instead of in the British pounds-shillings-pence system (as noted earlier, music prices had traditionally been given in pounds-shillings-pence in an attempt to preserve the artsy caché of music).[158]

The rest of the major publishers were appalled. While the price reductions might eat into the profits of the cut-rate publishers, they would eat even *more* into the profits of majors that failed to reduce their own prices. The majors had earlier tried and failed to form a monopolistic Board of Music Trade to prevent this sort of competition. Hall and the other rebels were demonstrating the absolute necessity of ensuring that the cards were properly marked and that magnets were strategically inserted under the roulette wheel.[159] Various publishers agreed behind closed doors not to sell music to Hall and the other apostates or to anyone who (1) did business with them or (2) imitated their damnable discounts.

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[158] In addition, the use of the British system made it more difficult to compare music prices with other prices and figure what various discounts were worth in American money. When you're going to deal seconds, a smoke-filled room is always helpful.

Despite the disapproval and boycott of the other publishers, the rebels did quite nicely in the profit department at quarter's close. It was obvious that the boycott wasn't going to work. Some sort of compromise had to be reached.

In July of 1855, 27 representatives of the country's major publishers met at the Astor Hotel in New York. After a banquet, the assembled representatives met under the elected chairman, "General" William Hall of Hall & Son, whose chairmanship was the group's first bow to the rebels. Together, the representatives agreed to form a cartel and dubbed themselves the Board of Trade of the Music Publishers of the United States. The goal of the organization was price fixing, restraint of trade, and discouragement of competition, none of which was (arguably) illegal at the time. Any publisher who wanted to join the cartel had to possess more than 1,000 engraved plates, be approved unanimously by the membership, and promise to abide by secret articles of agreement. The group agreed to state most prices in American currency,[160] to leave off a price for any piece of music selling for less than 25¢ (so the dealer could affix his or her own price), to ensure that all prices on music would appear inside a conspicuous star, and not to print any piece of foreign music that had already been printed by another member. The also Board elected George Root as president.[161]

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[159] John Sullivan Dwight, in his *Journal of Music*, also griped that although the discounts made "good" music more affordable, they would also make "good" music less profitable . . . which might lead publishers to abandon "good" music for all that popular musical pig slop of parlor songs, minstrel tunes, dance music, marches, etc., etc. The man really did need a good whacking with a dead trout.

[160] Lord be praised. Dealing in pounds-shillings-pence is a good way to soften your brain. That must be why the abbreviation for pounds-shillings-pence is "LSD." See, even the *abbreviation* makes no sense.

[161] The following year, they elected Oliver Ditson president. Of course. He was followed by W.C. Peters in 1859, then by James Hall

The cartel proved satisfactory. The biggest increase in the members' income came from the elimination of the 50% discount to music teachers. Since the cartel had agreed that only one major publisher at a time would print any particular piece of foreign music, there was no longer any competition between major publishers for music teachers' purchases of European art music. This eliminated the need for deep discounts. And, since sales by music teachers constituted between 50% and 75% of many publishers' business, eliminating the discount meant a substantial windfall for those publishers.

The elimination of the music teachers' discount was also a serious economic disaster for music teachers. Sales of sheet music obtained at a deep discount had been an important part of music teachers' income. Without that discount, the teachers' sheet music sales to students generated little profit for the teachers . . . which meant that the price of music lessons had to be increased. But there was only so much of this increase in the cost of music lessons that the market could bear.

The pressure that elimination of discounts put on music teachers was an important reason why music teachers attempted to organize in 1857. Paul Schmidt of Lexington, Kentucky led an attempt by a mostly German contingent of music teachers to organize the National Association of Music Teachers. The proposed platform for the association included a shared code of ethics, a pension fund for teachers and their dependents, a program of festivals and concerts, and a shared price scale for music lessons. Most important was an additional goal: To create a publishing house that would print foreign and other non-copyrighted music and prepare instruction books for members of the organization. These publications would be selected and supervised by an elected board, and the results would be sold to members at low prices, making them suitable for sale at drastic markups.

Unfortunately for the music teachers, the recession of 1857 put a quick end to the attempt to create a national association. When the recession hit, music lessons and music teachers became a luxury that many families could dispense with while times were bad. Having lost leverage with the public and finding themselves forced to compete to survive instead of cooperating, the plan for an association had to be

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(William Hall's son) in 1860.

shelved. Such a plan would not succeed until the formation of the Music Teachers National Association in 1876.

Nevertheless, some publishers were willing to step into the gap left in music teachers' salaries with alternative: custom printing. In the case of Oliver Ditson, the publisher was willing to run off, say, 100 copies of an eight-page instrumental work (the music teacher's own composition or anything else the teacher might want a copy of) for $50. The music teacher could then sell each piece at $1 apiece, thus earning $50 clear on a 100% markup.

Music periodicals[162]

In the 18th century, music was sometimes published in general purpose newspapers or magazines printed in North America, as described earlier. But before 1786, the only periodicals devoted particularly to music came from England. These tended to be short-lived publications, such as *The Vocal Magazine*, published in London from January 17, 1781 to September 1, 1781, a periodical that included songs and articles.

This changed as the United States grew more wealthy and the music business exploded. By 1853, the music business claimed that its sales amounted to $27,000,000 per year, with sales of pianos accounting for about $12,000,000 of that. Even if the claim is discounted for exaggeration, the music business grew during the antebellum period into a significant component of the country's economy.[163] And as it grew, so did the importance of advertising to all those who sold music. These sellers increasingly saw the value of advertising in music journals . . . or of starting music journals of their own to serve as house organs for their companies.

The first music magazine published in the United States was the *American Musical Magazine: Published in Monthly Numbers: Intended to Contain a Great Variety of Approved Music Carefully Selected From the*

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[162] Most of the information in this section comes from entries at the *Retrospective Index of Music Periodicals* website at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=AllTitles&Type=roiroa&SortBy=date and from the EBSCO site at https://www.ebscohost.com/titleLists/mpe-coverage.pdf.

[163] The music business claimed that it was bigger than cotton. That wasn't even *remotely* true.

Works of Best American and Foreign Masters. As was true of most periodicals devoted to music, the *American Musical Magazine* was about as short-lived as *The Vocal Magazine*, its publications running only from January 1, 1786 through December 1, 1786. The magazine concentrated on sacred vocal music and was published in New Haven by Amos Doolittle and Daniel Read.

The Apollo; or Musical Pocket Companion; A Collection of the Most Popular Songs, Marches, Waltzes, Dances, &c Carefully Arranged for the Flute, Violin, or Flageolet, published by Klemm & Brother in Philadelphia in 1800 was the first of a series of nine volumes of music. Although some have described these volumes as issues of a periodical, their hard covers make them a series of books rather than periodicals. Whatever you want to call them, they were published from January 1, 1800 through August 1, 1800.

Benjamin Carr's *Musical Journal for the Piano Forte* was a serial anthology of songs and instrumental pieces.[164] Each issue was split into a "vocal section" and an "instrumental section," with several pieces in each section. Essentially, this was a sale of sheet music on a periodic basis.[165] The *Musical Journal for the Piano-Forte* was published and sold in Baltimore from 1800 to 1804. Between 1806 and 1811, issues of the anthology were published as Carr & Schetky (Schetky was Carr's nephew) and were sold in the stores that were part of Carr & Schetky's distribution network: Joseph Carr in Baltimore, George Blake in Philadadelphia, James Hewitt in New York, François. Mallet in Boston, E. Morford in

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[164] See the Smithsonian Institution website at https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/journal-1900.html?sortby=1&page=4&_ga=2.75785491.74071976.1535932800-598716402.1535932800 for samples of Carr's *Journal of Music for the Piano Forte*. Various issues give Benjamin Carr or Carr & Schetky as publisher.

[165] John Aitken in Philadelphia tried something similar through publishers Lee & Walker. No date is on the Aitken manuscript, but its publication by Lee & Walker precludes a date before the mid-1850s. Again, a similar idea can be found in *The Boston Weekly Journal of Sheet Music* in the 1890s to at least 1900, issued by Boston publisher F. Trifet.

Charleston, Henry Willig in Philadelphia.[166]

A single edition has been found of Charlotte Le Pelletier's *Journal of Musick: Composed of Italian, French and English Songs, Romances and Duetts, and of Overtures, Rondos &c. for the Forte Piano*, published in Baltimore on January 1, 1810. The journal was a collection of both Le Pelletier's own compositions as well as the compositions of others. Apparently, five editions of the journal were prepared, but only a first edition appeared. If that is, indeed, the case, then it was unfortunate. Le Pelletier's publication was an attempt to bring more challenging music to American female pianists. There is good reason to doubt that the attempt would have been successful, given the status-related and amatory reasons for most female piano playing at the time, but the attempt was a worthy one. Le Pelletier's own example as a publisher and composer of serious music might have inspired at least some women had the journal survived.

Philadelphia's *Literary & Musical Magazine* had a nearly two year run, from January 1, 1819 to December 1, 1820. This was the first, but by no means the last, attempt to combine in magazine form music and other cultural forms.

John Rowe Parker became founding editor of the *Euterpeiad, or Musical Intelligencer* on April 1, 1820.[167] The magazine was published by

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[166] EBSCO also lists the following as an American musical periodical: "*Musical Journal: Vocal Section* Boston MA 1/1/1806 1/1/1806 English Music periodical." I have not been able to find such a journal. It should be noted, however, that songs in Carr's *Musical Journal for the Piano Forte* were usually highlighted as *Musical Journal, Vocal Section*. It's possible that someone may have come across a publication from Carr's serial anthology and thought that it was an issue of a previously unknown magazine. The attribution of Boston as the place of publication may have been the result of a sale of the issue by François. Mallet in Boston. It was common practice for sellers to add their name as publisher to sheet music they sold, and Mallet may have done this with the issue in question. We know, for example, that E. Morford in Charleston, another member of the Carr & Schetky network, did that regularly. This would also explain why the Ebsco entry lists only one issue of the "journal."

[167] Liesbeth Hoedemaeker and Richard Kitson, "The Euterpeiad, or Musical Intelligencer," on the website *Retrospective Index to Music*

Thomas Badger, Jr. until March 24, 1822. It was published thereafter by Parker as a promotional organ for the Franklin's Piano Warehouse in Boston. This was the country's first major music periodical, one which included news, criticism, and commentary. *The Euterpeiad* contained little that could be described as advertising, which was one reason for its failure (another was that, it has been estimated, it only had 60 subscribers). *The Euterpeiad* began life as a weekly, then went bi-monthly, and ended life as a monthly publication in March, 1823. A yearly subscription for volume I was $2.50, for volume II $3.00, and for volume III $2.00. The magazine was available from 39 agents, ranging from Montreal to Augusta, Georgia.

The contents of the *Euterpeiad* were wide-ranging. The magazine often included musical supplements consisting of songs or simple pieces arranged for the piano. Frequently, the songs were Scots or Irish ballads or songs, popular songs of the day, or hymns. The most common arrangement was a melody line plus a bass line, but Lowell Mason's hymns "Andover" and "Bridgeport" appeared in four-part harmony. The main text of volumes I and III had three parts. The first part included histories, biographies, and essays related to music and announcements of coming musical events. Information from these articles sometimes came from musical histories of the day or were taken whole from the British

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Periodicala, at https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=ETP, accessed 10/30/18 was used, with other sources, in writing this entry.

Copies of this publication may be viewed at the Hathi Trust website at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000554255 and https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011571045. The subtitle of the magazine was *Devoted to the Diffusion of Musical Information and Belle Lettres*. Beginning with volume II of the magazine on March 31, 1821, it was renamed *The Euterpeiad, or Musical Intelligencer & Ladies' Gazette*. This title change was an acknowledgment of the addition of a "Ladies' Department" to the magazine, a section devoted to information of interest exclusively to women. This title and the "Ladies' Department" lasted until March 16, 1822, when the "Ladies' Department" was dropped and the magazine reverted to its original title. The last two issues of the magazine, issued May 1, 1823 and June 2, 1823, were edited by Charles Dingley and were published under the title, *The Euterpeiad, or Musical Intelligencer and Select Repository of Classical and Polite Literature*.

periodical, *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*.[168] Of greater interest was a 14-part series entitled “Musical reminiscences or biographical notices. Of several eminent musical characters who have merely visited or domesticated in America, and who are deceased, returned to Europe, or have declined their professional avocation.” These articles preserved biographical information about singers, pianists, organists, and orchestral musicians performing in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston in the early 19th century.

The second part of each issue was mostly devoted to local events and topics of interest. These included reviews of concerts, plays, and new musical publications. The vocal concerts of Boston’s Handel and Haydn Society dominated the musical reviews. The magazine rarely reviewed purely instrumental concerts. When they did, the reviews were usually of performances by Boston’s Philo-Harmonic Society.[169] Musical education was also addressed in this section. The section also contained a fair amount of local music gossip and anecdotes.

The third part of each issue was entitled “The Bouquet” or simply “Poetry.” And that’s what it was: Poetry, usually of the amateur variety but sometimes by such masters as Milton and Byron. Many of the poems took music as their subject. In this section aslo appeared notices from music teachers, concert societies, and the Boston Theater, as well as advertisements from music stores announcing the availability of new instruments and music. When the “Ladies Department” appeared in volume II, it appeared between parts II and III of each issue.[170]

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[168] Articles taken from *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* included biographies and such series of articles as “The Musical Student” and “Elements of Vocal Science.”

[169] *The Euterpeiad* did, however, review Philip Heinrich’s *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*.

[170] Just to ensure that there was never-ending confusion among historians, both Philadelphia and New York had their own homages to Euterpe (the muse of music and song or the flute and lyric poetry, depending upon which tradition you buy into). Philadelphia had *The Euterpian Lyre: A Collection of Songs, Waltzes, Marches, Rondos &c. from the Most Celebrated French, English, German & Italian Composers.*

Magazines providing scores of songs with piano accompaniment were particularly popular in the antebellum era. Besides such journals already mentioned there was Charleston's *The Musical Cabinet*, running from February 1, 1822 through August 1, 1822.

For the religious minded, there was *The Troy Review or Religious and Musical Repository*, published in Troy, New York from January 4, 1826 through October 11, 1827. Most of the publication was devoted to a Christian review of books and other cultural artifacts and a listing of new books. One section of the journal was a "Musical Repository," in which issues related to religious music or to particular pieces of religious music were discussed.[171]

One interesting periodical was the *American Musical Journal*, published in New York between 1834 and 1835.[172] The AMJ was a monthly published by James Dunn that generated 12 issues.[173] The goal of the periodical was to promote musical knowledge and musical taste. The average issue was 24 pages long, consisting of music news from America and Europe, reviews of concerts in New York, reviews of music books, and eight pages of printed music. The printed music included parlor music for flute, violin, piano, or one or more voices (either accompanied or unaccompanied). The lead article was usually a

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Selected and Arranged for the Guitar, by Ld. Meignen & A. Fiot in early 1830. This however, is one of those EBSCO entries that may be a book, rather than a journal. More likely were New York's *The Euterpeiad* from April 15, 1830 to November 1, 1831 and its *The Euterpeiad a Musical Review & Tablet of the Fine Arts*, published from 1831 through 1881.

[171] Copies of *The Troy Review or Religious and Musical Repository* may be accesed at the Hathi Trust at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081655205;view=1up;seq=30.

[172] Ruth Henderson, "American Musical Journal," on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals* (2010), at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=AMJ was used in writing this entry.

[173] There was a two-month break in December 1834 and January 1835.

biography (which sometimes doubled as an obituary) of a leading European composer. Most issues also contained a excerpt from Richard Mackenzie Bacon's *Elements of Vocal Science* and William Nelson James's *A Word or Two on the Flute*, with occasional excerpts from Richard Edgcumbe's *Musical Reminiscences* and other works. *The Supplemental Musical Library*, *The Harmonicon*, and similar periodicals were the usual source of foreign news. Domestic news came from Dunn, his correspondents, or other periodicals. Letters to the editor became and increasingly large par of the paper as it progressed.

Dunn was an Irish grocer who probably produced the AMJ by himself. It shut down when Dunn became ill of tuberculosis, a disease that killed him in 1837.

Music periodicals of the 1830s included family-oriented magazines, such as *The Ladies Musical Portfolio* (published in Philadelphia during 1830), *Parley's Magazine with Fifty Engravings* (a magazine for children, published in Boston from 1833 to 1841), and *The Family Minstrel* (including music and literature, published in New York from 1835-1836). The combination of music and literature could also be found in *Lady's Book and Magazine of Belle Lettres, Fashions Music &c.* (published in Philadelphia in 1837 and 1838) and in the *Musical Magazine or Repository of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence* (catering particularly to German-Americans and published in Boston in 1839 and 1840).

New York's *The Musical Magazine* was published by Ezra Collier from May of 1835 to April of 1837.[174] It was edited by Thomas Hastings.[175] Each issue consisted of three parts: a "practical" section, dealing with vocal or instrumental performance issues; a "theoretical" section devoted to the rudiments of music and both diatomic and chromatic harmony; and a "miscellaneous" section, consisting or reviews of concerts and other performances, reviews of publications, and articles devoted to making music and writing poetry. Most articles were published anonymously or pseudonomynously. The *Musical Magazine* also included a supplement containing sheet music, usually hymns, anthems, doxologies, or choruses.[176]

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[174] Vashti Sadjedy and Richard Kitson, "The Musical Magazine," on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, (2014) at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MMA, accessed 10/30/18, was used in writing this entry.

[175] Hastings described himself as "a composer, compiler, hymn writer and writer on music."

The *Boston Musical Gazette* was published in Boston by Otis, Broaders & Co. and was printed by Kidder & Wright Printers & Proprietors. It began on May 5, 1838 and ended November 20, 1839.[177] The first edition of the periodical gave its prospectus as follows:

> This Journal will be devoted especially to the subject of Music, containing Musical History; Biographical Sketches of eminent Composers and Performers; Impartial Reviews of Musical Works; an Account of Oratorios and Concerts, Musical Societies, Academies and Schools, with their various merits, progress, &c. Also occasional hints and observations on the kindred arts, and matters of taste and general literature; with appropriate Poetical Effusions. Each number will likewise contain more or less sacred or secular music, arranged with appropriate accompaniment.[178]

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[176] This music was published in two volumes as *The Musical Miscellany, Comprising the Music Published in The Musical Magazine* (1836). EBSCO errs by listing this as a periodical. A copy of this work can be found at the Hathi Trust, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100911656.

EBSCO also lists *The Musical Library* as a periodical. It was not a periodical in the usual sense. *The Musical Library* was a collection of glees edited by Lowell Mason and George James Webb, published by Edward R. Broaders. It was issued under the auspices of the Boston Academy of Music and released in 12 monthly installments from July 1, 1836 to June 1, 1836.

[177] Mary Wallace Davidson, “Boston Musical Gazette” on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Publications* (2012), at https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=BMG was used in producing this entry.

[178] This quotation opens vol. 1, no. 1 of the *Boston Musical Gazette*, which may be found at the Hathi Trust at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044040443350;view=1up;seq=13. I accessed it on 10/31/18. Having sampled some of the “Poetical Effusions” of the day, I’ll

The BMG was a bi-weekly, eight-page periodical. Its editor was Bartholomew Brown, a Harvard-educated lawyer.[179] Brown told readers that the contributors to the periodical would include Lowell Mason, George James Webb, Thomas Comer, Nahum Mitchell, John Sullivan Dwight, T. Power, and John Rowe Parker. The journal was devoted primarily to sacred music, including its institutions, history, and performances, along with reviews of local performances. It also endorsed the "scientific" practices of sacred music (which is code for "we're following Lowell Mason and not that New England psalmodist crud").[180] The BMG included occasional articles about secular music, including opera.[181] It gave considerable coverage to such musical developments as Mason's successful efforts to establish music education in Boston's public schools; to the Musical Conventions, run by Mason, Root, and others; and to musical developments at Harvard, including the appearance of Harvard's Peirian Sodality (now the Harvard-Radcliff Orchestra). There was also regular coverage of developments in Bostons musical institutions, such as the Handel and Haydn Society, the Boston Academy of Music, the Boston Gregorian Society, the Boston Musical Institute, the Musical Education Society, and the Billings and Holden Society. In addition, the BMG reprinted reports from other music societies in Bangor, Maine and New York City. Brown wrote most of the articles, although John Dwight also contributed. As was the case with the *Musical Magazine*, most articles were published anonymously or pseudonomynously, so sorting out who

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stick to cyanide. It's quicker.

[179] God help us. Fortunately, he was also a classics scholar who belonged to two music clubs, taught music, and was a founding member of the Handel and Haydn Society. He was also a contributing editor to the *Columbian and Euterpian Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music* (1802).

[180] The works of William Billings and his cohorts were treated as crimes against humanity.

[181] It wondered why Boston didn't have any opera. Answer: because it was *Boston*.

authored what is difficult. Finally, as was the case with the *Musical Magazine*, the BMG included sacred or secular music for use in the home in every issue.

The Musical Review and Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence appeared in New York in 1838.[182] It was "edited under the supervisional direction of an association of gentlemen, by E. Ives, Jun." and ran for 30 issues from May 9, 1838 through April 20, 1839. Each issue consisted of 12 pages in double columns. Issues contained original articles on such topics as music history, education, and criticism; reviews of concerts in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, London, and Paris; and letters to the editor (which included, but did not exhaust, the magazine's reports of music activity in America and Canada). Some articles and reviews were taken from English and continental periodicals without attribution. Timothy B. Mason contributed an article about music education in the public schools, and Lowell Mason penned an article about adapting words to metrical psalmody. When announcing the pending discontinuation of the issue, Ives blamed the "secondary difficulties under which the journal struggled, the entire responsibility fell upon the shoulder of one individual, a dedicated music teacher."

Boston's *The Musical Magazine; or, Repository of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence* was a bimonthly periodical published by Otis, Broaders, & Co. from January 5, 1839 to April 24, 1842.[183] Thomas B. Hayward, headmaster of a Boston school, edited the magazine until December 1839, when H. Theodore Hach took over for the remainder of the magazine's run. Each issue was 16 pages long. The magazine promoted music education in public schools (along with the training of qualified teachers), the study of musical literature, and reviews of new music in score and in performance.

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[182] Vashti Sadjedy and Richard Kitson, "The Musical Review and Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence," (2013) on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MMS, accessed 10/31/18 was used in writing this entry. All quotations are taken from that source.

[183] Vashti Sadjedy and Richard Kitson, "The Musical Magazine," *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals* (2014), accessed 10/31/18 was used in writing this entry.

The Singer: Devoted to the General Cultivation of Music, and Adapted to the Use of Schools and Private Instruction was intended as a magazine to promote music education in public and Sabbath schools. It was planned that the journal teach a series of progressive lessons in music theory and practice and contain an hymn and a song suitable for children. There is no indication, however, that any issue of the magazine appeared after its initial issue in 1840.[184]

The period from 1839-1841 saw a flurry of music magazines in Boston, none of which lasted very long. These included the *Musical Magazine* (1839-1842), the *American Journal of Music* (1840), the *Boston Eoliad* (1840-1841), the *Musical Visitor* (1840-1842),[185] the *Musical Cabinet* (1841), and the *Musical Almanac* (1841). Worth noting was the *Musical Reporter*, which was published from January through September of 1841.[186] The journal's articles covered such subjects as music history, education, and expression and musical instruments. It was also sprinkled with poes and anecdotes. Early issues covered the local concert scene, especially the performances and other doings of the Boston Academy of Music and the Handel and Haydn Society. Later issues focused on the National Musical Convention, which was held annually in Boston from 1836-1841. The majority of the issues reviewed published collections of psalms, hymns, and glees and works related to teaching music. Every issue ended with a score of vocal music by such composers as Webb,

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[184] EBSCO lists "The World of Music" as a periodical published in Bellows Falls, Vermont from 1840-1848. The Library of Congress at https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84022570/ seems to indicate, however, that this was a subtitle for certain editions of *The Bellows Falls Gazette*, a periodical "[d]evoted to politics, news, agriculture, home industry, and foreign and domestic intelligence."

[185] *The Musical Visitor* later reappeared as *The American Journal of Music and Musical Visitor*, published in Boston from February 25, 1845 to October 20, 1846.

[186] This section relies on Liesbeth Hoedemaeker, "Musical Reporter" (2009), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MUR, accessed 10/31/18.

Billings, Harrington, Hill, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber and Reissiger. Many articles were taken from other journals and included translations of articles from French and German journals. Some of the journals raided for articles included the *Musical Magazine*, the *Musical Gazette*, the *North American Review*, *Musical World*, and *New England Magazine*.[187] The *Musical Reporter* also took chunks from Gardiner's *Music of Nature* and Gottfried Weber's *Theory of Musical Composition.* Most of the articles in the journal were anonymous.[188]

The 1840s saw a new crop of "ladies" magazines that were devoted to music or included music within their purview. The most enduring was *The Ladies' Repository, and Gatherings of the West: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature and Religion*, published in Cincinnati from 1841 to 1848. Less long-lived was the *Lady's Musical Library*, issued in Philadelphia from 1842 to 1845. A magazine whose life span wasn't nearly as long as its title was *The Ladies' Companion and Literary Expositor: A Monthly Magazine Embracing Every Department of Literature: Embellished with Original Engravings, and Music Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp and Guitar*, which was published in New York and lasted from May 1, 1844 to October 1, 1844. And positively evanescent was *The Lady's Wreath and Young Ladies' Magazine: Embellished with Splendid Steel Engravings, Colored Flowers, Music, etc*,, published in Boston during the first half of 1845.[189]

Temperance periodicals were also part of the musical scene in the 1840s. As descrbed in the next chapter, AMATEUR POPULAR MUSIC IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD, Temperance organizations believed firmly in the value of music to help popularize their cause. Such periodicals as the *Temperance Journal*, published in Boston, from July 1840 to July 1847; the

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[187] Interestingly, in its first issue, the *Musical Reporter* took a firm and principled stand against plagiarism.

[188] Which seems sensible if a lot of it were stolen.

[189] Even more short-lived were two magazines that I know nothing about except when and where they were published: *The Orpheus*, whose sole issue was published in Boston in October of 1843, and the *Aeolian Piano Forte Journal*, whose sole issue was published in Boston in July of 1845.

Temperance Annual, or Cold Water Magazine, published in Providence, Rhode Island in the first half of 1843; and the *Cold Water Magazine*, published in Philadelphia only in June of 1843 all provided music for the Temperance cause.

John W. Moore published two magazines out of Bellows Falls Vermont in the first half of the 1840s. The first, *Moore's World of Music. New Series. Devoted to the general diffusion of musical information* was published in 1842. The following year, Moore and Silsby & Co. published *The World of Music. Devoted to the general diffusion of musical information*. The latter periodical produced issues fro 1843 into 1845.[190]

The *Boston Musical Review* published four issues in 1845, on September 1, October 1, October 15, and November 1.[191] This was another journal published by Otis, Broaders & Co. This one was edited by G.W. Peck, Esq., who billed himself as "A gentleman of liberal education, much musical knowledge, and literary taste, who has been before now experienced in periodical publications."[192] The journal described its goal as follows in its first issue:

> This publication is designed to interest all classes of intelligent readers for whom music may be supposed to have attractions . . . Each number will contain one or more brief essays, written to contribute to the more general understanding of music, and to aid the formation of a correct taste. These will be followed by articles of a

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[190] At some point, Moore also produced the undated *Vocal and Instrumental Self Instructor*, also published in Bellows Falls, Vermont.

[191] The section relies on Liesbeth Hoedemaeker, "Boston Musical Review" (2009), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=BMR, accessed on 11/1/18. The quotations are from that source.

Evidently, the strain of putting out *two* issues in October was too much for the magazine.

[192] "Esquire" is the honorific for an attorney. You may feel free to be dubious when an attorney described himself as "A gentleman of liberal education, much musical knowledge, and literary taste, who has been before now experienced in periodical publications."

> lighter and less studied sort . . . During the season of concerts . . . each one of any importance will be noticed briefly. . . . A portion of each [issue] will also be devoted to musical intelligence, short notices of new publications, miscellaneous paragraphs, contributions, and a variety of like matter, which no work of the kind can be expected to be supplied with at its very commencement.

There is a strong whiff here of improving the taste of the *partially* unwashed. The articles were all anonymous.[193] The usual structure of the journal was to begin with a serious essay,[194] followed by a lighter article often in the form of a dialogue,[195] then moving to reviews under the heading "Music in Boston."[196] A congeries of features filled the rest of the journal, selected from the following: "Correspondence." "Notices," "General Notices," "Notices of New Publications" "Miscellany,"[197] and classifieds.[198] Actual music was limited to a few musical examples.

The Musical Gazette was a semi-monthly periodical published in Boston by A.N. Johnson and J. Johnson, Jr. from February 2, 1846 through December 2, 1850.[199] The printer was Kimball & Butterield. The journal emphasized sacred music, especially choral singing, but was by no means limited to that music. It included articles, for example, about music in other countries, local concerts, music education, harmony and thorough bass, music publications, old time songs, the construction of organs, and all sorts of other music-related topics. Reader contributions seemed to make up a substantial part of the journal, and (fair warning) poetry sometimes appeared.[200] Issues of the journal included two pages of music, usually choral music, in the back.

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[193] Possibly to avoid a punch in the nose from the partially unwashed.

[194] The titles of the lead essay in the four issues were "Distinction between Musical Express and Effect," "Musical Expression," "Expression, the Present State of Music," and "The Poetry of Music."

[195] This was a conversation between two or three friends, covering such topics as the language of music, poetry, painting, literature and singing. Only three of the four issues contained such a dialogue.

[196] This consisted largely of reviews and notices of performances of the Boston Academy of Music, the Philharmonic Society, and the Handel and Haydn Society.

[197] This section appeared in the last two issues and consisted of humorous musical anecdotes.

[198] These came from instrument makers, teachers, and purveyors of teaching methods.

The *Philharmonic Journal* was published and edited in Claremont, New Hampshire by Solon Silsby from September 5, 1848 to at least July 24, 1849.[201] It was a continuation of *The World of Music*, insofar as subscribers to that magazine automatically received the *Philharmonic Journal* to the extent of their subscriptions. It resembled *The Musical Gazette* in the range of topics it covered and in an emphasis on sacred music. In addition, as with *The Musical Gazette*, the *Philharmonic Journal* included two pages of song at the end of each issue.

In 1849, Herman S. Saroni took control of New York's *The American Musical Times* after it had published for a year. Saroni renamed it *Saroni's Musical Times, a Weekly Journal Devoted to Music, Literature and the Fine*

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[199] Copies of *The Musical Gazette* can be downloaded from https://archive.org/details/philharmonicjour00clar/page/n5, the Internet Archive. The text us archived as being a collection of issues of the *Philharmonic Journal*, but copies of *The Musical Gazette* occupy approximately the second half of the volume. By the way, there's confusion about whether the title of the journal was *The Musical Gazette* or *The Boston Musical Gazette* because although the first title was on the masthead, the second title ran as a banner across the top of every other page.

[200] There was something about music in the 19th century that brought out rotten poetry from people who should have known better.

[201] As described above, copies of the *Philharmonic Journal* can be downloaded from https://archive.org/details/philharmonicjour00clar/page/n5, the Internet Archive, bound with copies of *The Musical Gazette*.

Arts, and published the journal under that name from September 29, 1849 to September 20, 1851. After Saroni left the journal, it was published as *The Musical Times* from November 8, 1851 to July 10, 1852.[202] The journal was a weekly in its first year, then a biweekly for two years, and a monthly toward the end.

Saoni's journal advocated for many of the causes Saroni favored, including the building of concert music hall in New York, the creation of a national conservatory,[203] and the founding of a musical art union to educate and support young American composers. The journal also sponsored a series of chamber music concerts which helped popularize the form in New York City. Supplementary musical scores, mostly vocal music for one to four voices, appeared occasionally in the first year then regularly thereafter. Some of the music was written for the journal; others were arrangements of popular songs. In his writings, Saroni managed to get into disputes with some of the leading figures in American music, including Anthony Philip Heinrich, John Hill Hewitt, George Frederick Bristow, the editors of other journals, and anyone who listened to that Saroni-detested minstrel music.[204] Saroni also took off on long trips, during which he sent music-related news from the cities he visited. In the first year, too, Charles Grobe's "Musical Almanac," a list of the week's anniversaries of musical events, was a regular feature of the journal. Composer Richard Stors Willis's "Glee Corner" was also a regular feature.

Saroni's Musical Times was organized in three parts. Part one consisted of articles related to various musical topics, stories based on musical anecdotes, and (unfortunately) poetry. The second part consisted of editorials, reviews and announcements of concerts and operas performed big cities across United States (including New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington); European musical news and reviews of performances; miscellaneous musical news; reviews of published music, reviews of music-related and non-music-related books. and reviews of exhibitions of visual arts.[205] The final section consisted of advertisements, notices of sales of musical instruments, and advertisements for music publications. Scattered around was also non-musical domestic and foreign news, fiction, anecdotes, and maxims. Under the next editor, Richard Willis, the journal published a series of "Musical Studies" that gave instruction in the fundamentals of music and provided exercises for self-study.

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[202] This section relies on Ruth Henderson, "Saroni's Musical Times," (2013), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=SAR, accessed on 11/1/18.

Composer Richard Storrs Willis edited the final 21 issues of the journal. Then *The Musical Times* merged with the *Musical World and Journal of the Fine Arts* and became the *Musical World and New York Musical Times*, with Willis as editor.

[203] Saroni believed that such a conservatory should be headed by a European, something that raised considerable ire.

[204] He also antagonized people with his poetry.

In the early 1850s, there were a series of periodicals that addressed several of the arts, including music. These included New York's *Journal of the Fine Arts* (published in April of 1851), the Journal of the Fine Arts and Musical World (published in New York from October 15, 1851 to January of 1852), and *The Hygeia Gem and Musician* (published in Hygeia, Ohio from May of 1851 to April of 1852). Foremost (and longest-lasting) of these was *The Message Bird*.

M.T. Brockelband & Co. published *The Message Bird: A Literary and Musical Journal* and its successors from August 4, 1849 to January 14, 1860.[206] It was hard to keep track of those successors, however, because name changes at the journal were frequent and, sometimes, severe. The journal became the *Journal of Fine Arts: An American and Foreign Record of Music Literature, and Art* in 1851, *The Musical World* in 1852 (except when it called itself the *Journal of the Fine Arts and Musical World* or *The Musical World and Journal of the Fine Arts*), and finally merged with the Musical Times in August of 1852 and became *The Musical World and New York Musical Times*. This was followed by *The Musical World* (except when it was called the *The Musical World and Times* at various times between(1852 and 1854), *Musical World. A Weekly Journal for "Heavenly Music's Earthly Friends"* (1855), and *Musical World. A Journal for "Heavenly Music's Earthly Friends"* (1855). Editors included Oliver Dyer, Richard Storrs Willis, August Morand, Edward Hodges, and J. H. Wardell.[207] It's a wonder anyone knew what the hell to buy.

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[205] Most of the articles and reviews in this section were anonymous and were probably written by Saroni.

[206] This section relies on David A. Day, "The Message Bird," (1992), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MEB, accessed 11/1/18, and on David A. Day, "The New York Musical World," (1993), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=NYM, accessed 11/3/18. For viewable access to issues of *The Message Bird* from 1850-51, go to the Hathi Trust website at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002133683.

The first issue of the journal included the following statement of intent:

> We desire to exert an influence for the elevation of music and literature among the great body of people. We wish to "Make tThe Songs of the Nation," at least so far as to cultivate a general taste for the true poetry, the real music and the higher humane literature of the country.

The journal was published twice a month and came in two parts. The first part addressed the arts in general, including the visual arts and literature.[208] The second part was devoted exclusively to music. Musical supplements regularly added to the journal mostly consisted of salon pieces composed for the journal. Frequent contributors of this music included violinist George Loder, brass band composer and enthusiast Allen Dodworth, the English opera composer William Vincent Wallace, William J. Wetmore, Augusta Browne, Samuel Jackson, and Richard Dunning.

The Message Bird was a particularly valuable chronicler of some of the most important musical persons and events in New York City and in other parts of the country: the founding of the New York Philharmonic and the New York Harmonic Society, Max Maretzek. the singers and performances at the Astor Place Opera House and Castle Garden. Jenny Lind, Marietta Alboni, Dodworth's band, the touring Alleghenians, the world of New York church music, Theodore Eisfeld's chamber concerts, other sorts of concerts held in the city, the musical convention movement, and various musical innovations of the day. Biographical sketches of musical performers in the United States and of European composers were a regular part of the magazine. *The Weather Bird* also strongly supported contemporary composers and musical education. Contributors included Wellington-Guernsey from London, William Henry Fry from Paris, Lowell Mason from various European cities, John Sullivan Dwight, F.-J. Fétis, William Mason, George H. Curtis n church music, and Allen Dodworth on band instruments.

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[207] Willis, however, seems to have been the most important editorial voice throughout nearly the entire history of the magazine(s).

[208] Yes, the usual poetry infests this section. *The Message Bird's* poetry was of a particularly drippy variety.

The various editions of *The New York Musical World* were particularly good in covering music across the United States in the 1850s. It also contained the journal's most enduring regular feature, Willis's "Musical Studies for the Million," articles explaining the basics of music theory and harmony. Willis also wrote other articles, the column "Portfolio of a Musical Bachelor" (a sort of ongoing musical autobiography), and reviews. The articles and reviews address both immigrant and native singers, musicians, conductors, and composers; touring Europeans; and musical activities in such cities as Boston, Charleston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Providence, and Washington in addition to New York, as well as rural areas in Indiana, Tennessee, and California. Contributors included Lowell Mason, William Henry Fry, George F. Bristow, John Sullivan Dwight, British immigrant organist Edward Hodges, vocal teacher Carlo Bassini, and teaching theorist Gustav Schilling. Most issues also contained music supplements consisting largely of pieces for voice and piano or guitar, simple piano pieces, sacred or secular choral pieces, and piano and voice arrangements of popular operatic arias. The supplements also included original compositions by American composers.

New York choristers had a variety of journals that addressed their interests. *The Choral Advocate and Singing Class Journal* was published in New York by Mason & Law in 1850 and 1851, This journal was continued by *The Musical Review and Choral Advocate* (which was also called the *New York Musical Review and Choral Advocate*), published by the Mason Brothers in 1852 and 1853. *That* journal was later renamed *The New York Musical Review and Gazette* from 1855 to 1860, after it absorbed New York's *The Musical Gazette*, which had been published in

1854 and 1855. Completely separate was *The American Musical Review and Choir Singers' Companion*, published in New York in early 1850.

The most important music journal of the era appeared on April 10, 1852 in Boston: *Dwight's Journal of Music*.[209] The editor, John Sullivan Dwight, became one of the most influential voices on the American music scene during much of the journal's run, from 1852 to September 3, 1881. *Dwight's Journal* offered extensive coverage of both the American music scene and the European scene.

John Dwight was a graduate of Harvard College and the Harvard Divinity School.[210] After graduating from divinity school, he organized alumni of Harvard's Pierian Society into the Harvard Musical Association. He gained a pulpit of his own in 1840 at Northampton, just as he lost faith in the value of formal worship. Dwight participated in the Brook Farm collective from 1841-1848, and he served as writer and editor for the organization's magazine, the *Harbinger*.[211] When Brook Farm dissolved, Dwight moved to Boston and wrote about music and other subjects for such periodicals as the *Dial*, the *Daily Chronotype*, and the *Daily Advertiser*. He also associated with such luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horatio William Parker, Bronson Alcott, James Russell Lowell,

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[209] Information in this section relies on the "Introduction" and commentary in Irving Sablosky, ed. and commentary, WHAT THEY HEARD: MUSIC IN AMERICA, 1852-1881, FROM THE PAGES OF *DWIGHTS JOURNAL OF MUSIC* (Louisiana State Univ. Press: Baton Rouge, LA, 1986), and on Richard Kitson, "Dwight's Journal of Music," (1991), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=DJM, accessed on 11/2/18. To view copies of *Dwight's Journal*, go to the Hathi Trust website at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/003928160 and at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000052924. For downloadable issues (vols. 29-30 and 5-6, respectively, go to the Internet Archive at https://archive.org/details/dwightsjournalof2930dwig/page/n5 and https://ia902708.us.archive.org/2/items/dwightsjournalm20dwiggoog/dwightsjournalm20dwiggoog.pdf.

[210] His undergraduate dissertation was "The Proper Character of Poetry and Music for Public Worship."

[211] He also taught piano and gave Latin lessons.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, George Ripley, William Ellery Channing, and Henry James. In the meantime, he supported himself by writing about music and producing translations fo poems by Goethe and Schiller.

In February of 1852, Dwight circulated a prospectus for a music periodical

> The *tone* to be independent, impartial, catholic, conciliatory, aloof from musical clique and controversy, cordial to all good things, but not too chime in with any powerful private interest of publisher, professor, concert-giver, manager, society, or party. This paper would make itself the "organ" of no school or class, but simply the organ of what may be called the Musical *Movement* in our country, of the growing love of deep and genuine music, of the growing consciousness that music, first amid other forms of Art, is intimately connected with Man's truest life and destiny.[212]

When *Dwight's Journal* first appeared, Dwight assumed sole responsibility for producing the journal. In 1858, he turned production and distribution over to Oliver Ditson, which preserved Dwight's complete editorial authority and allowed him to focus more on the actual content of the journal.[213]

That content was impressively diverse. Of course, the journal focused on art music–symphonies, quartets, operas, soloists, wind bands, personalities, institutions, education–but even his approach to art music included going down such byways as the Pennsylvania Moravians, western music teachers, and French opera in New Orleans. *Dwight's Journal* also gave important coverage to the music of slavery; Stephen Foster; minstrel songs; the publication of SLAVE SONGS OF THE UNITED STATES, edited by William, Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison in

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[212] Quoted in Kitson, "Dwight's Journal of Music," pp. 1-2. Beware the writer who capitalizes common nouns! This is someone who has an important Message for you (and is probably a closet Platonist).

[213] Diston, however, advertised extensively in the journal and added supplements of its own music. When, 20 years later, Ditson pressured Dwight to take a more popular approach in the journal, Dwight took the journal from Ditson and turned to Houghton, Osgood, & Co. for publication and distribution.

1867;[214] and the concerts of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. All in all, it was a magnificent chronicle of American music for nearly 30 years, ranging from the first performance in the country's first concert hall (Boston's Music Hall) to a thriving symphonic and operatic national scene in the nation's new, burgeoning cities.

There was one proviso to Dwight's catholicism, however. He firmly believed that all of the world's finest music was German . . . and the best of *that* came from Beethoven. That is, he believed in the sort of music that loosely held to classical era forms, with concessions to the Romantic urge that adapts or ignores those forms when necessary to the dictates of self expression. This is also the sort of music that states a theme, then lays it out on the dissecting table, chops it up, and keeps rearranging the parts until satisfied that all interesting possibilities have been exhausted.[215] Be;ievers in German music find that Italian melodies and French variations are nice, but decidedly second-tier. To such a true believer, everything else falls further and further from grace until you arrive at Gilmore's 100 firemen pounding anvils for the "Anvil Chorus" and Daddy Rice jumping Jim Crow. Fortunately for Dwight, his Germanicism hit the print just as an invasion of German immigrants was settling down to transform the nation's art music. Man and moment arrived simultaneously, and Dwight became head cheerleader to the Teutons.[216]

Reviews were an important channel for Dwight's views. He published contributions from reviewers of concerts in most of the country's major cities. The journal reviewed the European soloists who toured the country, the home-grown opera singers who proliferated after the Civil War, the rising orchestras and choral groups, and other miscellaneous concerts. Many of the reviewers were European immigrants. Many, too, were American-born, including John Knowles Paine, William F. Apthorp, W. S. B. Mathews, C. H. Brittan . . . and, of course, John Sullivan Dwight himself. And such writers as Alexander Wheelock Thayer, one of the most important music historians of the 19th century, contributed a wide variety of articles to the journal. There were many admirable journals in this period. There was only one *Dwight's*.

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[214] Dwight also published a letter from Lucy McKim Garrison.

[215] And sometimes not stopping even then.

[216] To be fair, Dwight always maintained a sympathetic interest in the music of African-Americans.

Many periodicals lasted for a year or less in the early and middle 1850s. Among these were *The Western Gem and Musician*, published in Mount Healthy, Ohio from May 1, 1862 to March 15, 1853; *Whitehouse's Musical Herald* published in Gonic, New Hampshire from November 1, 1855 to February 1, 1856; *The Monthly Musical Gazette*, published in New York in 1853; *The Happy Home and Mother's Assistant*, published in the first half of 1854; and *The Ladies' Wreath & Parlor Annual*, published in New York in 1855. Laating slightly longer was *Frank Leslie's Ladies Gazette of Paris London & New York Fashions* a literary and music magazine published in New York in 1854 and 1855.

Reflecting the rising popularity of brass bands were two journals, Allen Dodworth's *Brass Band Journal*, published by Firth & Pond in New York in 1853-1854. The journal included band arrangements by G.W.E. Friederich. W,C, Peters published *Peter's Saxhorn Journal* in Cincinnati beginning in 1859. That journal included arrangements by Edmund Jaeger that made small groups sound larger.

The Mason Brothers published New York's *The Musical Gazette* from November 11, 1854 through 1May 3, 855.[217] The periodical was a weekly, published every Saturday. The Masons were Daniel Gregory Mason and Lowell Mason, Jr., sons of Lowell Mason, and they also published *The Choral Advocate and Singing-Class Journal* and *The Musical Review*.[218] *The Musical Gazette* was, in its own words, "devoted to the higher departments of musical literature and criticism; . . . Musical news from all parts of the world, where music is cultivated, will be promptly and regularly given."[219] Issues of the journal were divided into three parts. The first section was entitled "Musical Gossip," and it consisted of musical news and announcements of current or future performances in the United States and Europe. It also contained three to five articles or reviews, addressing art music performances, musicians, singers, composers, and musical organizations. The second section, "Our Musical Correspondence," was a review section that contained reviews of symphonic, chamber, and operatic performances. This review section came in two major parts: "Domestic" (covering performances in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Albany, and occasionally other cities) and "Foreign" (which, as you certainly suspected, was limited to Europe). Appended to this section was a column of news and reviews entitled, "Foreign Musical Intelligence," "Foreign" here meaning "Europe and such out of the way locales as Chicago." This was news lifted from other foreign or domestic music periodicals. The section also contained an occasional independent article and a section entitled "New Musical Publications Abroad." The third section, entitled "Miscellany" included articles dealing with the history of European art music and new publications of piano and vocal music. A page of advertisements concluded the section.

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[217] This section relies on Randi Trzesinski and Richard Kitson, "The Musical Gazette," (2007), on the website *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*, at https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MGA, accessed on 11/3/18. All quotations in the section are from Trzesinski and Kitson.

[218] *The Choral Advocate and Singing-Class Journal* was originally published by Mason & Law, but the Mason Brothers started their own firm and acquired Henry W. Law's rights to the journal.. They then combined it with *The Musical Review* to form *The New-York Musical Review and Choral Advocate*, then combined *that* with *The Musical Gazette* in 1855 to form *The New-York Musical Review and Gazette*. Don't worry about it. Have a couple of beers, and you'll feel fine.

The *Gazette* paid considerable attention to the opera in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, including he activities of the Grisi and Mario Opera Company, the (Louisa) Pyne and (William) Harrison English Opera Company, Niblo's English Opera Company, the German Opera Company, and the opera company at the New York Academy of Music led by Ole Bull (temporarily) and Max Maretzek. The coverage included not only the musical side of the opera but also the financial side, distressed by low attendance. It also addressed vocal musical performances, particularly oratorios, by such groups as Bpston Handel and Haydn Society, the Musical Education Society and the Mendelssohn Choral Society, the Philadelphia Harmonia Sacred Music Society, and the New York Harmonic

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[219] I wasn't aware that musical literature and criticism had "departments," much less higher (and, presumably, lower) ones. Nor do I know anywhere on earth in which music is not cultivated . . . unless by "cultivated" we're talking Eurocentric and snooty.

Society. As might be expected, the piano performances of William Mason were well covered and Boston received more thorough coverage than Philadelphia. The *Gazette* also covered the American publishers' attempts at price fixing in the sale of copyrighted and non-copyrighted music and the issue of music education. The journal also unbent enough to cover the decline in minstrelsy and the sale of 500 pianos to China.

Some journals aimed at young people. New York saw *The Student and Young Tutor: A Monthly Periodical for Schools and Families*, published in 1847 and 1848, and *The Student & Schoolmate: A Monthly Reader for School & Home Instruction Containing Original Dialogues, Speeches, Biography, History, Travels, Poetry, Music, Science, Anecdotes, Problems, Puzzles, etc.*, published in 1855 and 1856. Boston saw its own edition of *The Student & Schoolmate: A Monthly Reader for School & Home Instruction Containing Original Dialogues, Speeches, Biography, History, Travels, Poetry, Music, Science, Anecdotes, Problems, Puzzles, etc.*, published in 1855 through 1857, and *Student & Schoolmate and Forrester's Boys & Girls Magazine*, published from 1858 to 1858.

New York and Boston remained the champions in producing music periodicals through the end of the 1850s. Periodicals appearing in New York in the second half of the 1850s included the *New York Musical Pioneer and Chorister's Budget* from 1855 through 1860; the *Educational Herald and Musical Monthly*, published from 1859 to 1862; and the *New York Musical Pioneer*, published from 1859 to 1862. Boston and the surrounding area turned out *The Keynote Microform*, published in Fall River, Massachusetts from 1855 to 1869; the *Massachusetts Musical Journal* published in Fall River in 1855 and 1856; *The Mother's Assistant and Young Lady's Friend*, published in Boston in 1857; and the *Pittsfield Musical Transcript* , published in Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1859. But other parts of the country also produced music journals in this period. Lancaster, Pennsylvania saw *The Keystone Musical Gazette and Physiological Musical Advocate* in 1856; Mountain Valley, Virginia produced *Southern Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend* from 1859 to 1861; and the *Chicago Musical Review*, published in Chicago in 1857 and 1858.

By the Civil War, music magazines could be found in most parts of the country (and the northeast was practically crawling with them). The number of musical magazine startups in the federalist and antebellum periods were as follows: three in the 1780s, nine in the 1790s, five in the

1800s, four in the 1810s, four in the 1820s, ten in the 1830s, 24 in the 1840s, and 22 in the 1850s.[220] The *Euterpeiad*, *The Message Bird* and its successors, and *Dwight's Journal of Music* were the most important music periodicals of the antebellum period. Their success–like the success of other music magazines–was due in large part to the success of the music business generally and to that business's need to advertise.

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Having taken a look at how the sausage was made and distributed, we need to look now at the kinds of sausage that were available. That is, what sorts of songs and performances were people buying?

The Songs

Although there was a significant amount of popular instrumental music (most of it associated with dancing), then as now the vast majority of the popular music of the antebellum period consisted of songs. The kinds of songs that were popular depended, of course, in large part on the tastes of the audience. But they also depended upon factors that shaped music publishing and distribution in the United States.

A matter of taste

Before we look at particular types of songs, we need to look at American taste in songs generally.

The American audience had certain characteristics that any songwriter seeking popularity had to keep in mind. Most Americans were democratic. That is, they would not tolerate being condescended to, nor would they play music that seemed to be too obviously "putting on airs," like (for some) all that foreign opera stuff.[221] They preferred lyrics and music that were fairly direct and straightforward. Things could be fancied up a bit to make them “elegant” (more on that in a moment), but too much of that and you started looking like a snob.

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[220] These numbers are taken from J. Heywood Alexander, "Brainard's (Western) Musical World," *Notes*, second series, v. 36, n. 3 (Mar., 1980), p, 601.

[221] Most Americans would have considered German art music an incomprehensible bore.

In addition, as the century advanced, more and more Americans were also Romantics. They wanted music that reached their hearts. They wanted music that made them laugh or cry, that helped them celebrate the good and detest the bad . . . they wanted *emotional* music that made *emotional* sense. Their Romanticism invited exoticism and the *outré*: knights and Irish bards, graveyards, ocean voyages, and dying lovers. But Americans’ Romanticism didn’t stop them from also enjoying songs about the stuff of their own lives, too: immigrants, canals, railroads, politics, school, and the like.

Americans were also a patriotic people. They were proud of their new country. Fending off the British in the War of 1812 and the country’s ever-expanding national boundaries gave citizens confidence in the worth and soundness of the American enterprise. They enjoyed songs that celebrated their country and made then feel good to be Americans.

These preferences were not limited to the lower classes. Even Americans in the middle and upper classes shared these tastes. Opera and art music were the realms of a cultural elite, of immigrants from countries where such music had been played, and of the *nouveau riche* who went to the opera to be seen and to pretend that they liked the music.[222]

This is hardly surprising. Americans were not a leisured people, and they were not musically knowledgeable.[223] They had relatively little time for relaxation, and they were not about to waste what little free time they had cultivating a music whose rewards seemed alien and doubtful . . . not when there were all sorts of immediately-enjoyable music lying around for the taking. The popular music of the day was approachable and offered enjoyment *now*. Instead of choosing art music that was off-putting, incomprehensible, and required work before it could be enjoyed, the average American, already saddled with more work than she or he could handle and coping with massive social changes, said “the hell with it” and turned to the comfort of Stephen Foster.

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[222] Which is not to say that certain songs from operas couldn’t become popular. Many of them did. But the songs had to have a good, memorable melody and lyrics that touched the heart. Italian *bel canto* was made to order for these requirements.

[223] European art music was written for a European aristocracy that could take the time to study and appreciate it. Transplanting such music to the American colonies stood about as much chance of popular success as transplanting Noh theater.

Most Americans were equally bored by the folk ballads enjoyed by their rural ancestors. American life was becoming increasingly urban and faster-paced. How to pass the time when cut off from non-familial company during the agricultural off-season was not a problem faced by Americans living in cities and towns. Ballads of 40 or 50 stanzas sung with emotional detachment did not prompt contemplation of human frailty. Instead, they prompted thoughts of blowing out one’s brains with one of Mr. Colt’s new revolvers.[224]

The parlor song

The parlor song was, by far, the most popular type of song during the antebellum period. To understand what a “parlor song” is and where it came from, we have to step back a moment to the music being imported into the United States during and shortly after the colonial era.

Much of the British popular music that America was hearing early in the 1800s came from the British theater, especially from comic operas. These songs were usually Scottish folk tunes, Scottish-sounding tunes, or music similar to the sort of easy-to-sing stuff found in such sources as D’Urfey’s *Wit and Mirth*. Also popular were the songs written by Thomas Arne and James Hook and used in the British pleasure gardens. These were written in a simplification of the *bel canto* style,[225] with the frequent addition of a rhythmic device known as a "Scotch snap" to make the melody more lively.[226] These songs were strophic (they had verses and sometimes refrains, both of which had repeated melodies) and diatonic, with few non-scalar notes in the melody or harmony. The harmonies stayed with the common chords of major keys. The songs were full, simple, and graceful, with a bit of rhythmic lilt.

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[224] A good choice. They were repeaters, just in case you missed the first time around.

[225] As a singing style, *bel canto* included, among other things, singing whose accents and emphases are similar to those used in conversation (*i.e.*, its rhythms seem natural rather than artificial) and the use of pauses to achieve clearly articulated phrasing and emphasis. *Bel canto* also included a certain melodic style, a gradual rise from a low pitch to a high one, followed by an equally gradual descent back down. Such a

The lyrics of parlor songs of whatever type were, by our standards, either horribly sentimental or intended to be funny but not succeeding. I'm not sure what to say about the songs that were supposed to be funny but weren't; I suspect that exposure to professional comedians has raised our standards for humor considerably. As to the sentimentality, Tawa makes some important points about that, to which I've added a few of my own.

The times for which the parlor songs were written were very different from today. By our standards, people were poorly educated and unsophisticated. Most people lived all their lives in a fairly small area. and they were surrounded by friends and acquaintances. They tended to accept one another at face value: They hadn't faced enough betrayal and fraud to become cynical.[227] When they did move from home, though, they might well move a long distance from any place and anyone they knew, finding themselves for the first time surrounded by the strange and unfamiliar. People also lived closer to the edge than they do now. Threats

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melodic arch permitted evenness of singing. For a more complete description of *bel canto* as a singing style, see ART MUSIC IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA. Generally, *bel canto* singing emphasized beauty of sound and technical virtuosity

[226] The Scotch snap is a rhythmic pattern created by a short note followed by a longer one, particularly an eighth note followed by a dotted fourth. If you sing "dit-daah, dit-daah, dit-daah, dit-daah, dit-daah, dit-daah, dit-daah," with the emphasis on each "daah," the result will be a series of Scotch snaps.

[227] When someone emerged as a liar and a fraud, the whole town soon knew about it, and his lies ad frauds were guarded against. The offender was ostracized and made to serve as an object lesson to the rest of the town. It was a world in which public evil was recognized and contained. What went on behind closed doors was something else again.

to one's well-being were everywhere: diseases, bank failures, panics, weird foreigners arriving and willing to work for starvation wages, and new inventions that put old jobs to pasture. One quarter of all children never reached adulthood, and a large number of young adults also died. There was no social safety net. If you lost your job during a panic, you could starve to death. Your chances of becoming crippled–and *staying* that way--were enormous compared to today. By comparison with the present day, life was hard and short.

People wanted comfort, reassurance, and emotional catharsis. They also wanted escape from the tough, grinding existence of constant work, danger, and suffering. It's all very well to laugh at songs about dying children and lovers . . . until you remember that it was a rare family without a child that died or a rare young person who didn't have a companion who also had died.[228] And stories about minstrels returning home from the war seem ridiculous . . . until you remember that it might have looked very different to a young woman returning home from a 12-hour shift at a power loom. The constant drumbeat of the "good old days" can get on your nerves . . . until you remember how quickly and violently the antebellum world was changing or that the "good old days" might mean five years ago, when you were still living a thousand miles away, surrounded by family and friends. In a harsh world, family, lovers, and friends were important sources of solace, and threats to them or their loss were very real parts of the social order. There was a lot to be said for a song that gave you a warm snuggly feeling, or a good cry, or a good laugh. George Root, a classically-trained composer who originally tried to write art music, explained the matter this way:

> I saw at once that mine must be the "people's song," still, I am ashamed to say, I shared the feeling that was around me in regard to that grade of music. When Stephen C. Foster's wonderful melodies (as I now see them) began to appear, and the famous Christy's Minstrels began to make them known, I "took a hand in" and wrote a few, but put "G. Friederich Wurzel" (the German for Root) to them

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[228] And let's not forget that childbirth, too, claimed the lives of an extraordinary number of young women. Children may have been a joy forever, but they were also deadly.

> instead of my own name. "Hazel Dell" and "Rosalie, the Prairie Flower" were the best known of those so written. It was not until I imbibed more of Dr. [Lowell] Mason's spirit, and went more among the people of the country, that I saw these things in a truer light, and respected myself, and was thankful when I could write something that all the people would sing.[229]

It's worth pausing for a moment and listening to Root's defense of popular song generally, since he worked in both art music and popular music as a musician, composer, and instructor:

> Friends used to say : "Root, why don't you do something better than 'Hazel Dell,' and things of that grade?" I used to answer: "If you and other musicians wished to use songs of a higher grade, either for teaching or for your own singing, do you suppose you would take mine when you could get Schubert or Franz, or even Abt, at the same price or less?" They were generally silent at that, and then I would tell them that in the elementary stages of music there were tens of thousands of people whose wants would not be supplied at all if there were in the world only such music as they (the critics) would have; but
>
> "Convince a man against his will—
> He's of the same opinion still."
>
> So they continued harping upon the well-worn subject. At last I thought I would publish a song or two above the grade of the "People's song." It was much easier to write where the resources were greater; where I did not have to stop and say, "That interval is too difficult," or "That chord won't do," and I produced two or three that I knew would never be wanted to any extent. But they gave me the opportunity, when the old question came, "Why don't you do something better?" to say "Have you ever .seen or heard of 'Gently, Ah, Gently,' or 'Pictures of Memory?'" To which they would have to

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[229] From George F. Root, THE STORY OF A MUSICAL LIFE: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY (John Church Co.: Cincinnati, 1891), p. 83.

answer "No," and I could say "That is why I do not write 'something better,' as you call it. Neither you nor any one else would know anything about my work on that grade, and I should be wasting my time in trying to supply the wants of a few people, who are already abundantly supplied by the best writers of Europe." Then they would say, "Well, it is nothing to write those little songs." I remember one, especially, then an eminent musician in New York, who said: "I could write a dozen in a day," and, thinking there might be money in it, he did try under a nom de plume. But his dozen or less of "simple songs" slumbered quietly on the shelves of a credulous publisher until they went to the paper mill. It is easy to write correctly a simple song, but so to use the material of which such a song must be made that it will be received and live in the hearts of the people is quite another matter.

Geniuses among musical composers, that is, those who invent and give to the world new forms and harmonies that live, are rare—but two or three appear in a century. Of such, Beethoven in his day and Wagner in this, are conspicuous examples. Then there are great composers, who, although not inventors in the above sense, make use of existing material in such new and wonderful ways that their music not only delights and benefits the world, but is regarded in an important sense as original. Of such it seems to me that Mendelssohn is in the highest rank.

In all grades from the simplest to the highest—from Stephen C. Foster to Wagner, and in every kind of instrumental music, compositions divide themselves into two classes in another way. In one class are the comparatively few compositions having that mysterious vitality of which I have spoken; that power to retain their hold upon the hearts of the people after their companions of the same grade, and by the same composer perhaps, are forgotten. In the other class are those which create a temporary interest if any, and soon pass away. I do not think a composer ever knows when that mysterious life enters his work. If I may judge by my own experience, successes are usually surprises, and the work that we think best while we are doing it, is liable to be considered in a very different light by the public. . . . I am simply one, who, from such resources as he finds within himself, makes music for the people, having always a particular need in view. This, it seems to me, is a

> thing that a person may do with some success, without being either a genius or a great composer.[230]

Don't just judge parlor songs by today's standards; judge them, too, by the standards of the audience they were meant to serve.

The lyrics of parlor songs

The following is a list of the most popular antebellum parlor songs, assembled by Nicholas Tawa. Tawa identified about 1,200 antebellum parlor songs and determined these songs to be the ones most commonly found in private collections of sheet music. Where the lyricist, composer, or arranger are known, w=words (lyricist), m=music (composer), and arr=arranger. Where nothing is known of any of these individuals, I've left a question mark. The songs are arranged by year of first publication in the United States (and, often, the year is Tawa's best estimate of the date). The titles alone can give you some indication of the lyric content of the songs:

1801

Life Let Us Cherish (m. Hans Georg Naegeli)

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[230] Root, A MUSICAL LIFE, pp. 96-98. I can testify as to my own experience with repeated failures of classically-trained musicians to either write or properly play popular music. When I was younger, I heard several art musicians who despised rock try to play it. Uniformly, they stunk . . . because they had no understanding of the music they were trying to play. Even when I told them what they were doing wrong, they *still* couldn't play it properly because they had no feeling for the music, and that came through in every attempt they made. I suspect (and hope) that art musicians today have a better feeling for pop, rock, and jazz than they did 40 years ago (certainly, there are more professional musicians in the art music world who also play vernacular styles of music). To be a musician who has no understanding of, appreciation for, or capacity to play the music of one's own time and place is disgraceful. To then despise what you don't understand is the arrogance of ignorance.

1802

Within a Mile of Edinburgh (w. Tom D'Urfey, m. James Hook)

1803

The Beautiful Maid (w. Thomas Dibdin, m. John Braham)
Bonnie Doon (?)
John Anderson, My Jo (w. Robert Burns, m.arr. Jan Antonin Kozeluch)
The Marseilles Hymn (w&m. Claude Roget de Lisle)
No More Sorrow (m. John Braham)

1804:

All's Well (w. Thomas Dibdin, m. John Braham)
The Wedding Day (m. James Hook)

1805

Auld Lang Syne (w. Robert Burns, *et al*.)
The Bay of Biscay O! (w. Andrew Cherry, m. John Davy)

1807

The Canadian Boat Song (w&m. Thomas Moore)
Henry's Cottage Maid (m. Ignaz Pleyel)
Kate Kearney (w, Mary Owenson, m.arr. John Davy)
Said a Smile to a Tear (m. John Braham)

1808

Thy Blue Waves O'Carron (w. Mr. Rannie, m. John Ross)
Why Does Azure Deck the Sky? (w. Thomas Moore, M.R. Humfrey)

1809

Believe Me. If All Those Endearing Young Charms (w. Thomas

Moore,
m. & arr. Sir John Andrew Stevenson)

1810

The Origin of the Harp (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson)

1811

Love's Young Dream (w. Thomas Moore, m. Sir. John Andrew Stevenson)

1812

Robin Adair (w. Lady Caroline Keppell)
The Song of Fitz-Eustace (m. Dr. John Clarke)

1814

'Tis the Last Rose of Summer (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John Andrew Stevenson)

1817

Blue Eyed Mary (?)
Jessie, The Flow'r O' Dumblane (w. Robert Tanhill, m. Robert A. Smith)
Mary's Tears (w. Thomas Moore, m. Oliver Shaw)
The Soldier's Bride (?)
Sweet Gratitude (w. [Charles? Thomas?] Dibdin, m. James Sanderson)
Tho' Love Is Warm Awhile (m. John Braham)

1818

Eve's Lamentation (m. Matthew Peter King)
Fly to the Desert (w. Thomas Moore, m. George Kiallmark)

Oft in the Stilly Night (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson)
Take This Rose (m. Thomas Van Dyke Wiesenthal)
William Tell (m. John Braham)

1819

Like the Gloom of the Night Retiring (m. Henry R. Bishop)

1820:

Absence (m. Jean Jacques Rousseau,[231] arr. Johann Baptist Cramer)
Come Rest in This Bosom (w.,m.,arr. Thomas Moore)
The Knight Errant (w&m. Hortense de Beauharnais [trans. Walter Scott])
The Meeting of the Waters (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson)
Oh! Say Not That Woman's Heart Is Bought (m. John Whitaker)

1823

The Carrier Pigeon ((w. James Gates Percival, m. Peter K. Moran)
Home! Sweet Home! (w. John Howard Payne, m. Henry R. Bishop)
I Left Thee Where I Found Thee, Love (m. Charles Gilfert)
O Cold Was the Climate (b. John Monro)

1824:

Araby's Daughter (w. Thomas Moore, George Kiallmark)
Isabel (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Henry R. Bishop)
My Heart and Lute ((w, m, arr. Thomas Moore)

1825

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[231] Yes, the French philosopher was also a musician and composer.

Comin' thro' the Rye (?)
The Dashing White Segeant (w. General Burgoyne, m. Henry Rowley Bishop)
Hours There Were (w&m. Joseph Wade)
I See Them on Their Winding Way (w, Bishop Reginald Heber, m. B. Hime)
The Pilgrim Fathers (Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne)

1826

The Ingle Side (w. H. Ainslie, m. Thomas Van Dyke Wiesenthal)

1827

Brignal Banks (w. Walter Scott, m. Dr. Clarke)
Bring Flowers (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. & arr. J. Worsley)
Farewell to My Harp (m. Charles E. Horn)
Hinda's Appeal to Her Lover (w. Thomas Moore, w. George Kiallmark)
Hurrah! for the Bonnets of Blue (m. Alexander Lee)
I'd Be a Butterfly (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly)
The Minstrel's Return'd from the War (w&m. John H. Hewitt)
The Recall (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne)

1828

My Soul Is Dark (w. Lord Byron, m. Cyrus E. Phillips)
Oh! No, We Never Mention Her (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. arr. Henry R. Bishop)
The Tyrolese Evening Hymn (Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne)

1829

The Soldier's Grave (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Thomas Williams)
There's Nothing True but Heaven (w. Thomas Moore, m. Oliver Shaw)

1830:

Alice Gray (m. Mrs. P. Millard)
The Arab Maid (w. A. McGhie, m. George Alexander Hudson)
The Banks of the Blue Moselles (w. Edward Fitzball, m. George Herbert Rodwell)
Behold! How Brightly Breaks the Morning (m. Ganiel Francois Esprit Auber)
The Bride's Farewell (w. M.L. Beevor, m. Thomas Williams)
The Campbells Are Coming (arr. G.T.C.)
The Deep, Deep Sea (m. Charles E. Horn)
Gaily the Troubadour (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly)
The Maid of Llangollen (m. James Clarke)
The Maltese Boatman's Songs (m. L. Devereaux)
The Rose of Allandale (w. Charles Jeffreys, m. Sidney Nelson)
The Soldier's Tear (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Alexander Lee)
The Twilight Dews (w. Thomas Moore, m. Sir John A. Stevenson)
The Watchman (w. Thomas Moore)
Watchman Tell Us of the Night (w. Boring, m. Lowell Mason)
We Met! (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly)

1831

The Evening Gun (w. Thomas Moore, m&arr. Charles Zeuner)
The Mellow Horn (w. C.W. Wyatt, m. Mr. Jones)
Rory O'Moore (w&m. Samuel Lover)

1832

The Captive Knight (Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne)
Do They Miss Me at Home? (w&m. S.M. Grannis)
Go Forget Me Why Should Sorrow (w. Rev. Charles Wolfe, m. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*)
The Green Hills of Tyrol (w. George Linley, m. Giacomo Rossini)

1833

Auld Robin Gray (w. Lady Anne Barnard, m. Alexander Lee)
Away, Away to the Mountain's Brow (m. Alexander Lee)

Dark-Eyed One (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, w. adapted from Daniel Francois Esprit Auber)
Kathleen O'Moore (?)
Long, Long Ago (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly)

1834

Friend of the Brave (w. Thomas Campbell, m. John Wall Callcott)
The Mistletoe Bough (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Henry B. Bishop)
The Spring Time of the Year Is Coming (w&m. C. Thompson)
There Is No Home Like My Own (m. Madame Malibran)

1835:

Ah! Don't Mingle One Human Feeling (m. adapted from Bellini's *La Sonnambula*)
As I View These Scenes So Charming (m., Bellini [*La Somnambula*])
A Highland Minstrel Boy (w. Harry Stoe Van Dyk, m. John Barnett)
My Sister Dear (w. J. Kenny, m. Daniel Francois Esprit Auber, frm. *Masaniello*)
We Have Lived and Loved Together (w. Charles Jeffreys)

1836:

The Angel's Whisper (w. & arr. Samuel Lover)
The Bird at Sea (Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Christopher Meinecke)
The Carrier Dove (m. Daniel Johnson)
Here's a Health to Thee, Mary (w. Barry Cornwall, m. George Herbert Rodwell)
Love Not! (Mrs. Caroline Norton, m. John Blockley)
Some Love to Roam o'er the Dark Sea Foam (w. Charles Mackay, m. Henry Russell)
We Have Been Friends Together (Mrs. Caroline Norton, m. Henry Russell)
Wind of the Winter Night, Whence Comest Thou? (w. Charles Makay, m. Henry Russell)

1837

The Light Bark (w. Miss A. Mahony, m. John Thomas Craven)
The Light of Other Days (w. Alfred Bunn, m. Michael W. Balfe)
Pensez a Moi (m. James G. Drake)
A Place in Thy Memory, Dearest (m. Miss Smith)
She Wore a Wreath of Roses (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Joseph Philip Knight)
Woodman! Spare That Tree (w. George P. Morris, m. Henry Russell)

1838

Flow Gently, Sweet Afton (w. Robert Burns, m. James E. Spilman)
The Ivy Green (w. Charles Dickens, m. Henry Russell)
A Life on the Ocean Wave (w. Epes Sergent, m. Henry Russell)
When Stars Are in the Quiet Skies (w. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, m. Alexander Ball)

1839

Mary of Argyle (w. Charles Jeffreys, m. Sidney Nelson)
Near the Lake Where Drooped the Willow (w. George P. Morris, m. arr. Charles E. Horn)

1840

Kathleen Mauvourneen (w. Mrs. Annie Crawford, m. F. Nicholls Crouch)
The Lament of the Irish Emigrant (w. Mrs. Price Blackwood, William R. Dempster)
The Last Man (w. Thomas Campbell, m. William H. Callcott)
Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep (w. Mrs. Willard, m. Joseph Philip Knight)

1841

The Old Sexton (w. Park Benjamin, m. Henry Russell)
The Willow Song (w. J. Wesley Hanson, m. I.N. Metcalf)

1842

The Blind Boy (w. Hannah F Gould, m. William R. Dempster)
My Boyhood's Home (w. J.T. Haines, m. William M. Rooke)

1843

The Grave of Bonaparte (w. Henry S. Washburn, m. Lyman Heath)
'Tis Midnight Hour (m. by an Amateur)
Joys That We've Tasted (?)
Molly Bawn (w&m. Samuel Lover)
The Old Granite State (w&m. the Hutchinson Family)

1844

The Blue Juniata (w&m. Marion Dix Sullivan)
He Doeth All Things Well (w. F.M.E., m. Isaac Baker Woodbury)
I Dreamt That I Dwelt in Marble Halls (w. Alfred Bunn, m. Michael Balfe)

1845:

Annie Lawrie (m. Lady John Scott)
I'll Hang My Harp on a Willow Tree (arr. W. Guernsey)
The May Queen (w. Alfred Lord Tennyson, m. William R. Dempster)

1846

The Indian's Prayer (m. Isaac Baker Woodbury)
Oh, Were I a Bird ((w&m. J.T.D. Sullivan)

1847

Be Kind to the Loved Ones at Home (w&m. Isaac Baker Woodbury)
Jamie's on the Stormy Sea (m. Bernard Covert)
My Home, My Happy Home (m. George A. Hodson)

1848

I’d Offer Thee This Hand of Mine (m. L.T. Chadwick)
Oh Cast That Shadow from Thy Brow (?)

1849

The Lone Starry Hours (w. Marshall S, Pike, m. James Power)
Nelly Bly (w&m. Stephen C. Foster)
Nelly Was a Lady (w&m. Stephen C. Foster)
The Old Arm Chair (w. Eliza Cook, m. Henry Russell)

1850

Home Again (w&m. Marshall S. Pike, arr. John P. Ordway)
I’ve Left the Snow-Clad Hills (w&m. George Linley)
The Conscript’s Departure (w. Charles Jeffreys, m. Charles W. Glover)
When the Swallows Homeward Fly (m. Franz Abt)

1851:

Allan Percy or It Was a Beauteous Lady (?)
Katy Darling (w. J.C. Greenham)
Old Folks at Home (w&m. Stephen C. Foster)

1852

Ever of Thee (w. George Linley, m. Foley Hall)
Lilly Dale (w&m. H.S. Thompson)

1853

The Hazel Dell (w&m. George Root)
Old Dog Tray (w&m. Stephen C. Foster)

1855

Listen to the Mockingbird (w.& arr. Septimus Winner, m. Richard Milburn)

Rosalie, the Prairie Flower (w&m. George Root)

1856

Darling Nellie Gray (w&m. Benjamin Russell Hanby)
Gentle Annie (w&m. Stephen Foster)

For the most part, amateur poets were the lyricists (although the poems of such writers as Robert Burns, Lord Tennyson, and John Greenleaf Whittier were occasionally set to music, too). There are songs of knights, minstrels, Arabs, and seafarers; of lovers adored, won, lost, parted, and deceased; of times and places past but fondly remembered; of home and family; of nature; of danger and struggle; of yearning, waiting, and loss; of god and saints; and of hope. More than anything else, *they find the Romantic imminent in the sordid and difficult world of the antebellum era: They make reality worth living in*. It’s easy to be glib about that notion but, then, we don’t have to live in that world.

Songs about love and affection are the most common. Early in the parlor era, when British composers predominated, these songs were relatively light. Over time, however, they became more serious and somber; separation, betrayal, and loss began to figure more strongly in parlor songs. Given the growing centrality of a family based on bonds of love and affection, songs about the mutability of love were particularly disturbing. References to physical contact between lovers were avoided, especially in the later antebellum era. Favored women in the songs, usually from the lower or middle class, were idealized and often depicted as constant in love (to the point of dying when love is lost), with hearts not swayed by mere money. Disfavored women were foreign, dark. fascinating, and fickle. Men were active and about their business . . . and not always trustworthy. Lovers were seen meeting, parting (temporarily or permanently), waiting for the other, and suffering love lost or the death of the other. Nature often reflected the course of the romantic relationship, bright and cheerful or dark and foreboding. Later in the antebellum era, love of family (especially mother) and friends, places, and treasured objects reminding one of loved persons became more prominent. Laments for lost loved ones and acquaintances, for the illusions of youth, and for the familiar also became more common, as did songs about estrangement and loss. Social commentary and songs about reform were much less common than other subjects, but there were such songs (particularly songs against alcohol). The Romantic Age was taking hold as the antebellum era evolved, and the subjects of parlor songs reflected that.

A few examples of the lyrics of parlor songs will give a more concrete picture of the ways in which these songs handled their themes. The first one is an early parlor song of nature and danger:

The Bay of Biscay O! (1805):

Loud roar'd the dreadful thunder,
The rain a deluge showers;
The clouds were rent asunder,
By lightining's vivid pow'rs.
The night both drear and dark,
Our poor deluded bark
Till next day
There she lay
In the Bay of Biscay O!

Now dash'd upon the billow,
Our op'ning timbers creak;
Each fears a wat'ry pillow,
None stop the dreadful leak.
To cling to slippery shrouds,
Each breathless seaman crowds,
As she lay
Till the day
In the Bay of Biscay O!

At length the wish'ed-for morrow,
Broke thro' the hazy sky,
Absorb'd in silent sorrow
Each heav'd the bitter sigh.
The dismal wreck to view,
Struck horror to the crew,
As she lay
On that day
In the Bay of Biscay O!

Her yielding timbers sever
        Her pitchy seams are rent,
When heav'n all bounteous ever
        Its boundless mercy sent.
        A sail in sight appears
        We hail here with three cheers
                Now we sail
                With the gale
From the Bay of Biscay O![232]

Given the world's dangers and the stresses put on romantic attachments, a lover wants to be sure that the other's heart is true before committing oneself whole-heartedly. The following song attempts to give such assurance:

Believe Me, If All Those Endearing Young Charms (1809)

Believe me, if all those endearing young charms,
        Which I gaze on so fondly today,
Were to change by tomorrow and fleet in my arms,
        Like fairy gifts fading away
Thou woudlst still be ador'd as this moment thou art,
        Let thy loveliness fade as it will,
And around the dear ruin each wish of my heart
        Would entwine itself verdantly still.

It is not while beauty and youth are thine own,
        And thy cheeks unprofan'd by a tear,
That the fervour and faith of a soul can be known,
        To which time will make thee more dear!
Oh! the heart, that has truly lov'd, never forgets,
        But as truly loves on to the close;
As the sun-flower turns on her god, when he sets,

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[232] From Tawa, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS, pp. 224-25.

The same look which she turn'd when he rose![233]

The tune used for "Believe Me, If All Those Endearing Young Charms" was taken from the Irish song "My Lodging Is on the Cold, Cold Ground."[234] The parlor song popularized the tune, and it was frequently used as the air for other songs, such as Samuel Gilman's college ode, "Fair Harvard." The lyricist for "Believe Me, If All Those Endearing Young Charms," Thomas Moore, is also the lyricist for the next one. Moore was the most popular lyricist of the period until the appearance of Stephen Foster:

The Last Rose of Summer (1814)

'Tis the last rose of summer.
Left blooming alone;
All her lovely companions
Are faded and gone.
No flow'r of her kindred,
No rose-bud is nigh,
To reflect back her blushes,
Or give sigh for sigh.

I'll not leave thee, thou lone one,
To pine on the stem;
Since the lovely are sleeping,
Go, sleep thou with them;
Thus kindly I scatter
Thy leaves o'er the bed,
Where thy mates of the garden
Lie scentless and dead.

---

[233] From Thomas Moore, MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES, arr. Sir John Stevenson (Oliver Ditson: Boston, n.d.), pp. 56-57.

[234] It was also used in a running gag in Warner Brothers cartoons, which is where I first heard the song. That is to say, I heard part of the first line. After that, an explosion interrupted the proceedings. It was a very unusual arrangement for a parlor song, and it added considerable excitement to the piece.

So soon may I follow,
    When friendships decay,
And from Love's shining circle
    The gems drop away!
When true hearts lie wither'd,
    And fond ones are flown,
Oh! who would inhabit
    This bleak world alone![235]

Ultimately, this is a song not about loss but of the value of love and friendship, which alone make the world tolerable. A strong statement about the nature of true love comes from the same author:

Come, Rest in This Bosom (1820)

Come, rest in this bosom,
My own stricken deer,
Tho' the herd have fled from thee,
Thy home is still here;
Here still is the smile
That no cloud can o'ercast,
And the heart and the hand,
All thy own to the last.

Oh, what was love made for,
If 'tis not the same,
Through joy and through torments,
Through glory and shame;
I know not, I ask not,
If guilt's in that heart,
I but know that I love thee,
Whatever thou art.

Thou hast call'd me thy angel,

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[235] From Thomas Moore, MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES, arr. Sir John Stevenson (Oliver Ditson: Boston, n.d.), pp. 122-23.

In moments of bliss,
Still thy angel I'll be,
Mid the horrors of this;
Through the furnace unshrinking,
Thy steps to pursue,
And shield thee, and save thee,
Or perish there too.[236]

And in the parlor universe, true love's head is not turned by mere wealth:

I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls

I dreamt I dwelt in marble halls,
With vassals and serfs by my side;
And of all who assembled within those walls,
That I was the hope and pride.

I had riches too great to count, could boast,
Of a high ancestral name;
But I also dreamt which pleas'd me most,
That you lov'd me still the same,
That you lov'd me, you lov'd me still the same,
That you lov'd me, you lov'd me still the same.

I dreamt that suitors sought my hand,
That knights upon bended knee,
And with vows no maiden heart could withstand,
They pledged their faith to me.
And I dreamt that one of that noble host,
Came forth my hand to claim;
But I also dreamt, which charmed me most,
That you lov'd me . . . lov'd me, still the same.[237]

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[236] Moore, MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES, p. 160.

[237] From Tawa, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS, pp. 244-47, and William J. Mahar, BEHIND THE BURNT CORK MASK: EARLY BLACKFACE MINSTRELSY AND ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE (Univ. of Illinois:

But the parlor universe also sees the sort of overwrought love that's only fit for the lunatic asylum:

The Minstrel's Return'd from the War (1827)

The minstrel 's returned from the war,
With spirits as buoyant as air,
And thus on his tuneful guitar,
He sung in the bower of his fair:
"The noise of the battle is over,
The bugle no more calls to arms;
A soldier no more—but a lover,
I bend to the power of thy charms.

Sweet lady, fair lady, I 'm thine,
I bend to the magic of beauty,
Tho' the banner and helmet are mine,
Yet love calls the soldier to duty."

The minstrel his suit warmly pressed,
She blushed, sighed, and hung down her head;
Till conquered she fell on his breast,
And thus to the happy youth said:
"The bugle shall part us, love, never,
My bosom thy pillow shall be,
Till death tears thee from me forever;
Still faithful, I'll perish with thee."

Sweet lady, fair lady, I 'm thine,
I bend to the magic of beauty,
Tho' the banner and helmet are mine,
Yet love calls the soldier to duty."

But fame called the youth to the field;
His banner waved high o'er his head;

Urbana, IL, 1999), pp. 151-52.

He gave his guitar for a shield,
And soon he lay low with the dead,
While she, o'er her young hero bending,
Received his expiring adieu:
"I die whilst my country defending,
But I die to my lady love true."

"Oh, death ! (then she cried,) I am thine,
I tear off the roses of beauty;
The grave of my hero is mine,
For he died true to love and to duty.[238]

“The Minstrel’s Return’d from the War” is sometimes called the first international hit, thus proving that martial lunacy is not a defining characteristic of Americans (although World War I proved that even more definitively).[239] The composer, John H. Hewitt, was a northerner born in England who adopted the South as his home. His song was this sort of Walter Scott-like schlock that Romanticized war and death, and it helped prime the South for the idiocy and horrors of the Civil War.[240]

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[238] From a broadside sheet, with “The Distress’d Maid,” found at https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:280001/, retrieved 12/24/16.

[239] It’s hard today to appreciate what an international big deal Scott was. Operas were written from his poems and stories: Rossini’s *La Donna del Lago*, Bellini’s *Il Puritani*, Donizatti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Boiedieu’s *La Dame Blanche*, Flotow’s *Rob Roy*, Marschner’s *Der Templer und die Jüdenl* are just a few. Such art composers as Schubert and Benjamin Carr set his poems to music. In the United States, his works were turned into plays, including *Marmion* (1812), *The Lady of the Lake* (1812), *Guy Mannering* (1815), and *Rob Roy* (1817). The world went nuts over love stories intermingled with romanticized violence . . . all of which made red blooded men itch to try their hand at *real* violence. Which is much like today. A string of movies from *Dirty Harry* through *Bad Boys* has prompted men living hardscrabble lives to stock up on semi-automatic weapons in the hope that they’ll have the chance to avenge the slights they’ve suffered by blowing away some would-be burglar (or shooting down a black helicopter).

Charles Hamm demonstrates conclusively in his excellent book, YESTERDAYS: POPULAR SONG IN AMERICA, that Hewitt was a sort of walking history of antebellum popular song by virtue of his mimicking every new trend as it appeared. He began with the square, one-note-to-the-syllable stage song of Arne, Thomas, and Dibdin ("Farewell, Since We Must Part" [1829]); turned to the breezy, lightly comic style of Henry Bishop when that proved popular (("Girls Beware" [1832]); churned out some *bel canto* when opera had its day ("They Told Me to Shun Him" [1834]); penned a response song to Henry Russell's "Woodman! Spare That Tree" ("Fall of the Oak" [1841]); wrote some Alpine yodeling after American visits by the Tyrolese minstrels ("The Alpine Horn" [1843]); turned out a folk-like number in seeming imitation of the Hutchinson Family ("Ho! For a Rover's Life"

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[240] "The Minstrel's Return'd from the War" was by no means Hewitt's only excess. "The Knight of the Raven Black Plume" was a dandy, but my favorite is "The Bridesmaid," in which a song *apparently* set in 19th century America finds a bridesmaid, waiting for her lover, thinking the following:

> He comes–I know his gallant mien,
> His helmet, sword and spear;
> I know him by his doublet green
> My own brave cavalier!

Lord only knows where the heck a helmet, sword, and spear came from in antebellum America. There is some serious psychological disturbance going on here, and we need to tip-toe away quietly and hope we're not heard.

Jon W. Finson hypothesizes that this kind of confusion is the product of a Romantic yearning for the exotic, the new-found middle class's separation of the roles of men and women (with women increasingly confined to domestic duties and men "errant" in the world), and middle-class attempts to ape the manners of the gentry and aristocracy. See Finson, THE VOICES THAT ARE GONE, p. 23. I don't deny that this may be true. I'll only point out that you can get the same result from eating the wrong sort of mushroom.

[1843]);[241] created songs for a minstrel troupe ("Where the Sweet Magnolia Grows" [1848]); and cranked out a dandy parody of Stephen Foster's "I Would Not Die in Spring Time" ("I Would Not Die at All" [1852]). Hamm also makes clear that Hewitt was a superb craftsman who succeeded in absorbing these styles and creating something distinctly American, as can be seen in his revered Civil War song, "All Quiet along the Potomac" (1864).

An alternative to romanticizing the horrors of the world was to pretend that you could simply walk away from them . . . or swim away:

The Deep, Deep Sea (1830)

O! come with me, my love,
And our fairy home shall be
Where the water spirits rove,
In the deep, deep sea!

There are jewels rich and rare,
In the caverns of the deep;
And to braid thy raven hair,
Where the pearl treasures sleep.
In a tiny man-of-war,
Thou shalt stem the ocean wide;
Or in a crystal car,
Like a queen in all her pride.

Oh! come with me, my love,
And our fairy home shall be
Where the water spirits rove,
In the deep, deep sea!

Ah! believe that love may dwell

---

[241] Hewitt also imitated the Hutchinsons in that he wrote political songs. His, however, were *anti*abolitionist. He'd attended West Point with Lee, Jackson, Johnson, and Beauregard, and he sided with the South in the War. His judgment was no better than his musical taste.

Where the coral branches twine;
And that every wreathed shell
Breathes a tune so soft as thine.
Hope, as fond as thou would prove,
Truth as bright as e'er was told;
Hearts as warm as those above,
Dwell under the waters cold.

Oh! come with me, my love,
And our fairy home shall be
Where the water spirits rove,
In the deep, deep sea![242]

The parlor composers also proved that it was possible to look to the other side of the world and feel nostalgia for a place never before seen:

The Green Hills of Tyrol (1832)

Green hills of Tyrol! again I see
The home of childhood so dear to me;
Again I press your verdant shade,
Where oft my footsteps have wildly stray'd.
Once more I am near him,
My own one! my fond one!
Again I shall hear him
Love's accents repeat;
While to his sighs
My heart replies,
And every glance is soft and sweet.
Green hills of Tyrol!, &c.

From yonder woodlands, sounding clear,

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[242] Found at *Ballads Online* sponsored by Oxford's Bodleian Library, at http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01750.gif, retrieved 12/24/16.

His merry bugle note I hear;
With eye of hawk, and falchion keen,
He comes ! he comes, my Tyrolien!
Once more I behold him,
My dear one! my fond one!
To my bosom I 'll fold him,
My own Tyrolien!
Haste ! haste, my love! why linger now?
The sun is shedding his parting glow;
The chamois seeks his peaceful glade,
And homeward wanders the mountain maid.

Oh! come, then, and cheer me,
My own one! my fond one!
Again thou shalt hear me sing love's tender strain,
While every note my lips repeat,
As soft and sweet thou 'lt breathe again;
Then haste, my love! why linger now?
The sun is shedding, &c.
Hark, hark, I hear his well-known cry,
While answering echo makes reply.
Now, now, he waves his scarf of green,
He comes! he comes, my Tyrolien!
Once more I behold him, &c.[243]

The Chinese willow came to the United States during the antebellum era. Its drooping profile made it a natural as a Romantic symbol of death:

Near the Lake Where Drooped the Willow (1939)

Near the lake where droop'd the willow,
Long time ago!
Where the rock there threw back the billow,

---

[243] Found at *English Ballads*, the National Library of Scotland, at http://digital.nls.uk/english-ballads/pageturner.cfm?id=74893075&mode=transcription, retrieved 12/24/16.

Higher than snow;
Dwelt a maid, belov'd and cherish'd,
By high and low;
But with autumn's leaf, she perish'd,
Long time ago!

Rock and tree and flowing water,
Long time ago!
Bird and bee and blossom taught her,
Love's spell to know!
While to my fond words she listen'd,
Murmuring low,
Tenderly her dove eyes glisten'd
Long time ago!

Mingled were our hearts forever!
Long time ago!
Can I now forget her? never!
No, lost one, no!
To her grave these tears are given,
Forever to flow!
She's the star I miss'd from heaven,
Long time ago![244]

The most famous song using the willow/death motif was "Listen to the Mockingbird":

I'm dreaming now of Hally, sweet Hally, sweet Hally,
I'm dreaming now of Hally,
For the thought of her is one that never dies;
She's sleeping in the valley, the valley, the valley,
She's sleeping in the valley,
And the mocking bird is singing where she lies

ch: Listen to the mocking bird,

---

[244] From Tawa, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS, pp. 260-64.

Listen to the mocking bird,
The mocking bird still singing o'er her grave;
Listen to the Mocking bird,
Listen to the mocking bird,
Still singing where the weeping willows wave.

Ah! Well I yet remember, remember, remember,
Ah! Well I yet remember
When we gather'd in the cotton side by side;
'Twas in the mild September, September, September,
'Twas in the mild September,
And the mocking bird was singing far and wide.

(chorus)

When the charms of spring awaken, awaken, awaken,
When the charms of spring awaken,
And the mocking bird is singing on the bough,
I feel like one forsaken, forsaken, forsaken,
I feel like one forsaken,
Since my Hally is no longer with me now.

(chorus)[245]

Not all partings were the result of death. Americans in search of work and Irish looking to escape starvation for themselves and send money to loved ones back home often had to part from the those they loved:

Kathleen Mauvourrneen (1840)

Kathleen Mauvourrneen! the grey dawn is breaking,

---

[245] The lyrics were written by Septimus Winner, writing under the name "Alice Hawthorne." The melody was composed by Richard Milburn, an African-American street musician. These lyrics were found on 7/14/17 at
http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/sheetmusic/840/.

The horn of the Hunter is heard on the hill
The lark from her light wing the bright dew is shaking.
Kathleen Mauvourrneen! what, slumbering still.

Oh, hast thou forgotten how soon we must sever?
Oh, hast thou forgotten this day we must part?
It may be for Years, and it may be forever,
Oh, why art thou silent, thou voice of my heart?
It may be for Years, and it may be forever,
Oh, why art thou silent, Kathleen Mauvourrneen?

Kathleen Mauvourrneen! Awake from thy slumbers,
The blue mountains glow in the Sun's golden light.
Ah! where is the spell that once hung on my numbers,
Arise in thy beauty, thou star of my night.
Arise in thy beauty, thou star of my night.

Mauvourrneen, Mauvourrneen, my sad tears are falling,
To think that from Erin and thee I must part;
It may be for Years, and it may be forever,
Then why art thou silent thou voice of my heart;
It may be for Years, and it may be forever,
Then why art thou silent, Kathleen Mauvourrneen?[246]

The Irish weren't the only minority group addressed in parlor songs. Native Americans were greatly Romanticized:

The Blue Juniata (1844)

Wild rov'd an Indian girl,
    Bright Alfarain,
Where sweep the waters
    of the blue Juniata.
Swift as an Antelope,
Thro' the forest going,

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[246] From Tawa, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS, pp. 248-53.

Loose were her jetty locks
In wavy tresses flowing.

Gay was the mountain song
    Of bright Alfarain,
Where sweep the waters
    Of the blue Juniata,
Strong and true my arrows are
In my painted quiver,
Swift goes my light canoe
Adown the rapid river.

Bold is my warrior good,
    The love of Alfarain,
Proud waves gus snowy plume
    Along the Juniata,
Soft and low he speaks to me,
And then his war-cry sounding,
Rings his voice in thunder loud
From height to height re-sounding.

So sang the Indian girl,
    Bright Alfarain,
Where sweep the waters
    Of the blue Juniata.
Fleeting years have borne away
The voice of Alfarain,
Still sweeps the river on
Blue Juniata.[247]

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[247] From Tawa, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS, pp. 231-32. Natives appearing in parlor songs generally took the form of either noble Indians or of Indians passing away into history. See Finson, THE VOICES THAT ARE GONE, Chapter 7, “The Romantic Savage: American Indians in the Parlor.” “The Blue Juniata” is of the “Noble Indian” variety. This is the sort of thing you’re reduced to when you look at world through Romantic lenses.

When a loved one is lost, the love once showered on her or him may be transferred to an object associated with that person:

The Old Arm-Chair (1849)

I love it, I love, and who shall dare
To chide me for loving that old arm chair;
I've treasured it long as a holy prize,
I've be-dewed it with tears, I've embalmed it with sighs,
'Tis bound by a thousand bands to my heart,
Not a tie will break, not a link will start,
Would ye learn the spell,–a mother sat there,
And a sacred thing is that old arm-chair.

In childhood's home, I linger'd near
The hallow'd seat with list'ning ear;
And gentle words that mother would give,
To fit me to die. and teach me to live.
She told me shame would never betide,
With truth for my creed, and God for my guide:
She taught me to lisp my earliest pray'r,
As I knelt beside that old arm-chair.

I sat and watch'd her many a day.
When her eye grew dim, and her locks were gray;
And I almost worship'd her when she smil'd.
And turn'd from her Bible to bless her child.
Years roll'd on, but the last one sped--
My idol was shatter'd, my earth-star fled:
I learn'd how much the heart can bear,
When I saw her die in that old aim-chair.

'Tis past! 'tis past ! but I gaze on it now
With quivering breath and throbbing brow;
'Twas there she nurs'd me, 'twas there she died,
And mem'ry flows with lava tide.
Say it is folly, and deem me weak,
While the scalding drops start down my cheek;

But I love it, I love it, and cannot tear
My soul from a mother's old arm-chair.[248]

It would be unpardonable to leave this collection of lyrics without a contribution from one of the greatest composers of the period, Stephen Foster:

Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair (1854)

I dream of Jeanie with the light brown hair,
Borne, like a vapor, on the summer air;
I see her tripping where the bright streams play,
Happy as the daisies that dance on her way.
        Many were the wild notes her merry voice would pour,
        Many were the blithe birds that warbled them o'er;
Oh! I dream of Jeanie with the light brown hair,
Floating like a vapor on the summer air.

I long for Jeanie with the day-dawn smile,
Radiant in gladness, warm with winning guile;
I hear her melodies like joys gone by,
Sighing round my heart o'er the fond hopes that die;--
        Sighing like the night wind and sobbing like the rain,--
        Waling for the lost one that comes not again;
Oh! I long for Jeanie and my heart bows low,
Never more to find her where the bright waters flow.

I sigh for Jeanie but her light form strayed
Far from the fond hearts round her native glade;

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[248] From ONE HUNDRED SONGS, MUSIC AND WORDS BY HENRY RUSSELL (Davidson's, Peter's Hill, Doctors' Commons: London, n.d.), p. 12. There are two sorts of sob songs in the parlor genre. One seems to have an essence of genuine emotion, even if overwrought. The other, like Della Cruscan poetry, makes Romantic gestures for effect while secretly dabbing onion juice on the eyes for its tears. "The Old Arm Chair" reeks of onion juice.

Her smiles have vanished and her sweet songs flown,
Fitting like the dreams that have cheered us and gone.
Now the nodding wild flowers may wither on the shore
While her gentle fingers will cull them no more;
Oh! I sigh for Jeanie with the light brown hair,
Floating like a vapor, on the soft summer air.[249]

Did Jeanie move away? Did she die? Did she marry someone else? The song, like many songs of loss of the period, does not tell us. All that matters is that she is gone.

Finally, one last song by Foster is necessary, one lying somewhat outside our time period but well within the parlor song tradition. "Beautiful Dreamer" is the apotheosis of placing woman on a pedestal, where she cannot be sullied by the crude world below.[250] This was the last song written by Stephen Foster shortly before his death:

Beautiful Dreamer (1864)

Beautiful dreamer, wake unto me,
Starlight and dewdrops are waiting for thee;
Sounds of the rude world heard in the day,
Lull'd by the moonlight have all pass'd away.
Beautiful dreamer, queen of my song,
List while I woo thee with soft melody;
Gone are the cares of life's busy throng,
Beautiful dreamer, awake unto me!
Beautiful dreamer, awake unto me!

Beautiful dreamer, out on the sea
Mermaids are chaunting the wild lorelie;
Over the streamlet vapors are borne,

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[249] Richard Jackson, ed., intro, & notes, STEPHEN FOSTER SONG BOOK: ORIGINAL SHEET MUSIC OF 40 SONGS BY STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER (Dover: New York, 1974), pp. 53-58.

[250] Translation: The woman stays at home where she belongs and has no opportunity to get to know the guy down the street better.

Waiting to fade at the bright coming morn.
Beautiful dreamer, beam on my heart,
E'er as the morn on the streamlet and sea;
Then will all clouds of sorrow depart.
Beautiful dreamer, awake unto me!
Beautiful dreamer, awake unto me![251]

The song tells the listener that it is possible to create a quiet, peaceful space away from the world–but only the female can stay there forever.

What comes through in these songs is a strong sense of loss, nostalgia for what was lost, and a yearning for grace and beauty in a difficult world. To satisfy that yearning for something better, poetic speech, the manners of chivalry, and exotic places and behaviors were overlaid onto the world as given. By our standards, the resulting songs are hopelessly unrealistic and sentimental. We prefer what we believe to be reality in our songs: a frank approach to love and sex, confronting the individual's and the society's problems directly, and a willingness to turn over rocks and see what nastiness scurries out. Given lives that, by 19th century standards, are wondrous and blessed, we're willing to confront our difficulties.[252] Americans of the antebellum era were faced with such a large number of intractable problems that glossing over reality as much as possible was far preferable to looking it straight in the eye.

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[251] Jackson, STEPHEN FOSTER SONG BOOK, pp. 5-9.

[252] Indeed, our lack of difficulties, such as few physical challenges for the average middle class male in the 21st century, is largely responsible for the growing popularity of action movies, electronic games, cosplay, re-enactors, the Society for Creative Anachronisms, and similar ways of vicariously burning off testosterone. The down side of all of this is that involvement in vicarious violence–along with a media that scours the world to bring a big daily dose of violence to every man, woman, and child--leaks into our perception of reality and makes the world seem to be a far more dangerous place than it actually is. When you tell people that violence has been declining since the Renaissance (even considering two world wars in the 20th century) and that the current era is the least violent on record, they look at you as though you've lost your mind. If you don't believe me about the current level of violence, check out the outrageously thorough and well-researched work of Steven Pinker, THE BETTER ANGELS OF OUR NATURE: WHY VIOLENCE HAS DECLINED (Penguin: New York, rpt. 2012). Everyone

The music of parlor songs

As regards the music of parlor songs, Tawa's analysis is quite detailed and thorough. But one more general point he makes is essential for understanding parlor songs and their musical appeal. A popular parlor song (and, indeed, this is true of popular music of every sort) seemed simultaneously novel and familiar. It was novel insofar as each melody was its own creature; nothing exactly like it had been done before. But it was familiar in that it was built from a series of gestures and phrases that had been heard in other popular songs. *To write popular music, you have to be so immersed in its tropes that you instinctively write within that tradition*. This is why those art composers who do not have easy familiarity with popular music have such difficulty writing it.[253] Within a limited harmonic vocabulary and relying on long-used melodic fragments (and writing for amateur musicians with limited performing skills), the popular composer must deploy limited resources not only to create something new but to also create something that captures the imagination of the public. This is an enormously difficult task, and dismissing it as simple merely because the building blocks used are harmonically and melodically simple shows an ignorance of the nature of the task

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says don't trust the media . . . and then they believe in the world the media gives them.

[253] *Every* music–country, jazz, rock, and so on–has its own patterns and forms, many of which can only be discovered from the inside. Take, for example, the so-called "blue note" of jazz and the blues Well, there is no such thing. When the blues is sung *within the tradition*, there are several notes that can be flatted, and these can be flatted to varying degrees, depending upon how you arrived at the note melodically, how you plan to leave it, and upon the sort of emotion and emotional weight it is expected to carry. There is no singular "blue note": There is only a style of singing or playing with unspoken rules for when and how notes may be flatted. People who sing blues songs without long involvement with them invariably sing them wrong.

The "Scotch songs" and other popular songs from the ballad operas and the more elegant songs of the pleasure gardens were the musical basis of most parlor songs. A few melodies came from operas, other art music, or folk sources. Like the songs they sprang from, most American parlor songs (1) avoided large or unusual jumps in the melody, (2) stayed within a range of about an octave or a little more, (3) were built of relatively brief or moderate-length melodic phrases of four or eight measures, (4) were strophic, and (5) had repeated refrains. Harmonies were fairly simple, often sticking to the tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords, with maybe some supertonic thrown in (*i.e.*, the I-V-IV-II chords).[254] There were few accidentals and little modulation (*i.e.*, you didn't venture outside the home key). All of this made the parlor song easy to sing, easy to play, and easy to remember.

British parlor songs were somewhat more musically sophisticated, especially after 1840. There was a minority audience (perhaps about 15% of the public) that wanted generous amounts of "elegance" in their songs, and British composers obliged them. These more complex songs included chords more harmonically distant from the tonic, which also meant that the songs increased the number of accidentals in the melody (*i.e.*, notes outside the home key) and often increased the number of modulations to new keys. The songs also included a more "poetic" vocabulary, and more elevated subjects than the run-of-the-mill parlor song. Such songs were favored by those in the middle class who hoped to improve or solidify their class position by selecting popular music that had some resemblances to the art music of the wealthy. These songs were not so different from the usual run of popular song that they invited accusations of snobbery, but they were sufficiently "classy" (the music's buyers hoped) that they raised the buyer slightly from the lowing heard. Such songs were also more difficult to perform, further distinguishing the blessed creatures who executed such music from the run-of-the-mill piano torturer. Examples of the more complex type of parlor song include “Kathleen Mauvourneen,” “Would I Were with Thee,” “Can I Forget to Love Thee, Mary?,” and “The Church Bell.” Even in the more complex parlor songs, however, the piano part remained subordinate to the vocal part. The vocal was always highlighted because the lyrics were central to the parlor song.

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[254] The supertonic is the fifth of the tonic's fifth. For example, in Cmaj, the fifth note of the scale is G. The fifth note of the Gmaj scale is D. Thus, the Dmaj chord is the fifth of the fifth of C. After the fifth of the fifth, the next chord that might be added in a parlor song would by the fifth of the sixth. Since the sixth note of the Cmaj scale is A and the fifth of A is E, that means that the Emaj chord would most likely be the next chord added to a parlor song written in Cmaj.

Tawa finds six melodic shapes in about half of the opening phrases of the most popular parlor songs. He considers opening phrases to be the most important melodic phrases in these strophic songs, since they generally occur at least three times, given the common melodic phrase forms AA^1 AA^1 BA^1 (*Old Folks at Home*) and AA^1 BA^1 (*Flow Gently, Sweet Afton*), where A is the phrase with a half cadence ending, A^1 is the phrase with a perfect cadence ending, and B is an entirely different phrase. The six melodic phrase openings are as follows (illustrations are given in the key of Cmaj):

1. The melody begins on the stressed 5 of the scale (in Cmaj, that would be a g), sometimes preceded by an unstressed, upbeat 1 or 3-4 (c or e-f), rises to an 8 (c^l, that is, the c an octave higher than the tonic c), and then gradually returns to 5 (in the A^1 version, the full cadence return is to 1, that is, c). This is the most common melodic pattern in parlor songs (exs., *Do They Miss Me at Home?* and *When I Saw Sweet Nellie Home*). Variations include a starting 5, a rise to 8, then a downward move through 6 (a) and 5, ending in 2 (in Cmaj, d; ex., *Massas’s in de Cold Ground*).
2. The melody begins on 5 as the first stressed note but rises to 3 (e^l, that is, the e an octave and a third above the tonic note), then moves down to close on the 5 (exs., *O Give Me a Home by the Sea*) or, after stressing the five, close on 2 or 1 (exs., *Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep* or *O’er the Far Blue Mountain*).
3. The melody begins on 3 as the first stressed note, then rises to 5, and descends to 2 or 1 (exs., *The Voice of Bygone Days* or *He Doeth All Things Well*).
4. The melody begins on 3 as the first stressed note, then rises to 4, returns to 3, and descends to 1 or 2 (exs., *The Old Arm Chair* or *Let Me Kiss Him for His Mother*).

5. The melody begins on 3 as the first stressed note, then descends to 1 before rising or descending to 5. Some may then close on 1 or 2 (exs., *The Blind Boy*, *Kitty Clyde*, and *The Rose of Allendale*).
6. The melody begins on an upbeat, sounds 1 on the first stressed syllable, rises to three, ascends or descends to 5, often touching six afterward (exs., *The Bell Ringer* and *A Home That I Love*).

In all of the patterns, a note is repeated several times in succession soon after the opening, rise to 5 or 8, return to the starting note, and include a large upward jump. These shared characteristics serve to give the melodies an aura of familiarity, even though the details of these commonalties are quite different.[255]

The melodic characteristics described above seem to have been inherited from the Anglo-Gaelic musics of the British Isles. The songs' similarity to the Anglo-Gaelic traditions is reinforced by the songs' frequent use of the incomplete or "gapped" scales characteristic of Anglo-Gaelic folk songs. After 1840, American composers simplified melody while retaining the general structural characteristics just described. In the process, the incidence of gapped scales increased. These similarities to known folk music, too, increased the feeling of familiarity engendered by the parlor songs' melodies.

There was also considerable copying of the style of the melodies of such art musicians such as Pleyel, Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini. Simplifications of their *bel canto* melodies had invaded popular culture, and imitating them, too, resulted in songs whose melodies seemed familiar to most audiences.

In addition to melodic similarities, songs sometimes had chord progressions or rhythmic patterns similar to those of previous songs. Repetition of these elements, too, created a feeling of familiarity in new songs.

The structural patterns within which the melodies described above appeared were inherited from the songs of such composers as Hook and

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[255] This is only a small part of Tawa's analysis. Anyone interested in the parlor song *must* have his book.

Arne, who had written for the visitors to the pleasure gardens. As you've seen, the songs were arranged so that a melodic line and its variation, A and A^1, repeated several times in each verse, then (because the songs are strophic) each verse itself repeated several times to ensure that the prime melodic bits were heard again and again. There was frequently a refrain at the end of each verse, and these refrains could be made "catchy" by use of a Scotch snap or other syncopated rhythmic device. Thus, the songs were not only designed to be new but familiar but also to be quickly memorable. Composers were discovering ways of writing songs so that they would stick in the head and encourage listeners to go buy the stuff. In other words, this was the beginning of the sort of pop music that we know today. The next stage in the evolution of this kind of pop music would come after the Civil War with Tin Pan Alley.

Humorous songs[256]

In some respects, we have even greater difficulty appreciating the humorous songs of the antebellum era than the parlor songs. The reason is simple: The humorous songs just don't seem funny. In fact, many songs that were obviously considered to be funny in their day seem, to us, cruel, bigoted, and obnoxious. Today, songs about dim-witted "darkies," drunken Irishmen, greedy Jews, and thick-headed Germans–all written in stereotypic dialect–are more disgusting than humorous. Similarly, we find little humor in songs mocking scattered-brained women or the Mexicans or native Americans whose land we were eagerly stealing.[257]

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[256] This section is particularly indebted to Levy's FLASHES OF MERRIMENT and Jackson's EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM.

[257] There are exceptions, of course. Some audiences today still find these songs hysterical, and looking at those who do gives us some clues to the nature of the audiences of long ago who also found them funny. The audiences who still laugh at these sorts of songs are largely white supremacists and members of the alt right. Many of the white supremacists are intellectually inferior, poorly educated, and unskilled losers who need to degrade others to feel any sense of self-worth. They belong to organizations that tell them they are the supreme product of evolution because they are white, pass out all sorts of internal markers to

Even some of the songs that aren't aimed at ridiculing particular groups come across as cruel or obnoxious. Take, for example, a very popular song of the 1850s, "Ruben Wright and Phoebe Brown." The song alternates between written and spoken parts because this is how it was performed on the stage:

> Now Reuben was a nice young man,
> As any in the town;
> And Phoebe loved him very dear, But
> (spoken:) on account of his being obliged to work for a living, he
> never could make himself agreeable to
> (sung:) old Mr. and Mrs. Brown;
> Her cruel parents were resolved
> Another she should wed,

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bolster self-worth ("Hey, Bo, I just made Grand Omnipotent Imperial Stomper!"), and help them ignore the fact that they're incapable of succeeding in the world at large. The alt righties are the angry Nazi-geeks whose lack of social skills and emotional imbalance ensure that the effects of whatever brains they possess are constantly subverted. Both groups look for scapegoats for their own shortcomings and delight in the misery they inflict on their chosen victims. In short, both are utterly pathetic.

Compare this to the audiences of the antebellum era. Poor agrarian whites, small slaveholders, laborers, and factory workers, living hard lives and threatened by cheap-labor blacks and immigrants could comfort themselves with their American Christian whiteness. This meant that those whom they regarded as "non-American," such as immigrants, Mexicans, and native Americans; "non-Christian," such as Catholics, Jews, and Chinese; and "non-white," such as the Irish, Hispanics, Chinese, and blacks, had to be mocked and made miserable so that those at the bottom of the social ladder could feel good about themselves.

To be fair, the various ethnic and racial groups did have collective foibles that seemed funny to outsiders, and some of the humor was good-natured. But given the anger and uncertainty of the times–and especially given the increased burdens foisted on those regarded as non-American, non-Christian, and non-white--even the good-natured humor fails to amuse.

A rich old miser in the place, And
(spoken:) old Brown has frequently been heard to declare that rather
then have his daughter marry Reuben Wright he'd sooner . . .
(sung:) Knock her on the head.

But Phoebe's heart was bold and strong,
She feared not parents [sic] frowns;
And as for Reuben Wright so brave, I've
(spoken:) heard him say more than fifty times that with the exception
of Phoebe, he didn't care a snap for
(sung:) All the race of Browns.
So Poebe Brown and Reuben Wright
Determined they would marry;
Three weeks agao last Tuesday night They
(spoken:) started for old Parson Wheeler's determined to be united in
the holy bonds of matrimony although it was tremendous dark
and rained
(sung:) like the old Harry.

But Captain Brown was wide awake,
He loaded up his gun,
And then persued [sic] the loving pair, He
(spoken:) overtook 'em when they'd got about half way there, and
then
Phoebe and Reuben started
(sung:) off upon a run.
Old Brown then took a deadly aim
Towards young Reuben's head;
But oh! it was a bleeding shame, He
(spoken:) made a mistake and shot his only daughter, and had the
unspeakable anguish of seeing her
(sung:) drop right down stone dead.

Then anguish filled young Reuben's heart,
And vengeance crazed his brain,
He drew an awful jacknife out, And
(spoken:) plunged it into Old Brown about fifty or sixty times, so that it
was very doubtful about his ever

(sung:) coming to life again.
The briny drops from Reuben's eyes
In torrents poured down,
He yielded up the ghost and died, And
(spoken:) IN this melancholy and heart rending manner terminates the
eventful history of Reuben and Phoebe, and like
(sung:) Wise Old Captain Brown.[258]

This was once regarded as rollicking good humor, which invites the question, "What the hell?!?" As best I can figure, many audiences of the time didn't waste much empathy on outsiders. This wasn't true of everyone, by any means. There were plenty of reformers who empathized with drunkards and their families, persons in prison or asylums, slaves, orphaned children, and the like. But there were many others who didn't give a hoot about any of those groups, or anyone other than family, friends, and those whom they admired. Empathizing with fictional characters merely by virtue of shared humanity seems to have been a bridge too far for many in the antebellum audience.[259]

And even those songs that weren't vile or cruel delivered humor of a very mild sort, with little that would call forth a genuine laugh.[260] For example, take a British import of the 1840s, "He Was Such a Nice Young Man":

If pity dwells within your breast,
Some sympathy pray spare,

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[258] From Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 35-36.

[259] Emotional maturity probably has something to do with it. As a kid, I found the Three Stooges to be hysterical. Now, smacking people on the head with lead pipes and poking them in the eyes seems a lot less amusing. I suspect that the adult audiences who found the Three Stooges to be funny in the 1930s and the antebellum audiences amused by "Reuben Wright and Phoebe Brown" in the 1850s were emotionally stunted. Nothing in either culture ever forced them to grow up.

[260] A really good line might turn up one corner of your mouth.

Of love, that breaks young lady’s rest,
Indeed, I’ve had my share.
His form is ever in my sight,
Forget, I never can,
I’m haunted by him day and night,
He was such a nice young man.

‘Twas at a ball held at the west,
On me he first did glance,
So gently he my fingers prest,
And ask’d me out to dance,
I blush’d and simpered, No, no, no.
Then, smiling, dropt my fan,
For how could I refuse to dance,
He was such a nice young man.

The dance now o’er, my hand he took,
And led me to a seat,
And, sighing, gave me such a look,
I ne’er saw one so sweet.
Refreshments beg’d of me to take,
I did the dainties scan,
Alas, I’d lost my appetite,
He was such a nice young man.

When growing late, about to leave,
It rain’d in torrents fast,
Said he, Dear Miss, I really grieve,
I feel that it will last.
Then, quick he hurried from the room,
And for a coach he ran,
His kindness quite overpowered me,
He was such a nice young man.

As through the hall we went along,
He begg’d for my address,
I gave it him, not thinking wrong,
He was in such distress.

His card emboss’d he handed me,
With “Captain,” Miss, I am,
My stars, thought I, Oh here’s a chance,
He was such a nice young man.

Next morning, drest, and breakfast done,
Heart beating with desire,
The hall door bell was loudly rung,
Enough to break the wire.
I thought I should have died with fright,
Up came our servant Anne,
A gentleman, Miss, waits below,
He is such a nice young man.

Almost I’d sunk, ’twixt hope and fear,
I wish’d I was afar,
Guess my surprize him now to hear
Conversing with Mamma.
Such language elegant he used,
He did her heart trepan,
She said she no objection had,
He was such a nice young man.

Now, stop and dine with us, you must,
I will not take denial.
Excuse me ma’am, this visit first,
Is far too great a trial.
Well, call again whene’er you please,
For visit here you can,
I’ll call again to-morrow, ma’am,
Said my very nice young man.

From th’ house he was scarcely out of sight,
When, from the lower rooms,
A servant maid came in a fright,
And cried, He’s stole the spoons!
Ah! fetch him back, Mamma she cried,
Off ran our footman Dan,

Who brought him back, we found the spoons,
Yes, upon this nice young man.

A caution, ladies, give I must,
The moral I well know,
’Tis never the appearance trust,
Of any dashing beau.
For this is what I should have done,
When to notice he began,
But, who’d have thought he was a thief?
He was such a nice young man.[261]

I think you’ll agree that the average stand-up on Comedy Central does much better. Part of the problem, I suspect, is that the song goes a *very* long way to make a *very* small joke. The rest is that our expectations in the way of humor are much higher than those of antebellum America.

The counterpart of “He Was Such a Nice Young Man” was “Such a Nice Young Gal,” another British import that was probably written in the 1840s. By the standards of the day, it was a bit off-color and wouldn’t have been included in the more conservative songbooks:

Blow on, ye winds, and crack your cheeks,
　　But don’t blow me away,
For since I’ve met with fortune’s freaks,
　　I now will sing my lay!
The you must know, I fell in love,
　　With one whose name was Sal,
She loved me in return, by Jove,
　　She was such a nice young gal.
　　　　Tol, lol, Tol lol, &c.

Her eyes they were as black as sloes.
　　Her mouth was rather wide,
Five inches long her little nose,
　　With a bump upon its side;

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[261] From Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 22-24.

Her teeth they were like ivory white;
        Forget ‘em I never shall;
For once she did my finger bite,
        She was such a nice young gal.

She used to dress very chaste,
        Short sleeves to show her muscle;
And only two yards around the waist,
        With lots of natural bustle.
In pink stripe frock and pea green boots,
        And when we walked Pall Mall,
Folks gazed upon our separate suits,
        And said, “What a nice young gal,”

She had such a pleasant appetite,
        To please he I was willing;
So fast she put things out of sight,
        I soon spent my last shilling.
If a handsome gown piece caught her eyes,
        ‘Twas, “Buy it for me, Hal!”
Of course I straightaway did comply,
        She was such a nice young gal.

Now comes the end of all my wo [sic],
        One day she was taken ill,
Then to her house I straight did go,
        I recollect it still.
The door was opened, in I went,
        Forget her, I never shall,
I soon forgot what her illness meant,
        She’d got a little gal!

Why Sal, what a cheat you be,
        No more you shall me wheedle,
For ‘pon my word, it wasn’t me,
        And so I’ll tell the beadle.
My peace of miind is broken quite,
        To be content I never shall,

Unless I should meet her to-night--
Another nice young gal.[262]

There's some humor there, but it ain't Randy Newman's "Political Science" by a long shot.

With these cautions in mind, we'll proceed into the dubious realm of antebellum humor.

"Reuben Wright and Phoebe Brown," "He Was Such a Nice Man," and "Such a Nice Young Gal" were examples of narrative humor, attempts at creating humor by virtue of incidents, persons, settings, and a manner of telling that are ostensibly funny. One other example of the genre should suffice to give the general idea. This one is from 1836, and it is by the American team of J.C. (John Charles) White and Tom Moody (writing as "T. Ball"), "When We Were Out a Fishing":

Last night Tom Snooks says he to me,
If you've a mind some fun to see,
I'll take you out with two or three,
Who mean to go a fishing.
So get a rod, a can, and bait--
We start from town precise at 8,
Then mind Friend Muggs you aren't too late,
To go with us a fishing.
Says I, I will, so up I goes
To Mr. Spout with my best clothes,
And borrowed what you may suppose,
To rig me out for fishing.

refrain:
With rods and lines and bait a store
Enough for half a dozen more,
I never shall forget the bore,

---

[262] From ELTON'S SONGS AND MELODIES FOR THE MULTITUDE; OT UNIVERSAL SONGSTER(T.W. Strong: New York; G. W. Cottrell: Boston, prob. late 1840s), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, pp. 197-98.

Of going out a fishing.

Then off we trudged thro' dust and sun,
The perspiration off me run,
Thinks I, I hope this ar'nt the fun
Of going out a Fishing.
At length we reached the River side,
And soon upon the glittering tide,
Out Floats like little boats did ride,
As Floats do when you're Fishing.
I felt a Tug–I tugged again,
And pulled away with might and main,
When up I brings a Dog and Chain,
When we were out a Fishing.

(refrain)

Lord how they laughed to see the prize,
When, Snooks (you now he's such a size)
Soused in the stream to our surprize,
As tho to spoil our Fishing.
You've heard about too many Cooks,
And as we strived to land old Snooks,
We struck him full of little hooks,
With which we had been Fishing.
At length our Friend on shore we brought,
He puffed and blowed, you would have thought,
A full-grown Porpoise we had caught,
When we were out a Fishing.

(refrain)

We brandy'd Snooks, he soon was well,
We plied away and I must tell,--
What next to Johnny Higgs befell,
When we were out a Fishing.
The sun was hot, the grass was green,
He set him where the cows had been,

And such a sight was his nankeen,
When we were out Fishing.
I warning took and on a rail,
I like the bird in Nursery Tale,
What wagged about his little tail,
Perched me up for Fishing.

(refrain)

But sad mischance the rail was old,
It broke and down the bank I rolled,
Look here! I'm sure I shall catch cold,
From going out a Fishing.
The mud was soft, my legs are thin,
And farther I kept sinking in,
Until I thought t'would reach my chin,
When we were out a Fishing.
At last, says I this will not suit,
So out I bawls, when Higgs the brute,
He lugged me out but left my boot,
Where I had been a Fishing.

(refrain)[263]

All this might be amusing to the average seven year old boy. But the diction is so awkward that what little humor there is dies of windy phrasing and syntactic strangulation. The cover page described this as "A Comic Song, As Sung with rapturous applause . . . at the National Theatre." Evidently, people were raptured easily in olden times.

As in every age, a reliable source of humor was the relationship between men and women. Since each sex is culturally and genetically primed to misunderstand the other, this is a source of humor, tragedy, and frustration that is unlikely to exhaust itself.[264] The antebellum era's approach to *la difference* resembled that of 1950s America: The humor was broad and stereotypic and without nuances that would reveal novel insights into cross-gender relations. Take, for example, “The Old Maid,” c. 1830:

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[263] From Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 25-27.

[264] It is, of course, politically incorrect to say this. As you might expect, my attitude toward any political correctness that obscures the truth

When I was a girl of eighteen years old
I was as scornful as scornful could be;
I was taught to expect wit, wisdom and gold,
And nothing less would do for me.

Ah! those were the days when my eyes beam’d bright,
And my cheek was like the rose on the tree;
And my ringlets they curl’d o’er my forehead so white,
And lovers came courting to me.

The first was a youth any girl might adore,
As ardent as lover could be;
But my mother having heard that the young man was poor,
Why! he would not do for me.

And then hobbled in, my favour to beg,
An officer in our navy;
But though famous he arms he wanted a leg
So he would not do for me.

And now came a lawyer his claims to support,
By precedents from Chancery;
But I told him I was judge in my own little court,
And he would not do for me.

The next was a dandy who had driven four in hand,
Reduced to a Gig–d’ye see;
In getting o’er the ground, he had run thro’ his land,
So he would not do for me.

---

is “screw that.”

I'd a suitor from the South, and another from the West,
I think, from the state of Tennessee;
But one was rather old, the other badly drest,
So neither of them suited me.

These were nearly the last–I was then forty-four,
I am now only just fifty-three;
But I really think that some, I rejected before,
Would now do very well for me.

Then all ye young ladies, by me warning take,
Who scornful or cold chance to be;
Lest ye from your fond silly dreams should awake,
Old Maidens of Fifty-three.[265]

The sheet music doesn't provide the author. It's a reasonably safe bet, though, that he was male. The counterpart to this song was Thomas Haynes Bayly's "The Old Bachelor," who finds himself alone at age sixty after persistently saying of romance, "They'll be time enough for that." Since both songs were published by the same publisher, the warranted conclusion is that Bayly also wrote "The Old Maid."

As in "She Was Such a Nice Young Gal," an unwanted pregnancy serves as a basis for "humor" in "Miss Bailey," although, to our eyes, the humor looks more like tragedy:

A captain bold in Halifax,
    Who dwelt in country quarter,
Seduc'd a maid who hang'd herself
    One Monday, in her garters,
His wicked conscience smited him,
    He lost his stomch daily;
He took to drinking ratafia,[266]

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[265] From Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 69-71.

[266] Ratafia was a medicinal made from brandy soaked in peach pits, wine, tea, orange flower water, and a *lot* of sugar. You may not have actually gotten any better from it, but a few good slugs and you probably

And thought upon Mis Bailey.
O Miss Bailey,
Unfortunate Miss Bailey.

One night betimes he went to bed,
For he had caught a fever;
Says he, “I am a handsome man,
But I’m a gay deceiver.”
His candle just at twelve o-clock,
Began to burn quite palely;
A ghost stepp’d up to his bed-side,
And said, Behold Miss Bailey!”
O Miss Bailey,
Unfortunate Miss Bailey.

“Avaunt, Miss Bailey,” then he cried,
“Your face looks white and mealy.”
“Dear Captain Smith,” he ghost replied,
“You’ve used me quite ungententeelly;
The cor’ner’s quest goes hard with me,
Because I’ve acted frailly;
And Parson Biggs won’t bury one,
Though I am dead Miss Bailey.”
O Miss Bailey,
Unfortunate Miss Bailey.

“Dear corpse,” says he, “since you and I
Accounts must once for all close,
I’ve got a one-pound note, in my
Regimental small clothes;
‘Twill bribe the sexton for your grave.”
The ghost then vanish’d gayly,
Crying, “Bless you, wicked Capt. Smith,
Remember poor Miss Bailey.”
O Miss Bailey,

---

felt better . . . . for a while, anyway.

Unfortunate Miss Bailey.[267]

If the humor of that escapes you, you're not the only one.

Better was a song collected in Florida. Published in 1839, "Nothing Else to Do" was used as the basis for a comic circus act or was sometimes sung during intermissions at the theater:

> The summer being over my flocks were all shorn,
> My meadows were cut down and I'd harvested my corn.
> To Mary's sweet cottage so neatly in view,
> I straight went a-courting for I'd nothing else to do.
> Nothing else to do, nothing else to do,
> I straight went a-courting for I'd nothing else to do.
>
> 'Twas down in yond valley together we sat,
> And passed away the hours in curious chat,
> I told her I lov'd her, I hoped she lov'd me too,
> So we'd love on another for we'd nothing else to do.
> Nothing else to do, nothing else to do,
> So we'd love on another for we'd nothing else to do.
>
> She hung down her head and with blushes replied,
> I lov'd you from the first, you must make me your bride.
> Without hesitation I made her this vow,
> I'll marry you my dear for I've nothing else to do.
> Nothing else to do, nothing else to do,
> I'll marry you my dear for I've nothing else to do.
>
> So to the next village away we did roam,
> In search of a clergy we found him at home,
> I paid him his fee, he made one of us two,
> And married us straightaway for he'd nothing else to do.
> Nothing else to do, nothing else to do,

---

[267] From THE YANKEE SONGSTER'S POCKET COMPANION (P. Sheldon: Gardiner, ME, 1824), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, pp. 199-200.

And married us straightaway for he'd nothing else to do.

We liv'd in felicity in joy and content,
And never knew the sorrows of those that do repent.
Our neighbors around us were loyal and true,
And we lov'd one another for we'd nothing else to do.
Nothing else to do, nothing else to do,
And we lov'd one another for we'd nothing else to do.

The change which the years have brought I should tell you in this place,
Our table is too small and our cottage wanting space,
We've a healthy rosy set of lads and lassies too,
And we love the little rogues that caus'd us something else to do,
Nothing else to do, nothing else to do,
And we love the little rogues that caus'd us something else to do.[268]

And that's about as good as the humor got by way of gender relations.

Which, unfortunately, brings us to dialect and ethnic/racial humor. Most so-called humor based on race or ethnicity in the antebellum era took African-Americans or the Irish as their subject matter. Many more songs mocking various ethnic groups would be written after the Civil War, when immigration reached a crescendo. Songs aimed at African-Americans will be covered in the chapter on minstrelsy. Some humor aimed at various ethnic groups will also be covered there, since early minstrelsy, at least, aimed humor and satire at a variety of subjects, not just African-Americans. For now, an example of the sort of humor ethnic groups were subject to is best illustrated by John Brougham's "The Fine Ould Irish Gintleman," written in the early 1840s as a parody of a popular song, "The Fine Old English Gentleman." Like "Reuben Wright and Phoebe Brown," the song alternates between spoken and sung parts for comic effect because that is how it was performed on the stage:

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[268] From Wiley L. Housewright, ed., AN ANTHOLOGY OF MUSIC IN EARLY FLORIDA (Univ. Press of Florida: Gainesville, FL, 1999), pp. 229-30.

(Sung:) I'll sing you a fine ould song made by a fine ould Paddy's pate of a
(Spoken:) fine ould Irish gintleman who had the devil of a
(Sung:) taste of an estate, ex-
(Spoken:) cept for a fine ould patch of pitaty's that he liked ex-
(Sung:) ceedingly to ate, For
(Spoken:) they were beef to him and mutton too and barring a red herring or a rusty rasher of bacon now and thin almost ev'ry
(Sung:) other sort of mate, Yet this fine ould Irish gintleman was one of the rale ould stock.

(Spoken:) His cabin walls were cover'd o'er with
(Sung:) fine ould Irish mud, Be
(Spoken:) cause he couldn't afford to have any paper hangings, and between you and me he wouldn't give a
(Sung:) pin for them if he could, And
(Spoken:) just as proud as Julius Sayzer or
(Sung:) Alexander the Great, This
(Spoken:) independent ragamuffin stood with a glass of fine ould Irish whiskey in his fist which he's decidedly of the opinion will do a
(Sung:) mighty dale of good,
To this fine ould Irish Gintleman,
All of the rale ould stock.

(Sung:) Now this
(Spoken:) fine ould Irish gintleman wore
(Sung:) mighty curious clothes, Tho' for
(Spoken:) comfort Ill be bail that they'd bate any of your
(Sung:) fashionable beaux, For
(Spoken:) when the sun was very hot the gintle wind right through his ventilation garments most
(Sung:) beautifully blows.
(Spoken:) And he's niver troubled with any corns and I'll tell you why because he despises the wakeness of waring anything as hard as
(Sung:) leather on his toes,
Yet this fine ould Irish gintleman was one of the rale ould stock.

(Sung:) Now this

(Spoken:) fine ould Irish gintleman has a
(Sung:) mighty curious knack, Of
(Spoken:) flourishing a tremendous great shillaly in his had and letting it drop with a most un-
(Sung:) compromising whack
(Spoken:) So of most superiour shindies you may take your oath if you ever happen to be called upon for it he very nearly
(Sung:) never had a lack, and it's
(Spoken:) very natural and not at all surprising to suppose that the fine ould Irish mud was well ac-
(Sung:) quainted with the back of this Fine Ould Irish Gntleman,
All of the rale oould stock.

(Sung:) This
(Spoken:) fine ould Irisg gintleman hw was once
(Sung:) out upon a spree, and as
(Spoken:) many a fine ould Irish gintleman has done and more betoken will do to the end of time he got about as
(Sung:) dhrunk as he could be,
(Spoken:) His senses was completely mulvathered and the consequence was that he could
(Sung:) neither hear nor see, So they
(Spoken:) thought he was stone dead and gone intirely, So the nest thing they could do would be to have him waked and
(Sung:) buried dacintly.
Like a Fine Ould Irish Gintleman
All of the rale ould stock.

(Sung:) So this
(Spoken:) fine ould Irish gintleman he was laid
(Sung:) out upon a bed
(Spoken:) with half a dozen candles at his heels and two or three dozen more or
(Sung:) less around his head,
(Spoken:) But when the whiskey bottle was uncorked he couldn't stand it any longer so he
(Sung:) riz right up in bed,
(Spoken:) and when sich mighty fine stuff as that is goin' about says

he you don't think I'd be such a soft-headed
(Sung:) fool as to be dead,
Oh this fine Ould Irish Gintleman it was mighty hard to kill.[269]

No ethnic song was complete without recourse to whatever negative stereotypes were associated with the ethnic group (here, violence and drunkenness) and at least a feeble attempt at ethnic dialect. Here, the attempt is very feeble indeed.

We can file some of the better humorous songs under the category of "miscellaneous." Some songs had dark humor with teeth in it, such as Van der Weyde's "Fillibustering." The song celebrates the quaint practice of American adventurers' marching into neighboring countries and attempting to take those countries over by force. The antebellum era saw notable fillibustering expeditions in Canada, Mexico, and Nicaragua. Many approved of the practice, considering it to be of a piece with Manifest Destiny. Others thought that it looked an awful lot like murder and stealing, and they failed to find footnotes in the two relevant commandments that permitted the practice if you wanted the land either for the greater glory of the US of A or for the greater glory of your bank account:

Says Captain Robb to Farmer Cobb,
"Your farm is very fine, Sir;
Please give me up your title deeds;
I claim it all as mine, Sir."
"Pray, how can it be thine?," says Cobb;
"I'm sure I never sold it;
'Twas left me by my father, Sir;
I only ought to hold it."

"Nay, Cobb; the march of destiny--

---

[269] Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 139-41. Despite being Irish myself, I can't say 'm particularly offended by the song. But, then, I'm well-off, had an excellent career (two of them, in fact), and never had a problem because of my ethnicity. I imagine things would look different if I were poor, were denied most opportunities, and were looked down upon thanks to my Irishness.

‘Tis strange you don’t perceive it--
Is sure to make it mine, some day;
I solemnly believe it.”
“But have you not already got
More land than you can till, Sir?
More rocks than you can ever blast?
More weeds than you can kill, Sir?”

“Aye, Cobb, but something whispers me--
A sort of inspiration--
That I’ve a *right* to ev’ry farm
Not under cultivation.
I’m of the Anglo-Saxon race,
A people known to fame, Sir;
Buy you–what right have you to land?
Whoever heard your name, Sir?”

“I deem you, Cobb, a lazy lout,
Poor, trodden-down, and blind, Sir;
And if I take your useless land,
You ought to think it kind, Sir!
And with my scientific skill,
I set it down as true, Sir,
The I can gather from the farm
Full twice as much as you, Sir.”

“To be explicit: ‘’Tis an age
Of freedom and progression;
No longer, dog-in-manger-like,
Can you retain possession.
The farm long since you forfeited,
Because you failed to till it;
To me it clearly now belongs,
Simply because–*I will it*.”

“My logic if you disapprove,
Or fail of comprehending,
Or do not feel convinc’d that I

Your welfare am intended,
I've plenty more of arguments
To which I can resort, Sir;
Six-shooters, rifles, bowie knives,
Will indicate the sort, Sir."

"So, prithee, Cobb, take my advice
Make over your domains, Sir;
Or sure as I am Captain Robb,
Will I blow out your brains, Sir."
Poor Cobb could only grind his teeth,
And grumble protestations
That *might* should be the rule of *right*,
Among *enlightened nations*.[270]

Listeners couldn't fail to notice that the song not only undercut fillibustering but many of the practices justified by Manifest Destiny, such as stealing land from the natives and starting a war with Mexico to steal yet more land. Somehow, most of Christian America failed to notice that these customs had been disapproved of by their god.[271]

This one, though it avoids hilarity, manages a decent spoof on the reams of "pity the poor sailor" songs:

One night came on a hurricane--
    The sea was mountains rolling--
When Barney Buntline turned his quid,

---

[270] From Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 202-03.

[271] It was okay to murder tens of thousands of Mexicans to steal their land, but if two men made love to one another or someone hung a nude in an art gallery, watch out, Jack. Hallelujah!

Some churches–mostly in the North--*did* condemn such outrages as the theft of native land and the war with Mexico. But plenty of churches did not. Southern churches were mute on such subjects, having already learned the wisdom of keeping their Christian mouths shut regarding doubts about slavery. The Eleventh Commandment of the Southern Christian churches was "Thou shalt not take unpopular positions."

And cried to billy Bowline--
"There's a sou'wester coming, Billy,
Don't ye hear it roar now?
Lord help 'em, how I pities them
Unhappy folks on shore now.

Foolhardy chaps as lives in towns,
What dangers they are all in--
At night lie quaking in their beds,
For fear the roof will fall in--
Poor creatures, how they envies us,
And wishes, I've a notion,
For our good luck in such a storm,
To be upon the ocean.

Now, as to them that's out all day
On business from their houses,
And late at night are walking home,
To cheer their babes and spouses,
While you and I, upon the deck,
Are comfortably lying,
My eyes! what tiles and chimney tops,
About their heads are flying!

Bill, you and I have often heard,
How folks are ruined and undone,
By overturns in carriages,
By thieves and fires in London--
We've heard what risks all landsmen run,
From noblemen to tailors,
Then, Billy, let's bless Providence
That you and I are sailors.[272]

More typical of the average humorous song was the following, "The Tongo

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[272] From THE MUSEUM OF MIRTH, quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, pp. 163-64.

Islands." Americans were being introduced to the world, and it was a world they lacked the background to understand or the self-assurance to meet gracefully. Instead, odd bits of travel lore stuck in their heads, and their imaginations filled in the rest. And since the result was strange, they made fun of it. Here's one of the results, a "humorous" song with all the charm and subtlety of an ad for OxyClean:

> I sailed from port one summer's day,
> And to the South Seas made my way,
> I got wreck'd in No Bottom Bay,
> All in the Tongo Islands.
> The king he made a chief of me,
> They called me Koora Kira Kee,
> We got as thick as we could be,
> And every night drank strong Bashee,--
> Says he, will you be my son-in-law,
> And marry the princess Wowski Faw?
> Says I, your majesty, hold your jaw,
> I do accept the princess' paw,
> Swango, Tongo, Hokey, Pokey, Hingeree, Chingeree,
> Soaki, Woaki, all in the Tongo Islands.
>
> We'd at our wedding scores of guests,
> We'd nuns and lords and chiefs and priests,
> Who guzzled like so many beasts,
> All in the Tongo Islands.
> There was the mighty Guyadore and Flyadore,
> And Sannetlores and Gannetlores,
> With forty more such–!
> The king he drank three quarts of rum,
> Which sowed him down so he was dumb;
> We thought he'd gone to kingdom come,
> Which made the queen look precious glum.
> Swango, Tongo, Hokey, Pokey, Hingeree, Chingeree,
> Soaki, Woaki, all in the Tongo Islands.
>
> So now, thank heaven, I'm safe and sound,
> Once more upon my native ground,

And never more will I be found
All in the Tongo Islands.
For what's the use of being chief,
When you can't mutton get nor beef,
Nor a glass of grog to give relief,
To raise your spirits or drown your grief?
For though the lawyers here we need,
Who eat us up alive, 'tis said,
But there they knock you on the head,
And swallow you up after you're dead.
Swango, Tongo, Hokey, Pokey, Hingeree, Chingeree,
Soaki, Woaki, all in the Tongo Islands.[273]

And as the news poured in from all over, Americans were learning one new thing after another. The American love of the tall tale prompted Henry Coleman to spoof some of the stories carried in the newspapers in his late 1830s song, "Tarnation Strange; or Yankee Wonders":

Yankee wonders are no wall the rage,
And I think without much contradiction
I can prove in this erudite age
That truth is stranger than fiction.
A man sunk in absence of mind
Took his boots off and laid them in bed,
And not dreaming of aught of the kind,
With his boot jack pulled clean off his head,
Oh yes, isn't it tarnation strange?
Isn't it tarnation strange?

There's a woman as large as a tree
I cant say in what state they found her.
But set off on a trot fro her knee
It will take you a week to get round her.

---

[273] From THE POPULAR NATIONAL SONGSTER AND LUCY NEAL AND DAN TUCKER'S DELIGHT (Philadephia, 1845), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS F UNCLE SAM, pp. 165-66.

There’s a man cheats a cock of his crowing
And he does it so shrill and so prime
That the Sun was observed to be glowing
Full two hours before its right time.
Oh yes, isn’t it tarnation strange?
Isn’t it tarnation strange?

Then a rifleman ther’s such a shot
The birds when they see him a loading
Come and fall down dead on the spot
They can’t bear the noise of exploding.
A man there grew fifteen feet high
Tho’ as thin and as pale as an adder
That when his collar but wanted a tie
He was forc’d to get up on a ladder.
Oh yes, isn’t it tarnation strange?
Isn’t it tarnation strange?

Men take such a quantum of brandy,
And inflame both their souls and their bodies,
Buttons melt off their coats just like candy,
With drinking so many hot toddies.
A waggoner dreaming of loads,
With his harness himself put his dray in,
And trotting along o’er the roads
Never stopped till he found himself neighing.
Oh yes, isn’t it tarnation strange?
Isn’t it tarnation strange?

In the Post Office Box ’tother day,
A Lady fast bound by Love’s fetters,
Threw herself without thinking they say,
And got mixed up along with the letters;
And off she’d been sent o’er the ocean
With the other dead letters to mingle,
Had the Clerk not been seized with a notion
To ask the fair dame was she single?
Oh yes, isn’t it tarnation strange?

Isn't it tarnation strange?

A man tied himself up for the clothes,
And was sent to the washwoman's daughter
And ne'er knew it, until his poor nose
Was filled with soap suds and water.
Now I think I've describe Yankee wonders,
And my statement I never will change;
You no doubt will think them all blunders,
But you'll own they are "Tarnation Strange!"
Oh yes, isn't it tarnation strange?
Isn't it tarnation strange?[274]

You get the idea. And on that note, we'll pass from humor to nationalist songs.

Nationalist songs

By "nationalist songs," I mean such songs as patriotic songs, war songs, songs about important national events, and political songs. We've already seen a great many of these, since I've been interspersing them in the historical chapters when talking about wars, other historical events, elections, and the like. We've seen a large number of songs celebrating great events, especially military victories, and celebrating such things as the Constitution, the nation as a whole, and independence. Songs have also honored great individuals, especially the many songs to George Washington, but also including such songs as "Adams and Liberty." Political songs, of course, alternate between honoring the candidate and attacking his opponents.

The issue of "truth" in nationalist songs is often dicey. Truth is usually a substantial ingredient in most nationalist songs (even if it is sometimes outweighed by imagination and wishful thinking). But truth is no more than a seasoning in political songs, with just a dash of it needed to give fiction the taste of reality. Songs about historical events and trends varied considerably in the amount of truth required in them: Songs about panics, the Embargo, the settling of the west, the Erie Canal, and, as we'll see, slavery used truth when it was helpful, fiction when it was not, and pounding the table as necessary.

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[274] From Levy, FLASHES OF MERRIMENT, pp. 309-11.

Americans were not yet notable music writers. Thus, most nationalist songs used the tunes of well-known popular, religious, or folk songs for their melodies.

Given the plethora of nationalist songs already presented, there's no need for any great number of such songs here. All that's necessary are a few of the songs that have fallen through the cracks.

An unfortunate relic of the antebellum period is the nationalist song that relies too much on vague generalities and windy self-congratulation instead of talking about specific accomplishments. If the rest of the world found Americans to be overly boastful in the post-1812 era, this sort of song helps us understand why:

Hail America

Hail, America, hail, unrivall'd in fame,
Thy foes. in confusion, turn pale at thy name;
On thy rock-rooted virtue, firmly seated sublime,
Below thee break, harmless, the billows of time,
May the starry flag, waving, still glory pursue,
And freedom find ever a guardian in you.
    Huzza, huzza, huzza, brave America,
    Whom freedom secures;
The high car of crest-blazing glory is yours.

Let Spain boast the treasures that glow in her mines;
Let Gallia rejoice in her olives and vines;
Let bright sparkling jewels in India prevail;
Let thy odours, Arabia, diffuse in each gale;[275]
'Tis America only is bless'd with the soil
Where the fair fruits of labor and liberty smile.

---

[275] It's probably picky to point out that "treasures" don't "glow" in mines, that France is not notable for its olives, or that when a gale hits, the proper verb for what happens next is not "diffuse."

Huzza, huzza, huzza, brave America,
Whom freedom secures;
For the blessings of freedom and valour are yours.

Unsheath'd while the sword of oppression remains,
And the blood of our heroes still crimsons the plains
See America, weeping, exhort each brave son,
That their hearts, as their glory, might always be one.
'Tis the charter of freedom, attend to the call;
United we stand, but divided we fall.
Huzza, huzza, huzza, brave America,
Whom freedom secures;
For patriots, and heroes, and virtue are yours.

With sweetness and beauty thy daughters shall rise,
With rose-blooming cheeks and love-languishing eyes,[276]
The graces and virtues solid comfort prepare
For heroes deserving the first of the fair.[277]
For to whom should the blessings of freedom descend,
But the sons of those sires who dared freedom defend!
Huzza, huzza, huzza, brave America,
Whom freedom secures;
The high car of crest-blazing glory is yours.[278]

This sort of tripe gives the impression that the author doesn't *know* enough about America to say anything concretely complimentary about her. And I'll give a nickel to anyone who can give me a convincing explanation of what the hell the “high car of crest-blazing glory” is. The most popular of this sort of vague, self-congratulatory song was “American Star,” already quoted at the end of the chapter entitled THE JACKSONIAN ERA.

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[276] If one of *my* daughters arose "with rose-blooming cheeks and love-languishing eyes" I'd have her in the emergency room in a shot.

[277] This begins to sound suspiciously like the Islamic paradise.

[278] From THE NEW NATIONAL SONG BOOK (Leavitt & Allen: New York, n.d.), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, p. 79-80. I guess I'm just old-fashioned: I love my country too much to let some gasbag, blowhard lyricist earn a few bucks by making her sound ridiculous. Men do; boys talk.

Another type of patriotic song was the Fourth of July song. Like Fourth of July oratory, it, too is self-congratulatory, but properly so. The Fourth of July is a day for celebrating our country, and a certain amount of self-congratulation is called for on that day. Many published patriotic songs, used “elevated” langauge, such as “Columbian Independence”:

> Wake, Columbia! wake the lyre,
> Touch the silver chords with fire;
> Bid the holy flames arise,
> Mounting swiftly to the skies;
> Music sweet, and music strong,
> Rouse the soul with lyric songs.
>
> Goddess of this western clime,
> Tune thy notes to joys sublime!
> Rapt in glory’s brightest blaze,
> Gallant heroes proudly raise
> Shouts of triumph, sounding far,
> Louder than the storms of war![279]

No one knew what it meant, but it sure sounded purty. In much the same vein was “The Federal Constitution”:

> Crown’d with auspicious light,
> Columbia’s eagle arise!
> Thine emblems bless our sight.
> Thine Honours greet our eyes.
> Nations admire thy rising dawn,
> And shall salute thy day;
> While generations yet unborn
> Receive the genial ray.

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[279] Quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, p. 87. Jackson found this song to be in nearly every song book of the era.

ch: An empire's born!–let cannons roar;
Bid echo rend the sky;
Let every heart adore
High Heaven our great ally.

Illustrious era, hail--
Thy stars in union grow,
Opposing mists dispel,
And with fresh splendour glow.
Thy glories burst upon the gloom,
Where darkness dragg'd her chain;
The sons of cruelty and death
Shall own thy gentle rein.

(chorus)[280]

However much you may object to the large number of war songs of the period,[281] they have many virtues: They talk about actual accomplishments; they are specific; and their language sounds like something an actual human being might have uttered. None of these things can be said of the false emotion pasted on the memory of some of America's heroes. The worst offender was "Lady Washington's Lamentation":[282]

When Columbia's brave sons call'd my hero to lead 'em,
To vanquish their foes and establish their freedom,
I rejoiced at his honours, my fears I dissembled,
At the thought of his danger, my heart how it trembled!
O my Washington! O my Washington!

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[280] From THE NEW NATIONAL SONG BOOK (Leavitt and Allen: New York, n.d.), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, p. 88.

[281] I don't. Until the Mexican-American War, the wars we fought against Britain and the Barbary pirates were justified.

[282] As an alternative title, you might consider "Get Out the Onion Juice."

O my Washington! all was hazardous!

The contest decided, with peace to the nation,
My hero retired, ‘mid the loud acclamation
Of men without numbers, and praise without measure,
And my own heart exulted in transports of pleasure,
O my happiness! O my happiness!
O my happiness! how precarious!

When pangs of disease had faintly seiz’d him,[283]
My heart would have yielded its life to have eased him,
And I prayed the Most High, if for death he design’d him,
That he would not permit me to loiter behind him,
O my Washington &c. all was dubious.

When hope was all fled, and I saw hi resigning
His soul to his God, without dread or repining,
What my heart, were thy feelings, lamenting, admiring,
To see him so nobly, so calmly expiring.
O my Washington, &c. has forsaken us! . . .

When with tears of sweet music, I ponder the story
Of his wars, and his labours, his virtue and glory,
I breathe out a prayer of sweet ardour or spirits
Soon to join him in bliss, and united inherit
Endless blessedness, &c. O, how glorious![284]

There also seems to have been considerable weeping among the armed forces of the time. “The Soldier’s Tear” of 1830 was followed close behind by “The Sailor’s Tear”:

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[283] I would dearly like to know how you can be “faintly” seized. “Seizing” has nothing “faint” about it.

[284] From ELTON’S SONGS AND MELODIES FOR THE MULTITUDE; OR UNIVERSAL SONGSTER (T.W. Strong: New York; G.W. Cottrell: Boston, n.d.), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, p. 96.

He leap'd into his boat,
        As it lay upon the strand;
But oh, his heart was far away,
        With his friends upon the land;
He thought of those he lov'd the best,
        A wife and infant dear,
And feeling fill's the sailor's breast,
        The sailor's eye a tear.

They stood upon the far off cliff,
        And wav'd a handkerchief white,
And gazed upon his gallant bark,
        Till she was out of sight;
The sailor cast a look behind,
        No longer saw them near,
Then rais'd the canvas to his eye,
        And wiped away a tear.

E'er long, or'er ocean's blue expanse
        His sturdy bark had sped;
The gallant sailor from her prow
        Descries a sail ahead;
And then he rais'd his mighty arm,
        Columbia's foes are near;
Ay, then he rais'd his arm, but not
        To wipe away a tear.[285]

The ending helps rescue the song from a miasma of Della Cruscanism. But, again, there's too much parlor and too little reality in the song for our tastes.

For much more tolerable nationalist songs, go to the historical sections. I reserved most of these for after I'd discussed the parlor song, so you could understand where they came from and why. I hope you understand them, but that doesn't mean you have to like them.

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[285] From AMERICAN MINSTREL (Cincinnati: 1837), quoted in Jackson, EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM, p. 97.

The Composers and Professional Performers

Let’s begin by taking another look at many of the entries on the list of the most popular parlor songs in the antebellum era compiled by Tawa. This time, however, let’s organize it according to the lyricists or composers who were most popular in that period. The list below ranks composers and lyricists according to who sold the greatest number of popular songs and includes the titles of their songs that became popular:

Thomas Moore (18 songs):
The Canadian Boat Song (w&m. Thomas Moore, 1807)
Why Does Azure Deck the Sky? (w. Thomas Moore, M.R. Humfrey, 1808)
The Origin of the Harp (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1810)
Love’s Young Dream (w. Thomas Moore, m. Sir. John Andrew Stevenson, 1811)
Believe Me. If All Those Endearing Young Charms (w. Thomas Moore, m. & arr. Sir John Andrew Stevenson, 1809)
‘Tis the Last Rose of Summer (w. Thomas Moore, m. & arr. Sir John Andrew Stevenson, 1814)
Mary’s Tears (w. Thomas Moore, m. Oliver Shaw, 1817)
Fly to the Desert (w. Thomas Moore, m. George Kiallmark, 1818)
Oft in the Stilly Night (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1818)
Come Rest in This Bosom (w.,m.,arr. Thomas Moore, 1820)
The Meeting of the Waters (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1820)
Araby’s Daughter (w. Thomas Moore, George Kiallmark, 1824)
My Heart and Lute (w, m, arr. Thomas Moore, 1824)
Hinda’s Appeal to Her Lover (w. Thomas Moore, w. George Kiallmark, 1827)
There’s Nothing True but Heaven (w. Thomas Moore, m. Oliver Shaw, 1829)
The Twilight Dews (w. Thomas Moore, m. Sir John A. Stevenson,

1830)
The Watchman (w. Thomas Moore, 1830)
The Evening Gun (w. Thomas Moore, m&arr. Charles Zeuner, 1831)

Thomas Haynes Bayly (11 songs):
I’d Be a Butterfly (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly, 1827)
Isabel (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Henry R. Bishop, 1824)
Oh! No, We Never Mention Her (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. arr. Henry R. Bishop, 1828)
The Mistletoe Bough (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Henry B. Bishop, 1834)
The Soldier’s Grave (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Thomas Williams, 1829)
Gaily the Troubadour (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly, 1830)
The Soldier’s Tear (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Alexander Lee, 1830)
We Met! (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly, 1830)
Dark-Eyed One (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, w. adapted from Daniel Francois Esprit Auber, 1833)
Long, Long Ago (w&m. Thomas Haynes Bayly, 1833)
She Wore a Wreath of Roses (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Joseph Philip Knight, 1837)

Henry Russell (8 songs):
Woodman! Spare That Tree (w. George P. Morris, m. Henry Russell, 1837)
Some Love to Roam o’er the Dark Sea Foam (w. Charles Mackay, m. Henry Russell, 1836)
We Have Been Friends Together (w. Mrs. Caroline Norton, m. Henry Russell, 1836)
Wind of the Winter Night, Whence Comest Thou? (w. Charles Makay, m. Henry Russell, 1836)
The Ivy Green (w. Charles Dickens, m. Henry Russell, 1838)
A Life on the Ocean Wave (w. Epes Sergent, m. Henry Russell, 1838)
The Old Sexton (w. Park Benjamin, m. Henry Russell, 1841)
The Old Arm Chair (w. Eliza Cook, m. Henry Russell, 1849)

Sir John Andrew Stevenson (7 songs):
- The Origin of the Harp (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1810)
- Love's Young Dream (w. Thomas Moore, m. Sir. John Andrew Stevenson, 1811)
- Believe Me. If All Those Endearing Young Charms (w. Thomas Moore, m. & arr. Sir John Andrew Stevenson, 1809)
- 'Tis the Last Rose of Summer (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John Andrew Stevenson, 1814)
- Oft in the Stilly Night (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1818)
- The Meeting of the Waters (w. Thomas Moore, m. arr. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1820)
- The Twilight Dews (w. Thomas Moore, m. Sir John A. Stevenson, 1830)

John Braham (6 songs):
- The Beautiful Maid (w. Thomas Dibdin, m. John Braham, 1803)
- All's Well (w. Thomas Dibdin, m. John Braham, 1804)
- No More Sorrow (m. John Braham, 1803)
- Said a Smile to a Tear (m. John Braham, 1807)
- Tho' Love Is Warm Awhile (m. John Braham, 1817)
- William Tell (m. John Braham, 1818)

Felicia Hemans (6 songs):
- The Pilgrim Fathers (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne, 1825)
- Bring Flowers (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. & arr. J. Worsley, 1827)
- The Recall (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne, 1827)
- The Tyrolese Evening Hymn (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne, 1829)
- The Captive Knight (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Miss Browne, 1832)
- The Bird at Sea (w. Mrs. Felicia Hemans, m. Christopher Meinecke, 1836)

Henry R. Bishop (6 songs):
- Like the Gloom of the Night Retiring (m. Henry R. Bishop, 1819)
- Home! Sweet Home! (w. John Howard Payne, m. Henry R. Bishop,

1823)
Isabel (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Henry R. Bishop, 1824)
The Dashing White Segeant (w. General Burgoyne, m. Henry Rowley Bishop , 1825)
Oh! No, We Never Mention Her (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. arr. Henry R. Bishop, 1828)
The Mistletoe Bough (w. Thomas Haynes Bayly, m. Henry B. Bishop, 1834)

Stephen C. Foster (5 songs):
Nelly Bly (w&m. Stephen C. Foster, 1849)
Nelly Was a Lady (w&m. Stephen C. Foster, 1849)
Old Folks at Home (w&m. Stephen C. Foster, 1851)
Old Dog Tray (w&m. Stephen C. Foster, 1853)
Gentle Annie (w&m. Stephen Foster, 1856)

Other popular composers and lyricists included Robert Burns and Charles Jeffreys (four songs each); Thomas Dibdin, Charles E. Horn, Samuel Lover, William R. Dempster, and Alexander Lee (three songs each); and James Hook, Thomas Van Dyke Wiesenthal, Thomas Williams, George P. Morris, Charles Makay, Daniel Francois Esprit Auber, Thomas Campbell, Caroline Norton, and George Root (two songs each). Melodies from art music by Ignaz Pleyel, John H. Hewitt, Giacomo Rossini, Wolgang Amadeus Mozart, and Vincenzo Bellini were also used in popular songs.

Thomas Moore (especially teamed with Sir John Stevenson), Thomas Haynes Bayly, Henry Russell, John Braham, Felicia Hemans, Henry R. Bishop, and Stephen C. Foster were the most popular lyricists and composers of the period. We'll take a look at Moore, Bayly, and Hemans now, at Russell when we look at performers, and at Foster in the chapter devoted to minstrelsy.

Thomas Moore

Thomas Moore was one of three popular British lyricists, along with Robert Burns and Thomas Haynes Bayly, who were better known as poets than as lyricists. Moore and Bayly were also respectable entertainers, frequently performing in the homes of the landed gentry and the upper bourgeoisie. They were also part of salon society and found friends among the aristocracy.

Thomas Moore was born in Dubln in 1779. He showed interest in music and drama as a boy and attended Ireland's Trinity University. Another student at Trinity introduced Moore to a compilation of Irish tunes collected by Edward Bunting and published in 1796 as A GENERAL COLLECTION OF THE ANCIENT IRISH MUSIC. The tunes in the collection were arranged for piano in the fashion of the time; no lyrics were given. Also while at Trinity, Moore published his first work, a translation of the fifth ode of the Bacchic ancient Greek poet, Anacreon. He continued to work on further translations of Anacreon in the next several years, work which helped hone his poetic skills.

Moore moved to London in 1799 to study law at Middle Temple. He made important friendships among the Irish community in that city. He also abandoned law for other activities, including writing librettos for operas by Michael Kelly and Charles Horn and writing the first of his songs set to traditional Irish melodies, many of them taken from Bunting's collection.

In 1803, Moore took a position as registrar to the Admiralty in Bermuda. The work was light; the company was inadequate; and Moore soon grew bored. He visited Norfolk, Virginia briefly,[286] then toured parts of the United States and Canada.[287] While in Montreal, he wrote the words and music to the "Canadian Boat Song." He returned to England in November 1804. The trip west produced a book of poems, EPISTLES, ODES, AND OTHER POEMS, which, among other things, was highly critical of the United States and inspired indignant responses.

Moore began publishing the work for which he achieved his greatest fame in 1808. He gathered together the songs he had written to traditional Irish melodies and turned them over to Sir John Andrew Stevenson for publishable arrangements. The first volume of the outrageously popular IRISH MELODIES was published by W. Power & Co. of Dublin in 1808. Over the next 26 years, Moore produced nine additional volumes and a supplement of songs written to traditional Irish tunes. The musical arrangements for the first eight volumes were written by Stevenson. The arrangements for the last two volumes were written by Henry Bishop upon Stevenson's death.

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[286] His stay wasn't brief enough. He managed to get into hot water when rumors hinted at a romantic affair between him and a young married woman, Hester Tucker.

[287] He met Thomas Jefferson and didn't like him. This may have been due to Jefferson's anti-British attitudes, or due to Jefferson's slaveholding (Moore detested slavery), or due to Jefferson's mistaking the very short Moore for a child.

Soon after publication of the first of Moore's Irish songs in Britain, publishers in the United States began releasing copies of the songs as individual pieces of sheet music in the United States. Sales of individual songs were so successful that Moore's songs began to appear in collections: THE BOSTON MUSICAL MISCELLANY (J.T. Buckingham: Boston, 1811) included 12 of Moore's songs, and THE MINSTREL (P. Lucas: Baltimore, 1812) included 18 of them. Soon after, Moore's songs began appearing in songsters, usually without music. Especially popular were "Why Does Azure Deck the Sky?" (1808), "Believe Me. If All Those Endearing Young Charms" (1809), "The Origin of the Harp" (1810), "Love's Young Dream" (1811), "'Tis the Last Rose of Summer" (1814), and "Mary's Tears" (1817). All but "Mary's Tears" were from various editions of IRISH MELODIES. "Mary's Tears" was from MOORE'S SACRED MELODIES, with music by Oliver Shaw. Lyrics to "Believe Me. If All Those Endearing Young Charms" and "'Tis the Last Rose of Summer" were already given in the section devoted to parlor song. Here are the lyrics to "The Origin of the Harp," "Love's Young Dream," and "Mary's Tears"

The Origin of the Harp

'Tis believed that this Harp, which I wake now for thee
Was a Siren of old, who sung under the sea;
And who often, at eve, through the bright waters roved,
To meet, on the green shore, a youth whom she loved.

But she loved him in vain, for he left her to weep,
And in tears, all the night, her gold tresses to steep,
Till heaven look'd with pity on true-love so warm,
And changed to this soft Harp the sea-maiden's form.

Still her bosom rose fair--still her cheeks smiled the same
While her sea-beauties gracefully form'd the light
And her hair, as, let loose, o'er her white arm it fell,

Was changed to bright chords uttering melody's spell.

Hence it came, that this soft Harp so long hath been known
To mingle love's language with sorrow's sad tone;
Till thou didst divide them, and teach the fond lay
To speak love when I'm near thee, and grief when away.[288]

The following song was a long-time sentimental favorite in America:

Love's Young Dream

Oh! the days are gone, when beauty bright
My heart's chain wove;
When my dream of life, from morn till night,
Was love, still love.
New hope may bloom,
And days may come
Of milder, calmer beam,
But there's nothing half so sweet in life
As love's young dream;
No, there's nothing half so sweet in life
As love's young dream.

Though the bard to purer fame may soar,
When wild youth's past;
Though he win the wise, who frowned before,
To smile at last:
He'll never meet
A joy so sweet,
In all his noon of fame,
As when first he sung to woman's ear
His soul-felt flame,
And at every close she blushed to hear

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[288] From IRISH MELODIES, v. 3, at Thomas Moore Sammlung/ Collection, http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/eire/tisbelie.htm, retrieved on 12/28/16.

The one loved name.

No, that hallowed form is ne’er forgot
Which first love traced;
Still it lingering haunts the greenest spot
On memory’s waste.
’Twas odor fled
As soon as shed;
’Twas morning’s winged dream:
’Twas a light that ne’er can shine again
On life’s dull stream;
Oh! ’twas light that ne’er can shine again
On life’s dull stream.[289]

The “Mary” of “Mary’s Tears” is not the mother of Jesus. It is Mary Magdelene, who has traditionally been mistaken for a prostitute, although that is nowhere specified in the Bible. Moore’s lyrics continue the error:

Mary’s Tears

Were not the sinful Mary’s tears
An offering worthy Heaven,
When o’er the faults of former years
She wept—and was forgiven?

When bringing every balmy sweet
Her day of luxury stored,
She o’er her Saviour’s hallowed feet
The precious perfume pour’d;

And wiped them with that golden hair
Where once the diamonds shone:
Though now those gems of grief were there

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[289] From IRISH MELODIES, v. 4, at Thomas Moore Sammlung/ Collection, http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/eire/ohtheday.htm, retrieved on 12/28/16.

Which shine for God alone.

Were not those sweets, though humbly shed—
That hair—those weeping eyes—
And the sunk heart that inly bled—
Heaven's noblest sacrifice?

Thou that hast slept in error's sleep,
Oh, wouldst thou wake in heaven,
Like Mary kneel, like Mary weep,
"Love much,' and be forgiven?[290]

One other song is worth including due to its popularity not only in Ireland but among the Irish in America, "The Harp That Once thro' Tara's Halls":

The harp that once thro' Tara's halls,
The soul of Music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
As if that soul were fled:--
So sleeps the pride of former days,
So glory's thrill is o'er:
And hearts, that once beat high for praise,
Now feel the pulse no more!

No more to chiefs and ladies bright
The harp of Tara swells;
The chord, alone, that breaks at night,
Its tale of ruin tells:--
Thus Freedom now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives
Is when some heart indignant breaks,

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[290] From MOORE'S SACRED MELODIES, found online at Bartleby, http://www.bartleby.com/340/99.html, retrieved 12/28/16.

To shew that still she lives![291]

I've provided such a large number of Moore's lyrics here and in the section devoted to parlor songs for two good reasons: (1) hardly anyone has even heard the name of Thomas Moore today, and (2) with Stephen Foster, he was one of the two most popular lyricist/composers in 19th century America.[292] And he was not only popular in his day, but many of Moore's songs remained popular throughout the 19th century.[293]

Both Moore's lyrics and his music contributed to his success. His lyrics fit the times. More than any other lyricist, Moore managed to blend nostalgia, the exotic, the chivalrous, and the Romantic into a seamless style that others tried to imitate. Which is not to say that his lyrics were above criticism, even in his own time.[294] The preface to the American edition of MOORE'S IRISH TUNES concedes, "It may be true that force and dignity are wanting to some of these lyrics; that occasionally fancy labors until art becomes too evident in strained and frigid similes: that ornament at times overlays sentiment, until nature pants beneath the glittering encumberance."[295] Nevertheless, his lyrics were what the audiences of his own day wanted: emotion, but with a patina of artificiality.

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[291] Moore, MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES, pp. 18-19. Some call Moore the "Irish National Poet." That's absurd. Moore's poetry, while it may be inspirational to some, is technically no better than second rate. Ireland's true national poet is William Butler Yeats.

[292] And he was even *more* popular in Britain, where he became an indelible part of national culture of Ireland and England.

[293] As Charles Hamm mentions in YESTERDAYS: POPULAR SONG IN AMERICA (Norton: New York, 1983), p. 46, in 1905 National Magazine asked 20,000 Americans to send lists of their favorite songs. The magazine collected responses for four years, then it published a book containing the best representative collection of those songs that it could. The book, HEART SONGS (Chapple Publishing Co.: Boston, 1909), included 500 pages of songs. Of these, five were from Moore: "The Canadian Boat Songs," "The Last Rose of Sumer," "Love's Young Dream," "The Minstrel Boy," and "Oft in the Stilly Night." You might ask how many songwriters today will have five of their songs named among the best of all time 75-100 years after their publication.

[294] In *our* time, his lyrics could fairly be characterized as strained, drippy, and artificial. But the criticism is unfair, since our times are too different to allow a Procrustean fit of the standards of today on Moore's songs.

Moore's music was unique. First, it was Irish at a time when Irish music was a novelty. To those used to art music or the smooth melodies of Arne and Hook, the gapped scales and leaps of Irish music seemed wild and barabaric. But Moore didn't leave those melodies as he found them. As he wrote his lyrics, he bent the melodies to his words, especially adding ornamental notes that bridged some of the large gaps in the original. Then, wth suggestions from Moore as to the desired harmonies, Stevenson's arrangements further normalized the "wild" Irish melodies. The result was music that was exciting and exotic but with a *bel canto* gloss. Like the lyrics, the music reflected the contradictions and extremes of Romanticism.

Moore had specific ideas regarding how he wanted his music performed, and he was greatly dissatisfied at the piano arrangements that some publishers gave his pieces for sale to the public. He also had set opinions about the proper *manner* of performing his songs:

> There is but one instruction I should venture to any persons desirous of doing justice to the character of these ballads, and that is to attend as little as possible to the rhythm, or rime in singing them. The time, indeed, should always be made to wait upon the feeling, but particularly in this style of music recitation, where the words ought to be nearly spoken as is consistent with the swell and sweetness of intonation, and where a strict and mechanical observance of time completely destroys all those pauses, lingerings, and abruptbess, which the expression of passion and tenderness requires. The truth of this remark needs but little enforcement to those who have ever heard a song of feeling and delicacy paced along in the unrelenting

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[295] "Prefatory Remarks" to MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES, p. 5.

> tramels of an orchestra.[296]

That is, the singer was to sing the piece “freely,” bending time and the other elements of expression to the moods of the song.

Moore became the perfect expression of the emotional character of the antebellum era among the middle and upper classes. When Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. wrote “For the Moore Centennial Celebration” in 1879, decades after Moore’s peak popularity, he wrote in the first half of the poem a reminiscence expressing what was earnestly felt by a generation of Americans:

> Enchanter of Erin, whose magic has bound us,
> Thy wand for one moment we fondly would claim,
> Entranced while it summons the phantoms around us
> That blush into life at the sound of thy name.
>
> The tell-tales of memory wake from their slumbers,--
> I hear the old song with its tender refrain,
> What passion lies hid in those honey-voiced numbers!
> What perfume of youth in each exquisite strain!
>
> The home of my childhood comes back as a vision,--
> Hark! Hark! A soft chord from its song-haunted room,--
> 'T is a morning of May, when the air is Elysian,--
> The syringa in bud and the lilac in bloom,--
>
> We are clustered around the "Clementi" piano,--
> There were six of us then,-- there are two of us now,--
> She is singing-- the girl with the silver soprano--
> How "The Lord of the Valley" was false to his vow;
>
> "Let Erin remember" the echoes are calling;

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[296] Thomas Moore, MELODIES, SONGS, SACRED SONGS, AND NATIONAL AIRS; CONTAINING SEVERAL NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED IN AMERICA (J&B Williams: Exeter, MA, 1836), pp. iii-iv; quoted in Hamm, YESTERDAYS, p, 49.

Through "The Vale of Avoca" the waters are rolled;
"The Exile" laments while the night~dews are falling;
"The Morning of Life" dawns again as of old.

But ah! those warm love-songs of fresh adolescence!
Around us such raptures celestial they flung
That it seemed as if Paradise breathed its quintessence
Through the seraph-toned lips of the maiden that sung!

Long hushed are the chords that my boyhood enchanted
As when the smooth wave by the angel was stirred,
Yet still with their music is memory haunted,
And oft in my dreams are their melodies heard.

I feel like the priest to his altar returning,--
The crowd that was kneeling no longer is there,
The flame has died down, but the brands are still burning,
And sandal and cinnamon sweeten the air.

Moore eventually turned to writing novels, inspired in part by the success of Sir Walter Scott. He also published his MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN (1825) and the LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF LORD BYRON, WITH NOTICES OF HIS LIFE (1830). He died in 1852.

Thomas Haynes Bayly

Thomas Haynes Bayly was a lyric poet, novelist, and prolific dramatist who was related to the aristocracy on his mother's side. Bayly's poems were elegant and graceful, and such dramas as *Perfection* and *Tom Noddy's Secret* proved very popular. His songs were similar to those of Moore in their frequent mood of "delicate melancholy." And, like Moore, Bayly usually selected the tunes for his lyrics.

Bayly was born in 1797 in Bath and early displayed a talent for poetry and drama. He considered law as a profession and attended Oxford to prepare for the ministry, but he had little interest in that career and did not do well in school. A love affair that ended badly sent him to Scotland and Ireland for a distraction. In Dublin, he participated in the theater scene and had early success with ballads.[297] From that point on, he was determined to be a poet.

Bayly's poetry was popular and, combined with his wife's dowry, he had a considerable income. His income was further increased by the success of such songs as the semi-autobiographical "Oh No, We Never Speak of Her" and "I'd Be a Butterfly"[298] and the novel, THE AYLMERS, two volumes of his lyrics, and several successful plays. Unfortunately, in 1831 bad investments and a dishonest agent handling his wife's properties put Bayly in financial trouble. Poor health and emotional problems also plagued him, although much of that was set right by a stay in France.

Upon his return to London, Bayly produced at least 36 dramas or parts of dramas, a well-received book of poetry (THE WEEDS OF WITCHERY), and a trilogy of novels (KINDNESS OF WOMEN). Although he hoped to re-establish his financial standing, this was not to be. Debilitation from "brain fever,"[299] followed by dropsy[300] and jaundice proved fatal, and Bayly died in

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[297] Bayly's poems and lyrics were frequently found on broadside ballads. Only Charles Dibdin was found more frequently on broadside sheets.

[298] "I'll Be a Butterfly" was very popular in the salons of the day, but by our standards it was fairly icky. Here's a sample:

> I'd be a butterfly born in a bower,
> Where roses and lilies and violets meet;
> Roving for ever from flower to flower,
> And kissing all buds that are pretty and sweet!
> I'd never languish for wealth, or for power,
> I'd never sigh to see slaves at my feet,
> I'd be a butterfly born in a bower,
> Kissing all buds that are pretty and sweet.

They liked it at the time, though, which gives you a pretty good idea of the audience that Bayly was writing for.

[299] "Brain fever" is one of those diseases diagnosed by Victorian doctors that we can't quite make sense of today. They described it as a physical disease whose main symptom was inflammation of the brain. This

1839. His wife and two children were left in poor financial straits and were aided by a benefit at Drury Lane that raised £200 for their support.

Bayly's best-known songs were "Old House at Home," "I'd Be a Butterfly," "Oh No, We Never Mention Her," "She wore a Wreath of Roses," "The Mistletoe Bough," and "Long, Long Ago." You've already had a taste of "I'd Be a Butterfly," which I assume is quite sufficient for that one. I've rounded out your picture of Bayly with three more of his lyrics:

Oh No, We Never Mention Her

Oh, no! We never mention her, her name is never heard;
    My lips are now forbid to speak that once familiar word.
From sport to sport they hurry me, to banish my regret.
    And when they win a smile from me, they think that I forget.

They bid me seek in change of scene the charms that others see,
    But were I in a foreign land, they'd find no change in me.
'Tis true that I behold no more the valley where we met,
    I do not see the hawthorn tree, but how could I forget?

For oh! there are so many things recall the past to me,
    The breeze upon the sunny hills, the billows of the sea,

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would seem to indicate encephalitis or meningitis or something along those lines. But that doesn't seem to be the case, since it was thought to be caused by a sudden shock or other mental distress (which fits well with Bayly's situation). Since we now know that you can't get inflammation of the brain from shock or distress, that leaves us up a stump in figuring out what the heck "brain fever" was . . . particularly since it commonly proved fatal. Not too many people die of imaginary diseases, so it had to have been *something*. Odds are that "brain fever" covered both mental and physical ailments, with the physical ones having the nasty consequences.

[300] "Dropsy" is another Victorian medical term, but we understand this one better. Dropsy was swelling of the soft tissues (*i.e.*, edema), often caused by congestive heart failure. If Bayly had been suffering from congestive heart failure, overwork and the liver disease indicated by jaundice could well have helped kill him.

The rosy tint that decks the sky before the sun is set;
Ay every leaf I look upon forbids me to forget.

They tell me she is happy now, the gayest of the gay;
They hint that she forgets me too, -- but I heed not what they say;
Perhaps like me she struggles with each feeling of regret:
But if s/he loves as I have loved, she never can forget.[301]

This song is the one for which Bayly is best remembered:

Long, Long Ago

Tell me the tales that to me were so dear,
Long, long ago, long, long ago,
Sing me the songs I delighted to hear,
Long, long ago, long ago,
Now you are come all my grief is removed,
Let me forget that so long you have roved.
Let me believe that you love as you loved,
Long, long ago, long ago.

Do you remember the paths where we met?
Long, long ago, long, long ago.
Ah, yes, you told me you'd never forget,
Long, long ago, long ago.
Then to all others, my smile you preferred,
Love, when you spoke, gave a charm to each word.
Still my heart treasures the phrases I heard,
Long, long ago, long ago.

Tho' by your kindness my fond hopes were raised,

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[301] From http://www.hartenshield.com/oh_no_we_never.html, with modifications. Retrieved 1/3/17. Bayly wrote the song after the collapse of his first love affair.

Long, long ago, long, long ago.
You by more eloquent lips have been praised,
Long, long ago, long, long ago,
But, by long absence your truth has been tried,
Still to your accents I listen with pride,
Blessed as I was when I sat by your side.
Long, long ago, long ago.[302]

Bayly composed the following somewhat gruesome song from a traditional tale :

The Mistletoe Bough

The mistletoe hung in the castle hall
The holly branch shone on the old oak wall.
The Baron's retainers were blithe and gay,
Keeping the Christmas holiday.

The Baron beheld with a father's pride
His beautiful child, Lord Lovell's bride.
And she, with her bright eyes seemed to be
The star of that goodly company.
Oh, the mistletoe bough.
Oh, the mistletoe bough.

"I'm weary of dancing, now," she cried;
"Here, tarry a moment, I'll hide, I'll hide,
And, Lovell, be sure you're the first to trace
The clue to my secret hiding place."

Away she ran, and her friends began
Each tower to search and each nook to scan.
And young Lovell cried, "Oh, where do you hide?
I'm lonesome without you, my own fair bride."

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[302] Found at http://www.contemplator.com/england/longago.html, retrieved 1/3/17.

Oh, the mistletoe bough.
Oh, the mistletoe bough.

They sought her that night, they sought her next day,
They sought her in vain when a week passed away.
In the highest, the lowest, the loneliest spot,
Young Lovell sought wildly, but found her not.

The years passed by and their brief at last
Was told as a sorrowful tale long past.
When Lovell appeared, all the children cried,
"See the old man weeps for his fairy bride."
Oh, the mistletoe bough.
Oh, the mistletoe bough.

At length, an old chest that had long laid hid
Was found in the castle; they raised the lid.
A skeleton form lay mouldering there
In the bridal wreath of that lady fair.

How sad the day when in sportive jest
She hid from her lord in the old oak chest,
It closed with a spring and a dreadful doom,
And the bride lay clasped in a living tomb.
Oh, the mistletoe bough.
Oh, the mistletoe bough.[303]

The tunes chosen for Bayly's songs were similar to those chosen be Moore. Both were simple and had a somewhat narrow range, both of which made the songs easy for amateurs to remember and sing.

Bayly's songs were frequently parodied. It's not hard to understand how wilting elegance can bring out the worst in comedians. Thus, Bayly's

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[303] Located at the website, *The Poet's Corner*, http://www.users.dialstart.net/~2metres/poetry/mistletoebough/mistletoebough.htm, retrieved 1/3/17. "The Mistletoe Bough" was so popular that a play was written on the subject and produced in 1834.

“The Soldier’s Tear” became Shirley Brooks’ “The Policeman’s Tear”; “She Wore a Wreath of Roses” became W.H. Guest’s “He Wore a Pair of Mittens”; and “We Met–‘Twas in a Crowd” became Thomas Hood’s “We Met–‘Twas in a Mob.”[304]

The prolific Scottish scholar, author, poet, and journalist, Andrew Lang[305] (1844-1912) wrote the following about Bayly:

> The name of Bayly may be unfamiliar, but every one almost has heard his ditties chanted . . . If to be sung everywhere, to hear your verses uttered in harmony with all pianos and quoted by the world at large, be fame, Bayly had it. He was an unaffected poet. He wrote words to airs, and he is almost absolutely forgotten. To read him is to be carried back on the wings of music to the bowers of youth; and to the bowers of youth I have been wafted . . . Mr. Bayly, according to Mrs. Bayly, "ably penetrated the sources of the human heart," like Shakespeare and Mr. Howells. He also "gave to minstrelsy the attributes of intellect and wit," and "reclaimed even festive song from vulgarity," in which, since the age of Anacreon, festive song has notoriously wallowed.[306]

That’s a fair summary, and we’ll leave it at that.

Felicia Hemans

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[304] Hood was a close friend of Bayly’s and the author of Bayly’s eulogy, which would seem to indicate that Bayly wasn’t too torn up by the parodies.

[305] Although Lang wrote (among other things) a great deal of fiction, poems, and history, he was best known in the 20th century for his “colored” books of fairy tales (ex., *The Blue Fairy Book*, *The Brown Fairy Book*, *The Green Fairy Book*, etc.). Unfortunately, these have gone out of style, and few Americans remember them today.

[306] Found on the website, *Online Literature*, located at http://www.online-literature.com/andrew_lang/essays-in-little/3/, retrieved 1/3/17.

Like Moore and Bayly, Felicia Hemans was known as a poet. Unlike them, she did not originally write poems as lyrics. Rather, her *lyric poems* were subsequently set to music.

Felicia Browne was born in 1793 in Liverpool, the fifth of seven children. When she was about 6, her family moved to Wales, and she always regarded Wales as her adoptive home. She read voraciously as a child and memorized a great deal of poetry. At the age of 14, she published POEMS. The work that was poorly received, but it attracted the attention of Percy Bysshe Shelley, with whom she corresponded for a time.[307]

She published "England and Spain; or Valour and Patriotism" in 1808, probably inspired by the service of two of her brothers in the army (one of whom served in Spain). In 1812, she published a major work, THE DOMESTIC AFFECTIONS AND OTHER POEMS, and also married Captain Alfred Hemans, another soldier. The marriage was not a happy one. Although Hemans refused to discuss the matter, there was some suggestion of physical abuse. Hemans lived briefly in Daventry, Northamptonshire where her husband was stationed, then moved back to Wales for the birth of the first of the couple's five sons.

In 1818, Captain Hemans moved to Italy, in part for reasons of health. Patricia Hemans remained in Wales with their five sons, and they never saw each other again, although they exchanged letters. Eventually, two of the sons moved to Italy to be with their father.

The death of Hemans' mother in 1827 affected her profoundly, and she lived largely as an invalid from that time on. She moved (unhappily) back to Liverpool, visited Scotland in 1828 (and staying for a time with Sir Walter Scott), and visited the Lake Country with William Wordsworth the following year.

Hemans moved to Dublin in 1831. She lived there for four years before dying there in 1835, probably of heart problems resulting from damage caused by rheumatic fever.

Hemans continued to write poems throughout her life, and these were compiled in such collections as THE FOREST SANCTUARY, RECORDS OF WOMAN, SONGS OF THE AFFECTIONS, SCENES AND HYMNS OF LIFE, and

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[307] Hemans broke off the correspondence when she began to question Shelley's morality.

NATIONAL LYRICS, AND SONGS FOR MUSIC.[308] Eventually, she published about 19 volumes of poems, wrote two plays (*The Vespers of Palermo* and *De Chatillon, or The Crusaders*), discussed practical religion (*Superstition and Revelation* and *The Skeptic*), and produced a series of biographies (RECORDS OF WOMEN). She was one of the most popular poets of her day and a highly successful one in terms of sales, particularly with female readers.[309] She was influenced by both Byron and Wordsworth, although she tried to avoid Byronic influence after determining that he was morally dubious.[310] Her poems were technically conventional and skilled in rhyme, scansion, and arrangement. Many of her poems idealized female concerns of the time; others were patriotic, religious, or historical. She was highly regarded, too, for the moral tone of her poetry, particularly the way they advanced faith and conventional domestic values.[311] She is most widely known today for "Casabianca," a poem about the heroic death of the son of Louis de Casabianca during the battle of the Nile in 1798. The first verse of the poem is as follows:

The boy stood on the burning deck

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[308] Hemans first published her poems in literary magazines, which gave her quick feedback as to what the market wanted and whether she was meeting that demand. By the time she put together a compilation, she had already conducted a sort of market research through the literary magazines that enabled her to give her audience exactly what it wanted. That was one reason for the great popularity of her books. It also doubled her income from her poetry: paid once by the magazine and once in book sales.

[309] Her income from poetry was sufficient to support herself and five children; her husband contributed nothing to their support.

[310] Saying that Byron was "morally dubious" is like saying that god's weather report to Noah was "partly cloudy."

[311] One contemporary, Almira Phelps, said of Hemans, "[E]verything that comes from her pen is pure, and bears the image and superscription of the elevated and chastened mind." See Finson, THE VOICES THAT ARE GONE, p. 27.

Whence all but he had fled;
The flame that lit the battle's wreck
Shone round him o'er the dead.[312]

Critical opinion of Hemans' poetry is mixed, although she is receiving some favorable contemporary re-evaluation. Sir Walter Scott commented that her poems were "too poetical," having too many flowers and too little fruit, and that hits the nail on the head. There was a great deal of emotion and sensitivity in her poetry but not much intellectual depth. Which, if you happen to *like* emotion and sensitivity is fine: Not everything needs to be T.S. Eliot. But her circumscribed life and second-hand experience of many of the subjects of her poems meant that much of her poetry consisted of conventionally-handled subjects lacking the fresh and penetrating insight of someone such as Emily Dickinson, who went to the universal from the small world she knew. Her most successful works were short lyric poems, which were perfect for song lyrics. It is not surprising, then, that she collaborated with her sister, Harriett Mary Browne, in setting her poems to music.[313]

The best way to become familiar with Hemans, of course, is to read some of her work. So, here's three of her poems which became popular songs. The first lyric was originally a poem entitled "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock." She was inspired to write the poem by a speech by Daniel Webster commemorating the 200 year anniversary of the event:

The Pilgrim Fathers

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[312] Several generations of children have been tormented by being required to memorize this poem, largely because it could be recited "for effect."

[313] Browne later edited Hemans' complete works after the poet's death. Some of Hemans' poems were successfully set to music, too, by the German-born Baltimore church organist Chistopher Meineke. Meineke's melismatc faux *bel canto* melodies suited the tone of Hemans' poems well. And, of course, since he was working in America, he didn't need to ask Hemans' permission or pay royalties to use her poems as lyrics.

The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed,
And the heavy night hung dark,
The hills and waters o’er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame.
Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear;
They shook the depths of the desert’s gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang;
And the stars heard, and the sea!
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free.
The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white wave’s foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roared,—
This was their welcome home!

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
They sought a faith’s pure shrine!
Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod!
They have left unstained, what there they found:

Freedom to worship God.[314]

The following lyric was originally published as the poem, “Evening Song of the Tyrolese Peasants”:

The Tyrolese Evening Hymn

Come to the sunset tree!
The day is past and gone;
The woodman's axe lies free,
And the reaper's work is done.

The twilight star to heaven,
And the summer dew to flowers,
And rest to us, is given
By the cool soft evening hours.

Sweet is the hour of rest!
Pleasant the wind's low sigh,
And the gleaming of the west,
And the turf whereon we lie;

When the burden and the heat
Of labour's task are o'er,
And kindly voices greet
The tired one at his door.

Come to the sunset tree!
The day is past and gone;
The woodman's axe lies free,
And the reaper's work is done.

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[314] Found at the website *Hymnary.org* , located at http://www.hymnary.org/text/the_breaking_waves_dashed_high. Retrieved on 1/3/17. This is another one that American schoolchildren were made to memorize.

Yes; tuneful is the sound
That dwells in whispering boughs;
Welcome the freshness round!
And the gale that fans our brows.

But rest more sweet and still
Than ever nightfall gave,
Our yearning hearts shall fill
In the world beyond the grave.

There shall no tempest blow,
No scorching noontide heat;
There shall be no more snow,
No weary wandering feet.

So we lift our trusting eyes
From the hills our fathers trode,
To the quiet of the skies,
To the Sabbath of our God.

Come to the sunset tree!
The day is past and gone
The woodman's axe lies free,
And the reaper's work is done.[315]

This last poem is about as stereotypically Romantic as you can get (short of presenting an adolescent unicorn dying of tuberculosis):

The Captive Knight

'Twas a trumpet's pealing sound!
And the knight look'd down from the Paynim's tower,
And a Christian host, in its pride and power,

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[315] Found at a private website devoted to lieder of all types, located at http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=61220. Retrieved on 1/3/17.

Thro' the pass beneath him wound.
Cease awhile, clarion! Clarion, wild and shrill,
Cease! let them hear the captive's voice; be still!

“I knew 'twas a trumpet's note!
And I see my brethren's lances gleam,
And their pennons wave by the mountain stream,
And their plumes to the glad wind float!
Cease awhile, clarion! Clarion, wild and shrill,
Cease! let them hear the captive's voice; be still!

“I am here, with my heavy chain!
And I look on a torrent sweeping by,
And an eagle rushing to the sky,
And a host, to its battle-plain!
Cease awhile, clarion! Clarion, wild and shrill,
Cease! let them hear the captive's voice; be still!

“Must I pine in my fetters here?
With the wild wave's foam, and the free bird's flight,
And the tall spears glancing on my sight,
And the trumpet in mine ear?
Cease awhile, clarion! Clarion, wild and shrill,
Cease! let them hear the captive's voice; be still!

“They are gone! they have all pass'd by!
They in whose wars I had borne my part,
They that I lov'd with a brother's heart,
They have left me here to die!
Sound again, clarion! Clarion, pour thy blast!
Sound! for the captive's dream of hope is past.”[316]

Song was an excellent medium for Hemans. Her skillful use of poetic rhythm, her emphasis on the emotional, her sentimentality, and her delicate grace were perfectly suited to the brief compass of a song and to the antebellum taste in lyrics. If she seems overripe and precious today, we need to remember that she wasn't writing for today,

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[316] Found at the website *Poemhunter.com*, located at http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/the-captive-knight/. Retrieved on 1/3/17.

The three lyricists presented here are representative of the *professional* lyricists and composers of their day. In addition to the professionals, successful songs were published by semi-professionals (such as music teachers and their students) and complete amateurs (who usually had just one decent song in their system). And consider this. Of the eight most popular lyricists and composers listed earlier, Thomas Moore, Thomas Haynes Bayly, Henry Russell, Sir John Andrew Stevenson, John Braham, Felicia Hemans, Henry Bishop, and Stephen Foster, only the last one was an American. That, more than anything else, gives you a good idea of the extent of British dominance of American popular music in the early antebellum era.

European performers in America

As we've seen, the first popular lyricists and composers in the United States were British. The same can be said of the most successful professional performers in America in the early antebellum period. American lyricists, composers, and performers took a while to get up to speed, since there was too much that needed doing in America for many people to devote themselves to learning and perfecting music. It's not surprising, then, that the earliest popular artists came from abroad, where leisure and musical training were in greater supply.

Unfortunately, the United States did not usually get top-of-the-line popular performers until the later 1830s. There were good reasons for this. First, America was decidedly the boonies. It was way the hell *over there*, inconvenient to get to and cut off from everything civilized (*i.e.*, European). Second, Europe "knew" that while the United States could be fascinating, with its bizarre animals and wild scenery, it could also be deadly, thanks to "savage Indians" and such inconveniences as rattlesnakes. And third, thanks to a long line of snooty European visitors who had published travelogues describing their visit to American, Europeans were convinced that Americans, while interesting, were also rude, crude, and disgusting. Given these perceptions, the United States tended early on to get two kinds of popular performers: (a) those who weren't good enough or sufficiently established to get the big bucks in Europe and (b) those who were first-rate but were no longer *au courante*. By the second half of the 1830s, however, European artists were starting to make large piles of money in the states. At that point, the gold rush was on, and artists at all levels of ability started touring the United States. And the United States, worshiping at the altar of the Romantic cult of the Great Individual Personality, figured that was exactly the sort of person you must be if you'd come all the way from Europe to perform in the States.[317] The US gobbled foreign artists like M&Ms. One of the first to make a big impression was Henry Russell.

Henry Russell

Henry Russell was a British composer, pianist, and baritone. He began performing at the age of three, and he studied composition in Italy with Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Ieish singer Michael Balfe. He traveled to Canada looking for work, and, when he discovered that he couldn't make a living concertizing there, he crossed the border and took a position in 1833 as an organist at the First Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York.[318] Between 1837 and 1841, he toured as piano accompanist for singer William Vincent Wallace. It was during this period that he began performing as a solo singer and pianist. He also began publishing his first music, beginning with "Some Love to Roam o'er the Dark Sea Foam."[319] His best-known compositions were "Woodman! Spare That Tree" (a musical setting of a poem by George Pope Morris),[320] "A Life on the Ocean Wave" (a musical setting of a poem by Epes Sargent), "The Ivy Green" (a musical setting of a poem by Charles Dickens), and "The Old Arm Chair" (a musical setting of a poem by Eliza Cook).[321] "Woodman! Spare That Tree" gives a fair idea of Russell's approach to entertainment:

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[317] The handbills of the visitors always promised that the performers were wildly popular back in Europe and had played for scads of royal and aristocratic goomers.

[318] While playing church organ, Russell discovered that playing sacred music very quickly resulted in excellent popular-styled melodies. It is said, for example, that fast playing of "Old Hundredth" produced "Old Dan Tucker." That's what they say, anyhow.

[319] As a British citizen who had not been resident long in the United States, Russell was unable to copyright his music in the United States. He sold his songs outright to publishers, averaging about ten shillings apiece.

> Woodman, spare that tree,
> Touch not a single bough;
> In youth it sheltered me,
> And I'll protect it now.
> 'Twas my forefather's hand
> That placed it near his cot;--
> There, woodman, let it stand,
> Thy axe shall harm it not
>
> That old familiar tree,
> Whose glory and renown
> Are spread o'er land and sea,--
> Ah! wouldst thou hack it down?
> Woodman, forbear thy stroke--
> Cut not its earth-bound ties;
> O! spare that aged oak,
> Now tow'ring to the skies!
>
> When but an idle boy,
> I sought its grateful shade.
> In all their gushing joy;
> Here too my sisters play'd.
> My mother kissed me here--
> My father press'd my hand;--

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[320] Morris was the editor of the *New York Mirror*. He was also a respected poet whose poems were often used as lyrics. He was particularly good at rewriting minstrel songs and turning them into parlor songs.

[321] Russell was a composer, not a lyricist. He did, however, jigger with the poetry he latched onto to make it more suitable for use as a song.

Forgive this foolish tear,
But let that old oak stand!

My heart-strings round thee cling,
Close as thy bark, old friend!
Here shall the wild-bird sing,
And still thy branches bend.
Old tree! the storm still brave!
And, woodman, leave the spot:
While I've a hand to save,
Thy axe shall harm it not![322]

Here are Epes Sargent’s lyrics to “Life on the Ocean Wave,” with changes by Russell:[323]

A life on the ocean wave!
A home on the rolling deep!
Where the scatter’d waters rave,
And the winds their revels keep!
Like an eagle cag’d, [I] pine;
On this dull unchanging shore.
Oh! give me the flashing brine,
The spray and the tempest’s roar!

refrain:
A life on the ocean wave!
A home on the rolling deep!
Where the scatter’d waters rave
And the winds their revels keep!
The winds, the winds, the winds their revels keep.

Once more on the deck I stand
Of my own swift-gliding craft.

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[322] From Russell, ONE HUNDRED SONGS, p. 41.

[323] Russell added the refrain and made slight changes in some of the lyrics, particularly in the last two lines of verse three.

Set sail! farewell to the land
The gale follows fair abaft!
We shoot through the sparkling foam,
Like an ocean-bird set free;
Like the ocean-bird, our home,
We'll find far out on the sea.

(refrain)

The land is no longer in view;
The clouds have begun to frown;
But with a stout vessel and crew,
We'll say, let the storm come down!
And the song of our hearts shall be,
While the winds and waters rave,
A life on the heaving sea!
A home on the bounding wave!

(refrain)[324]

Russell went to Charles Dickens for his lyrics to "The Ivy Green":

O! a dainty plant is the Ivy green,
That creepth o'er the ruins old!
Of right choice food are his meals, I ween,
In his cell so lone and cold:
The walls must be crumbled, the stones decay'd,
To pleasure his dainty whim;
And the mould'ring dust that years have made
is a merry meal for him.

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[324] From Russell, ONE HUNDRED SONGS, pp. 46-47. The omission of "I" in the first verse was a typo; it was included in other editions of the song. Trust me, you'd know the melody if you heard it: It was used in every old cartoon and B movie as the background music for lighthearted seagoing. It's also the official march of the United States Merchant Marine.

refrain:
Creeping where no life is seen,
A rare old plant is the Ivy green.
O! creeping where no life is seen,
A rare old plant is the Ivy green.
Creeping, creeping, creeping where no life is seen,
Creeping, creeping,
A rare old plant is the Ivy green.

Fast he stealeth on, though he wears no wings,
And a staunch old heart has he!
How closely he twineth, how tightly he clings,
To his mate, the huge oak-tree!
And slyly he traileth along the ground,
And his leaves he gently waves.
As he joyously hugs and creeps around
The rich mould of dead men's graves.

(refrain)

Whole ages have fled, and their works decay'd.
And nations have scatter'd been;
But the stout old Ivy shall never fade,
From its hale and hearty green.
The brave old plant, in its lonely days,
Shall fatten upon the past;
For the stateliest building man can raise
Is the Ivy's food at last.

(refrain)[325]

And one more song is needed to get a complete appreciation for Russell's scope. I apologize for this, "The Ship on Fire," in advance:

The storm o'er the ocean flew furious and fast,

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[325] From Russell, ONE HUNDRED SONGS, p. 42.

And the waves rose in foam at the voice of the blast;
And heavily labour’d the gale-beaten ship
Like a stout-hearted swimmer, the spray at her lip;
And dark was the sky o’er the mariner’s path,
Except when the lightning illum’d it in wrath;

A young mother knelt in the cabin below,
And pressing her babe to her bosom of snow,
She pray’d to her God ‘mid the hurricane wild,
“Oh! Father, have mercy, look down on my child!”
It pass’d;--the fierce whirlwind career’d on its way,
And the ship like an arrow divided the spray;
Her sails glimmer’d white in the beams of the moon,
And the winds up aloft seemed to whistle, to whistle a tune;
And the winds up aloft seemed to whistle a tune.

There was joy in the ship as she furrow’d the foam,
For fond hearts within her were dreaming of home:
The young mother press’d her fond babe to her breast,
And sang a sweet song as she rock’d it to rest.

And the husband sat cheerily down by her side,
And look’d with delight on the face of his bride;
“Oh! happy,” said he, “when our roaming is o’er,
We’ll dwell in our cottage that stands by the shore;
Already in fancy its roof I descry,
And the smoke of its hearth curling up to the sky--
Its garden so green, and its vine-cover’d wall;
And kind friends a-waiting to welcome us all;
And the children that sport by the old oaken tree.”

Ah! gently the ship glided over the sea.
Hark! what was that? Hark, hark to the shout--
Fire! Then a tramp and a rout,
And an uproar of voices arose in the air,
And the mother knelt down–and the half-spoken pray’r
That she offer’d to God in her agony wild
Was–“Father, have mercy, look down on my child!”

She flew to her husband--she clung to his side;--
Oh! thee was her refuge, whate’er might betide.

Fire! fire!–it was raging above and below,
And the cheeks of the sailors grew pale at the sight,
And their eyes glisten’d wild in the glare of the light.
‘Twas vain o’er the ravage the waters to drip,
The pitiless flame was the lord of the ship,
And the smoke, in thick wreaths, mounted higher and higher;--
Oh God! it is fearful to perish by fire!
Alone with destruction–alone on the sea--
Great Father of mercy, our hope is with Thee!

Sad at heart and resign’d, yet undaunted and brave,
They lower’d the boat, a mere speck on the wave.
First enter’d the mother, enfolding her child,
It knew she caress’d it, look’d upward, and smil’d.
And then came the husband, and then came the crew,
At last came the captain–Oh, what could they do!
Cold, cold was the night as they drifted away,
And mistily dawned o’er the pathway the day;
And they pray’d for the light, and at noontide about
The sun o’er the waves shined joyously out.

“Ho, a sail! ho, a sail!” cried the man on the lee,
“Ho, a sail!” and they turn’d their glad eyes o’er the sea.
“They see us! they see us! the signal is wav’d;
They bear down upon us–they bear down upon us--
they bear down upon us–the signal is wav’d--
Thank God, thank God! we’re saved![326]

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[326] From, Russell, ONE HUNDRED SONGS, pp. 5-7. Both the Hutchinsons and the Alleghanians sang “The Ship on Fire” at one time or another and, like Russell, they had occasions on which a member of the audience woke up as they were singing “Fire! fire!” and started a stampede in the crowded hall for the doors.

The piece was more or less through-composed, with changes in time signature, pace, and performance instructions as it oozed its way to a conclusion.

The flavor of Russell's performances and character can also be learned from an excerpt from composer John Hill Hewitt's SHADOWS ON THE WALL OR GLIMPSES OF THE PAST (Turnbull Bros.: Baltimore, 1877), pp. 80-82:

> The descriptive songs and ballads of this composer and vocalist are still much in vogue. He spent much of his time in Baltimore, though New York was his headquarters. In person he was rather stout, but not tall. His face was quite prepossessing, of the Hebrew cast,[327] dark and heavy whiskers and curly hair. He was an expert at wheedling audiences out of applause, and adding to the effect of his songs by a brilliant pianoforte accompaniment. With such self-laudation he used often to describe the wonderful influence of his descriptive songs over audiences. On one occasion he related an incident connected with "Woodman, Spare that Tree." He had finished the last verse of the beautiful words, written by his highly esteemed friend Gen. George P. Morris. The audience were spell-boud for a moment, and then poured out a volume of applause that shook the building to its foundation. In the midst of this tremendous evidence of their boundless gratification, a snowy-headed gentleman, with great anxiety depicted in his venerable features, arose and demanded silence. He asked, with a tremulous voice: "Mr. Russell, in the name of Heaven, tell me, was the tree spared?" "It was, sir," replied the vocalist. "Thank God! thank God! I breathe again!" and then he sat down, perfectly overcome by his emotions. This miserable bombast did not always prove a clap-trap;[328] in many instances it drew forth hisses.
>
> Russell's voice was a baritone of limited register; the few good notes he possessed he turned to advantage. His "Old Arm-chair," for

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[327] Russell was from a well-known Jewish family.

[328] The word is used here with its original meaning, referring to a trite device for prompting audience applause. For example, "Are you with me tonight, Seattle?!?"

instance, has but five notes in its melodic construction. This was one of his most popular songs; its circulation was outstripped only by "Life on the Ocean Wave" and "I'm Afloat," two fine sea-songs. The history of the former is thus related: Some thirty years ago, Russell asked Mr. Epes Sargent to write songs for him, leaving the subject to the author's selection. In a walk on the Battery, New York, the sight of the vessels in the harbor dashing through the sparkling waters in the morning sunshine, suggested the "Life on the Ocean Wave," and the poet had finished it in his mind before the walk was completed. Upon showing it to a friend, himself a song-writer, his criticism was that it was "a very fair lyric, but was not a song." Sargent, somewhat disheartened, put the verses into his pocket, concluding that they might do to publish, but not to set to music. A few days afterward he met Mr. Russell in the music store of J. L. Hewitt & Co., and showed him the lines, informing him at the same time that they would not do, but that he would try again. "Let us go into the piano-room, and try it on the instrument," said Russell. They went. Russell sat down before the piano, placed the words before him, studied them attentively for a few minutes, humming a measure as he read, then threw his fingers over the keys; tried once, twice, thrice, and finally exultingly struck out the present melody to which "Life on the Ocean Wave" is set. He certainly was not more than about ten minutes about it, though he gave a day afterwards to scoring and writing out the music. The song become immensely popular *on land*, and many thousands were sold before the year was out. In England three different music-publishers have issued it in various styles. The parodies that have been made on it are almost innumerable.

Russell once called on me and asked me to write him a song on an "Old Family Clock," (he was remarkably fond of the prefix *old*; a wag of a poet once sent him some words addressed to an "Old Fine-tooth Comb.") I wrote the words. He then changed his mind, and employed me, promising good pay, to write a descriptive song on the "Drunkard," to stir up the temperance people. I pleased him much by beginning the song in this way: "The *old* lamp burned on the *old* oaken stool." He made a taking affair of it; and he made money on it too, but I never got his promise to pay. He slipped off to England, and as nothing has been heard of him for many years, I suppose he is "down among the dead men."

The reference to “Drunkard” in the Hewitt excerpt indicates another aspect of Russell. He supported a variety of causes, including racial tolerance, reform of treatment of the insane, abolition, and immigration.[329] He also sang a variety of temperance songs (although he may not have been guided by this aspect of his song selection in his personal life).

Even discounting the excerpt’s criticisms for Hewitt’s animus toward Russell after being stiffed on payment for the “Drunkard,” it’s clear from that excerpt and the poems that Russell chose as lyrics that he was an artist who depended on a Romantic and calculated sentimentality for his effects. Ruin and decay, things ancient, strong emotions (at the cost of realism), and an effete sensibility made him a perfect fit for the aspiring middle class Romantic. There is also an implicit glorification of the recent past in “Woodman” that appeals to nostalgia for the “good ol’ days,” before everything started changing so quickly. And, having read Hewitt, you can get a pretty good idea as to how Russell would have performed “The Ship on Fire”: It would have been a display piece, with Russell soothing the audience on the peaceful bits between episodes, then pulling out all his effects and “expression” on the storm scene, the fire scene, and the rescue. The piece was made for chewing scenery. You might not have gotten much to feed the intellect at a Russell performance, but you were guaranteed a nice emotional wallow, with nothing indelicate to mar the experience.

Hewitt wasn’t Russell’s only critic. “Honestus,”[330] in the *National Gazette*, was also critical of Russell. Honestus declared, “The press should be scrupulously careful not to set up bad models, to elevate worthlessness or depreciate merit.” Honestus instead advised that ore attention be paid to home-grown artists rather than foreign ones.[331] Honestus also doubted the authorship of a recently-presented work attributed to Russell, an oratorio entitled *The Skeptic*. Honestus challenged Russell to “write figures to a given bass and place the harmonies to it” in the presence of judges to determine if he were capable of writing the oratorio attributed to him. The latter criticism was probably prompted by the harmonic errors often found in Russell’s published music.

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[329] After returning to London, Russell produced *The Emigrant's Progress*, a series of musical tableaux lauding the opportunities available to immigrants to America.

[330] This may have been the American composer and critic, William Henry Fry. We’ll get to him in a few chapters.

[331] Which increases the suspicion that this was Fry.

Russell returned to England in 1841, and he performed successfully there for another twenty years.[332] He fought against slavery and for reform of insane asylums, and he also helped thousands of poor families to emigrate to the United States or Canada. He stopped performing in the early 1860s, but he was still composing when he died in 1900.

Charles Edward Horn

Charles Edward Horn was born in London in 1784. He studied voice, first with his father then with England’s premiere theatrical voice instructor, Vananzio Rauzzini. Horn took to th stage in 1809 and became a featured performer, a sought-after singing instructor, and a successful songwriter. The most successful female ballad singer of the early Victorian era, operatic contralto Madame Lucia Elizabeth Vestris, popularized Horn’s “Cherry Ripe,”[333] “Thro’ the Wood,” and “I’ve Been Roaming.”

Horn came to New York City in 1827, just as the city was recovering from a love affair with Italian opera. The city’s return to English musical comedies and plays and to English-language versions of other operas seemed to be made to order for Horn. Moreover, American publishers had brought out sheet music copies of Horn’s songs. But the rising sale of home pianos–and the poor behavior of American theatrical audiences–had reduced attendance at the theater.[334] Disappointed, Horn returned to London to serve as musical director of the Olympic Theatre, which Madame Vestris was about to make famous with her sophisticated burlesques and extravaganzas.[335]

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[332] He returned to the United States for a 12-month tour in 1843-44.

[333] From a lyric by the early 17th century poet and lyricist, Robert Herrick.

[334] This was ameliorated in the late 1820s by the so-called “masquerade balls” that were part orgy, until the New York legislature clamped down on the balls (yes, I intended that).

Horn returned to New York in 1831 to serve as musical director of the Park Theatre. There, he successfully produced and performed in English-language Italian opera until he lost his voice. Unable to perform as a singer, Horn declared that he was settling permanently in the United States, and he opened a musical academy for the study of voice.[336] He also began writing more American-flavored songs, such as "near the Lake Where Droop'd the Willow" and his re-working of the minstrel number, "Shin Bone Alley," in 1837.

A bitter recession in 1837 led to the closing of eight theaters in New York. In response, Horn opened a publishing company with financial backing from William J. Davis. Davis & Horn also sold pianos made by the New York Pianoforte Company, the first piano-manufacturing cooperative formed in the United States. With the exception of Horn's version of "Shine Bone Alley," sales were slow, despite a series of "Soirees Musicals" given to promote the firm's catalogue of European music. Davis left the company. Horn's business was saved by publication of Joseph Philip Knight's "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep," one of the monster hits of the 19th century (and *the* great demo piece for a *basso profundo*).

Horn's involvement with the American career of his friend, John Braham,[337] and in the formation of the New York Philharmonic, raised

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[335] In these *Olympia Revels*, Vestris engaged in clever literary references and punning. She also played many male roles (so-called "breeches roles") in which she wore *very* form-fitting pants. There was something for everyone.

[336] He also served as part of a 3-man panel for *Blackwood's Magazine* charged with selecting the best song published in the United States during 1834. His on composition, "Forest Music," won. Horn's "Wisdom and Cupid" also won a silver cup and found him alled the best writer of glees in America.

[337] John Braham was born about 1774-5 and was left an orphan in childhood. He first sang professionally in 1787, but his career as an operatic and popular tenor didn't begin in earnest until 1894. He trained with Vananzio Rauzzini and sang frequently with Nancy Storace, the sister of composer Stephen Storace. Braham became the first British opera

Horn's stature in the city. He sold his publishing company to John F. Nunns in 1843 and returned temporarily to Britain to work again as a musical director. He came back to the United States in 1847, when he applied to become a US citizen. He became the first paid conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. He died of typhoid fever in 1849.

Horn had been caught in a transition period in American theater, as foreign music, including British parlor songs, were beginning to lose sales to such home-grown musics as the songs of minstrelsy and such singing groups as the Hutchinsons. Horn himself recognized these changes and tried to adapt, but he was more comfortable with European art music and European popular music.

The Rainer Family Tyrolese Minstrels

Anton, Franz, Maria, Felix, and Joseph Rainer, from the Tyrolese region of the Austrian-Swiss Alps, toured Europe for more than a decade in the 1820s and 1830s as the Tyrolese Minstrels. In 1834, they came to the United States, singing German part songs and their own arrangements of Tyrolese folk songs. Their success encouraged other groups from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland to tour the United States. These included the German Minstrels and the Alpine Minstrels in 1837, the Strasser Family Singers in 1839, and the Cambrian Infant Minstrels and the Hauser Family somewhat later. For a while, the country was awash in yodeling, Tyrolese song, and lederhosen.[338]

A particularly important group, however, was the second group of

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singer to acquire a European reputation, which was all the more remarkable given his Jewish heritage in an anti-Semitic world. Braham was also a songwriter. Between 1800 and 1825, about 150 of his songs were published in the United States. By the 1830s, he had begun to sing baritone parts and abandon high tenor parts. When he toured the United States in 1840, his voice was part his prime, but he still managed the old-style cadenzas and vocal embellishments for which he had become known. He had become an audience favorite by the time he returned to England.

[338] German, Austrian, and Swiss groups continued to be popular in the United States up to the Civil War. There was also a domestic group closely modeled on the Germanic minstrel groups, the Boston Minstrels.

Rainer family members to tour the United States in 1839. They had planned to begin their tour with a performance at New York's Trinity Church on Christmas Eve, but fire damage to the church made this impossible. Instead, they performed outdoors at the Alexander Hamilton memorial near the church. And they performed for the first time in the United States a song they'd gotten from an organ repair man, who'd learned it from its village authors, "Stille Nacht"– later translated as "Silent Night." To say the least, it was an auspicious start.[339]

What made the Rainer Tyrolese Singers particularly important, however, was their harmony. Harmony was not a significant part of American folk singing, nor were many Americans familiar with choral art song. Unless a person belonged to a church that had adopted Lowell Mason's tunebook, the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, and had trained a choir to sing from it, the only harmonies that most Americans were familiar with were the open harmonies of the psalmodists and the shape-note singers. "Open" harmonies are harmonies whose chords span more than an octave in range, often using intervals of an octave, a fifth, and a fourth between notes. But the Rainer Family was singing close harmonies. "Close" harmony is sung in a narrow range, usually no more than an octave, with intervals of a third, fifth, and sixth between the root note and the other notes in the chord predominating. Open harmonies are more rugged, more "masculine" sounding. Close harmonies are more lush, more "feminine" sounding.[340] When the Rainer Family sang their close harmonies, in combination with precise enunciation and timing and the peculiar blending of family voices,[341] Americans everywhere were dumbstruck: They'd never heard anything like it.

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[339] The Strasser Family Singers had gotten "Silent Night" at the same time as the Rainers, and both groups were singing it by 1822. The Rainers sang it for Tsar Alexander I; the Strassers sang it for Prussia's Frederick William IV.

[340] Close harmonies, especially ones that include a dominant seventh in the chord, can also create an interesting phenomenon. The overtones of the notes of the chord (*i.e.*, the secondary and tertiary pitches that are part of a note and give it its distinctive tone) can sometimes blend together to give the impression of an additional note in the chord, one not sung as the primary note by any singer. A chord containing such an illusory note would later be called the "barbershop chord," from barbershop singing.

Thanks in part to songbooks published by the group through Oliver Ditson,[342] Americans quickly copied the Rainer Family's harmonies. Such groups as the Euterpian Quartette, the Hughes Family, Ossian's Bards, the Illsleys, the Boston Minstrels, and the Alleghenians began performing using the close harmony style. So did another group we'll talk about in a bit, the Hutchinson Family Singers.

Oh, and along with the other Tyrolese groups, the Rainer Family helped popularize yodeling in the United States. We'll get back to that eventually.

The Hauser Family

The Hauser Family was a Tyrolese family of five: Joseph, Franz, Maria, Terese, and George. As had most of the Tyrolese groups, they toured Europe for years before coming to the United States in the late 1840s. They were reputedly cousins of the Rainers, and they, too, toured as Tyrolese Minstrels. Their costumes were similar to those of the Rainers, and they performed many of the Rainers' songs, along with their own. They were, then, often compared to the Rainers and were considered to be of comparable musical quality.

What made the Hausers unique was their instrumentation. Franz played guitar, but Joseph played an instrument that few had even heard of . . . a zither. Zithers are instruments with one to 38 strings (about 34 or 35 are usual) and a flatish sounding board, across which the strings are stretched. The strings are either plucked or strummed with a pick. The alpine zither favored by the Tyrolese also includes a fingerboard similar to that of a guitar but laid directly along one edge of the sounding board, rather than sticking up as a neck. The fingerboard allows the player to depress the first six strings of the zither, thus allowing those strings to function as melody strings. The strings also include "accompaniment" strings, organized in groups as the root, fourth, and fifth of some common keys, and also bass and contrabass strings.

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[341] Families produce unique similarities in their members' voices that can be magical when harmonized. The best example is the Bolick Brothers, better known to country audiences of the thirties and forties as the Blue Sky Boys. Their blend was–and still is--unsurpassed. The Everly Brothers, the heir to the Bolick Brothers' style of harmony, are the example familiar to more Americans.

[342] Any touring group worth its salt sold merch, either in person or through the stores. Songbooks, with piano arrangements, were a sure-fire winner. The songs were, of course, translated into English.

Audiences hearing the zither for the first time were favorably impressed by it and were also impressed by its combination with the guitar. The novelty of the instrument fascinated many, and some even claimed that Joseph's was the first zither to come to the United States.

As it happens, the zither was ideal as a musical instrument for young ladies seeking "accomplishments." It was reasonably easy to play; you could play it while sitting daintily in the parlor; and it didn't make much noise, so you didn't inspire family members in other parts of the house to slit their throats as you learned to play the thing. *Godey's Lady Book* endorsed zither playing for fashionable young ladies, and that pretty much settled the matter.

To help the fashionable young lady play the zither without taxing their brains or their talent, inventors came up with all sorts of variations on the basic design, including labels under the strings or at the tuning pegs to show you how to tune the instrument. Others sold sheets of dots that you slid under the strings: The dots then told you which strings to pluck when. Others had little hammers that would strike all the notes of the proper chord when one of them was lifted with a thumb and allowed to fall. And there were other designs, too, intended to short-cut the learning, practicing, and thinking portions of mastering an instrument.

Fortunately, the zither did not remain the exclusive instrument of fashionable young ladies. Publication of the Hauser Family songbook by Oliver Ditson spread interest in the zither beyond the parlor, as did increased immigration from Germany and Austria. For a while, the zither became a fairly popular instrument before interest eventually faded.

The most interesting and important variation on the zither, however, was the autoharp. This instrument consisted of strings which were normally dampened but, when the right button was pressed, the dampers were removed from certain strings to sound the appropriate chord: All strings of the autoharp were strummed, then, with just the desired strings sounding. Both more or less standard zithers and the autoharp entered the folk tradition, especially in Appalachia. We'll talk about that once we get past the Civil War.

Domestic entertainers

By the 1840s, a series of native singing groups began to capture public attention. Although they were influenced by some of the foreign visitors of the 1830s, they managed to put an American stamp on their music. The group that set the pattern for most of these groups was the Hutchinson Family Singers.

The Hutchinson Family Singers[343]

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[343] Sheet music and lyrics to the following songs written by the Hutchinson Family is available at the IMSLP-Petrucci Music Library website (http://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Hutchinson_Family_Singers): "Away Down East," "The Bachelor's Lament," "The Bridge of Sighs," "Bright Things Can Never Die" [aka: "Kind Words Can Never Die"], "Cape Ann," "The Cottage of My Mother," "The Death of Warren," "Eight Dollars a Day," "The Good Old Plow," "The Good Old Days of Yore," "Harry Clay of the West," "The Horticultural Wife," "The Humbugged Husband," "If I Were a Voice," "Little Topsy's Songs," "The Millenium," "A Modern Belle," "The Mountain Echo," "The Old Granite State," "Recollections of Home," "Right over Wrong," "Rock in the Wilderness," "Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle," "Song for Mayor Wood," "There's a Good Time Coming," "Uncle Sam's Farm," "We Pitch Our Tents on the Old Tent Ground," and "Zeekeland and Huldey."

Recordings of songs by the Hutchinson Family Singers in their manner of performance can be found in the compilations *The American Composer Series: Homespun America* (Vox Records, VoxBox2, CD 5088), including "Crossing the Grand Sierras," "The Old Granite State," "The Pauper's Funeral," "Calomel," "The Old Folks Quadrille," "Get Off the Track," and Excelsior," as sung by "the New Hutchinson Singers" (members of the Eastman Chorale); and *The Civil War Music Collector's Edition* (Time-Life, R-103A-C, 1991), Disc A: "Hard Times Come Again No More," "Get Off the Track!," "The First Gun Is Fired! May God Protect the Right!," "Grafted into the Army," "The Southrons Chaunt of Defiance," and

The Hutchinsons were a large family living in Milford, New Hampshire. The father, Jesse, had been a fiddle player as well as a singer until his and his wife's conversion to the Baptist faith. The mother, Mary (known as Polly) also sang. The death of a son and the family's only daughter meant that by 1816 the family consisted of nine boys, with the youngest being Judson (1817). By 1829, two daughters and three more sons had been added to the family, Rhoda (1819), John (1821), Asa (1823), and Abby (1829).

The family had originally been farmers, but size of the family, competition from midwest farms connected to the east by the Erie Canal, and industrialization made agriculture, especially for the younger children, a dubious choice as a career. They were caught in a cultural shift, and neither the old career of agriculture nor the new career of factory work looked appealing. Two older brothers, Jesse and Andrew, opened stores in Lynn, Massachusetts and nearby Boston.[344] Older brother Joshua

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"Just Before the Battle, Mother"; Disc B: "There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood"; Disc C: "Weeping, Sad and Lonely" and "The Vacant Chair." all as by "the Hutchinson Family Singers."

Sources in this section include John Wallace Hutchinson, THE STORY OF THE HUTCHINSONS (TRIBE OF JESSE), v. 1 (Lee & Shepard: Boston, 1896) (also available at the Petrucci website); Brian Roberts, "'Slavery Would Have Died of That Music': The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Rise of Popular-Culture Abolitionism in Early Antebellum-Era America, 1842-1850," at http://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44539594.pdf; Alan Lewis, HERALDS OF FREEDOM: THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY SINGERS (available at http://www.oocities.org/unclesamsfarm/hutchinsons.htm); Scott Gac, SINGING FOR FREEDOM: THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY SINGERS AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CULTURE OF ANTEBELLUM REFORM (Yale Univ. Press: Hartford, CT, 2007); and Wikipedia (the entry at (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hutchinson_Family_Singers). See also Dale Cockrell, EXCELSIOR! (Pendragon Press: Hillsdale, NY, 1989). Note that the John Wallace Hutchinson book is not always reliable and is inclined to be somewhat self-serving.

[344] Selling merchandise was an alternative to agriculture and factory work, but only a limited number of people could do it. After all, merchants

became choirmaster of the local Baptist church, and other children joined the choir as they became old enough. Later, Joshua attended one of the classes for music teachers run by Lowell Mason and George Webb[345] and subsequently opened a singing school.

The younger Hutchinsons, Judson, John, and Asa, were attracted by the possibility of music as a career, but they had two problems: Their father frowned on instrumental music, and they had trouble formulating an act that would attract paying customers. The former problem was met by rehearsing (with Judson playing the fiddle) away from the house where their father couldn't hear them.[346] Their early repertoire included such popular standards as "Washington's March," "Hail, Columbia," and "Yankee Doodle." Their isolation from such entertainment hubs as New York City and from the entertainment world compounded the problem of creating a paying act. While the younger songs looked for the secret to professional success, family members demonstrated their musicality: In November 1840, all thirteen children gave a singing performance at the Baptist meeting house, performing hymns, anthems, glees, and ballads, and closing with "Old Hundred." They billed themselves as "The Tribe of Jesse," a name by which the Hutchinson Family Singers would sometimes later be known.

Judson, John, and Asa went to work in their older brothers' stores and at other jobs in Lynn and Boston by 1841. At night, they practiced their music and tried to find a way to make music pay. While in Lynn, the brothers saw the Rainer Family singers and believed that a similar family singing group, using the close harmonies of the Rainers, could be the solution to their problem. John took the musical and organizational lead, with Judson, Jesse, and Asa following. They gave their first public performance on February 13, 1841 in Lynn, accompanying their singing with Judson's violin and Asa's cello. They continued rehearsing after

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live by selling goods, which means that there have to be lots of other people out there with the money to *buy* the goods.

[345] See ART MUSIC IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA about this.

[346] They eventually learned that their father had known of their musical activities and was proud of their ability. Meanwhile, Asa was learning to play the cello, and John would later learn the violin.

moving to Lynn, with Jesse and Asa running a stove and hardware business, and Judson and John running a grocery next door. They also bought such sheet music as *The Orphæan Lyre*, *The Kingsley Social Choir*, *The Æolian Lyre*, and Henry Russell's "The Maniac" as part of their musical retooling.[347] At first, the brothers imitated the Rainers so closely that they even adopted Tyrolese dress. Gradually, however, they put their own spin on the close harmony singing and performance style they adopted from the Rainers.

As Baptists, the Hutchinsons were firm believers in temperance.[348] In addition, as early as 1840 members of the family attended abolitionist meetings in Milford.[349] Members of the group began writing songs with reform themes, first in support of temperance and, by 1843, in support of abolition. They put these reform songs to well-known tunes of the day, especially minstrel tunes and hymns (to which they added lively refrains). They added to these "sacred" songs other songs about their New England home, along with patriotic songs and humorous songs.

By the fall of 1841, the brothers were performing as the Aeolian Vocalists. They were receiving considerable acclaim but not much money. This may have been due, in part, to the ongoing Panics of 1837 and 1839, which depressed the economy until 1843. When Jesse left performing in favor of writing songs and managing the group, 11-year old sister Abby began to sing occasionally with the male Aeolians to flesh out the quartet. Audiences loved her, and that became the group's final form: They were a mixed close harmony quartet singing songs to reform and entertain audiences, one which sang its harmonies in a precise but fresh and natural vocal style with clear enunciation.

While the songs were usually written by one or two members, arrangements were a group effort. Each group member worked out his or her own part. John later described the process:

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[347] They had previously sought musical advice from Lowell Mason and George Webb, without much success.

[348] Judson, John, and Asa signed the Temperance pledge about this time. Jesse had signed earlier.

[349] A neighboring mixed race couple with five children reflected a considerable racial tolerance in the area around the family farm.

> Judson had a naturally high voice, a pure tenor. My voice was a baritone, though I sang falsetto easily, and Asa had a deep bass. Abby had an old-fashioned "counter" or contralto voice. The result was an effect like that of a male quartet. Abby's part being the first tenor, Judson's second tenor, mine first and Asa's second bass, respectively. But we practiced an interchange of parts as we sang, and the blending of the voices was so perfect that it seemed quite impossible for the audience to distinguish the several parts.

The overall effect was excellent, according to the *New York Tribune*:

> Their style of singing is admirable—simple, sweet, and full of mountain melody. Their voices are all rich and dear, and their whole execution is in a most chaste and grateful style . . . . Mr. Hutchinson not only sang [Henry Russell’s "The Maniac"] but acted it—and that in a manner not only perfectly chaste and without offending delicacy and decorum but with clear adherence to truth and great effect . . . .

The newspaper did, however, criticize their song choices, particularly in relying on poems set to music and re-writes of other performers’ songs. The Hutchinsons were still learning to write as well as learning to sing.

The Hutchinsons’ religious beliefs and early anti-alcohol stance gave them access to the public through churches and temperance meetings. These associations, and sister Abby, helped distinguish them from the usual run of entertainers, who had dubious reputations. By August 1842, they began billing themselves as the Hutchinson Family Singers, further enhancing their wholesome image. By fall, reviews indicated that they were perfecting their vocal sound and stage manner. And by January 1843, they were adding abolitionist songs to their repertoire . . . and adding invitations to perform at abolitionist meetings.

Songs such as “King Alcohol” won them a measure of popularity, as did “The Old Granite State” (sung to the Second Advent tune, “The Old Church Yard”). “The Old Granite State” was a song that introduced the group:

> We have come from the mountains,
> We have come from the mountains,
> We have come from the mountains

of the Old Granite State.
We're a band of brothers,
We're a band of brothers,
We're a band of brothers,
And we live among the hills,

With a band of music,
With a band of music,
With a band of music
We are passing round the world.
We have left our aged parents,
We have left our aged parents,
We have left our aged parents,
In the “Old Granite State.”

We obtain’d their blessing,
We obtain’d their blessing,
We obtain’d their blessing,
And we bless them in return.
Good old fashion’d singers,
Good old fashion’d singers,
Good old fashion’d singers,
They can make the air resound.

We have eight other Brothers,
And of Sisters, just another,
Besides our Father, and our Mother,
In the “Old Granite State”
With our present number,
There are fifteen in the tribe;
Thirteen sons and daughters,
And their history we bring.

Yes while the air is singing,
With their wild mountain singing,
We the news to you are bringing,
From the “Old Granite State”.
‘Tis the tribe of Jesse,

‘Tis the tribe of Jesse,
‘Tis the tribe of Jesse,
And their several names we sing.

David, Noah, Andrew, Zephy,
Caleb, Joshua, Jess, and Beny,
Judson, Rhoda, John, and Asa,
And Abbe are our names.
    We're the sons of Mary,
    Of the tribe of Jesse,
    And we now address ye,
With our native mountain song.

We are all real Yankees,
We are all real Yankees,
We are all real Yankees,
    From the “Old Granite State”
And by prudent guessing,
And by prudent gueing,
And by prudent guessing,
    We shall whittle through the world,

We are all Washingtonians,
Yes, we’re all Washingtonians,
Heav’n bless the Washintonians,
    Of the “Old Granite State.”
We are all teatoatlers, [sic]
We are all teatoatlers,
We are all teatoatlers,
    And have sign’d the Temp’rance pledge.

Now three cheers altogether,
Shout Columbia people ever,
Yankee hearts none can sever,
    In the “Old Sister States.”
Like our Sires before us,
We will swell the chorus,
Till the Heavens o’er us,

Shall rebound the loud huzza.
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

Like our Sires before us,
We will swell the chorus,
Till the Heavens o'er us,
Shall rebound the loud huzza.[350]

New songs were now quickly being added to their repertoire: Judson's "The Vulture of the Alps" (a comic song set to an Italian melody), a musical setting for Longfellow's "Excelsior!," and a group of songs from George P. Morris ("My Mother's Bible," "The Origin of Yankee Doodle," "I'm with You Once Again," and "Westward Ho!"). But the group's greatest popularity came with their abolitionist rouser "Get Off the Track," sung to the tune of "Old Dan Tucker."

Ho! the car, Emancipation,
Rides majestic thro' our nation
Bearing on its train, the story
Liberty! a nation's glory.

Roll it along! Roll it along!
Roll it along! thro' the nation
Freedom's car, Emancipation
Roll it along! Roll it along!
Roll it along! thro' the nation
Freedom's car, Emancipation.

First of all the train, and greater,
Speeds the dauntless Liberator
Onward cheered amid hosannas,

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[350] "The Old Granite State: Composed, Arranged, and Sung by the Hutchinson Family," (Firth & Hall: New York, c. 1843); available from the Petrucci Music Library.

And the waving of free banners.

Roll it along! Roll it along!
Roll it along! spread your banners
While the people shout hosannas.

Men of various predilections,
Frightened, run in all directions;
Merchants, editors, physicians,
Lawyers, priests and politicians.

Get out of the way! Get out of the way!
Get out of the way! every station,
Clear the track of 'mancipation.

Let the ministers and churches
Leave behind sectarian lurches;
Jump on board the car of freedom
Ere it be too late to need them.

Sound the alarm! Sound the alarm!
Sound the alarm! pulpit's thunder!
Ere too late, you see your blunder.

Politicians gazed, astounded,
When, at first our bell resounded:
Freight trains are coming, tell these foxes,
With our votes and ballot boxes.

Jump for your lives! Jump for your lives!
Jump for your lives! politicians,
From your dangerous false positions.

Rail roads to emancipation
Cannot rest on Clay foundation
And the tracks of 'The Magician'
Are but rail roads to perdition.

Pull up the rails! Pull up the rails!
Pull up the rails! Emancipation
Cannot rest on such foundation.

All true friends of emancipation,
Haste to freedom's rail road station;
Quick into the cars get seated,
All is ready, and completed.

Put on the steam! Put on the steam!
Put on the steam! All are crying,
And the liberty flags are flying.

Now, again the bell is tolling,
Soon you'll see the car wheels rolling;
Hinder not their destination,
Chartered for emancipation.

Wood up the fire! Wood up the fire!
Wood up the fire! keep it flashing,
While the train goes onward dashing.

Hear the mighty car wheels humming!
Now look out! the engine's coming!
Church and statesmen! hear the thunder!
Clear the track! or you'll fall under.

Get off the track! Get off the track!
Get off the track! all are singing,
While the liberty bell is ringing.

On triumphant, see them bearing,
Through sectarian rubbish tearing;
Th' bell and whistle and the steaming,
Startles thousands from their dreaming.

Look out for the cars! Look out for the cars!
Look out for the cars! while the bell rings,

Ere the sound your funeral knell rings.

See the people run to meet us;
At the depots thousands greet us;
All take seats with exultation,
In the car, Emancipation.

Huzza! Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!
Huzza! Huzza! Emancipation
Soon will bless our happy nation.

Huzza! Huzza!! Huzza!!!

By now, the Hutchinsons' antislavery songs were getting them into trouble with border state audiences and with audiences in the north that included radical Democrats (and persons who regarded the Hutchinsons simply as troublemakers). Some opponents of their message confronted them personally. Crowds occasionally degenerated into near riots, and some newspapers denounced them for their "vile" abolitionist songs. But the crowds coming to see them were tremendous and still growing. They were becoming the biggest native American musical act in the country.

The Hutchinsons were also becoming even more of a family business than previously. Other family members would occasionally substitute for members of the original quartet. At one point, an entirely new group, consisting of family members and a spouse, fulfilled an new engagement while the original quartet continued with previously-made engagements.

The original Hutchinosns toured England, Ireland, and Scotland in 1845-46 in company with Frederick Douglas.[351] Their repertoire now included such songs as "Johnny Sands,"[352] "Blow On! Blow On! (The

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[351] Douglas was taking precautions against an attempt to recapture him and return him to slavery.

[352] "Johnny Sands" would seem to be an odd choice for the Hutchinsons, although the selection may have been due to its great popularity in England at the time. The song is meant to be comic, telling the story of a husband whose wife has made him so miserable that he wants to die. He resolves to have her push him into the river and drown

Pirate's Glee)," "The Bridge of Sighs," "The Cot Where I Was Born," "The May Queen," "Sleep On, Sleep On," "The Slave's Appeal," "The Boatmen of the Ohio,"[353] "The Pauper's Funeral," and "There's a Good Time Coming." They were mixing comic, sentimental, and national songs not only with temperance and abolitionist songs but with songs about the mistreatment of the poor and powerless generally. With tensions running high between Britain and the United States, Jesse worked peace messages into "The Old Granite State," with very positive responses. They were a tremendous hit in Britain, despite mixed reviews in the London papers, and were honored with a dinner by Charles Dickens, his family, and friends.

Meanwhile back at home, Zephaniah, Caleb, and Joshua, and Rhoda (later replaced by their cousin, Ann Marvell) were giving performances in New England and New York. Their repertoire included new songs from Jesse: "The New England Farmer," "The Liberty Ball," "The Seasons," and "The Millenium." The also performed "He Doeth All things Well," "We're with You Once Again," and "The Lay of the Prisoner," in addition to those songs regularly performed by the original group. While the *Home Journal* acknowledged that the newness of the group prevented it from being quite as good as the original Hutchinsons, it nevertheless found the group excellent and praised its work.

The Hutchinsons' success was inspiring other groups, just as the Rainers had inspired them. The Nathaniel Rogers family formed a singing group for the 1845-46 season, two of whose members were friends of the Hutchinsons. So did the Barker Family of Lynn, Massachusetts, the Lumbard brothers in Chicago, and a New York group calling itself the

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him. To ensure that he doesn't chicken out, he has his wife tie his hands so that he can't swim. When they get to the river and Johnny's hands are tied, his wife takes a running start and races to push him in. At the last moment, Johnny steps aside and his wife goes into the river. When, drowning, she calls for help, Johnny responds that he can't help because his hands are tied.

[353] This is probably the same song as Daniel Emmett's "De Boatman's Dance" (1843; aka: "Dance, Boatman, Dance"). Jesse also wrote the lyrics to a song entitled "The Seasons," published in 1846 by C. Holt, that used a melody similar to that of "De Boatman's Dance."

Alleghenians (more on them in a bit). The *New York Tribune* compared the Alleghenians both to the Hutchinsons and the Rainers. In addition, the Congo Minstrels announced that "their songs are sung in Harmony in the style of the Hutchinson Family." The Hutchinsons were also parodied as the “Albino Minstrels” or the “Albino Family” by the Harmoneon Family Singers during a supposed blackface performance. This was just the first wave of family groups that would follow the Hutchinsons’ example.

The original Hutchinsons returned to America for the 1846-47 touring season. They added such songs as “Old High Rock,” “The Indian Hunter,” “Let Us Love One Another,” “The Spider and the Fly,” “Recollections of Home,” and “Jamie’s on the Stormy Ocean.” Their antislavery songs were generally greeted by hisses from diehard Democrats, but the group was enormously popular nevertheless. In answer to those who criticized them for singing antislavery songs, Jesse added the following verse to “The Old Granite State”:

Party threats are not alarming,
For when music ceases charming,
We can earn our bread by farming,
        In the Old Granite State.

They also announced their opposition to the ongoing war with Mexico in a New York performance with the following verse:

War and slavery perplex us,
And ere long will sorely vex us,
Oh, we're paying dear for Texas
        In the war with Mexico.
Such a demonstration
Is beneath our station,
When by arbitration
        We can settle every war.

There were hisses, but the cheers outnumbered them.[354] The newspapers were mixed in response to the groups advocacy of various causes, with the Democratic papers disapproving and others defending the group. The *New York Tribune* summed the situation up as follows:

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[354] They were touring exclusively in the north, as it would have been dangerous to tour very far south.

> They do not sing exclusively for money, but aim to make their music subserve the cause of humanity and freedom. Some of our citizens have complained of this, but they have done so, it seems to us, without just cause. We really do not see why a public singer has not as good a right as a lecturer, or the editor of a public journal, to make his public performances conform to his opinions. If it is understood beforehand that he will do this, no wrong is done to any one. The practice of the Hutchinsons in this respect is now well understood, and every man who buys a ticket knows just what to expect.[355]

The family cancelled an appearance in Philadelphia when the mayor and the trustees of the hall at which they were to perform demanded that no blacks be admitted. The *Pennsylvania Freeman* excoriated the "mob" and the authorities for this result.

Illness caused the Hutchinsons to start the 1847-48 season late. When they did begin touring early in 1848, they included one of their most controversial songs in their performances, “Eight Dollars a Day”:

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[355] Things haven't changed much. Any reasonably well-informed person has a decent idea as to whether a particular performer is likely to advocate support for particular causes during the performance and which causes are likely to be supported. If you go to an Ani DiFranco concert and then complain that she was "preachy," you need a dope slap. If you don't want to hear performers preach, chose wisely, Grasshopper. That's *your* prerogative.

By this time, I suspect that some members of the audience were paying to come to boo the Hutchinsons. Such is life. Myself, the thought of giving money to someone I'd boo would more than wipe out whatever pleasure the boos would give me. I might be tempted, though, if I were allowed to bring some eggs to the show . . . especially if it were a Ted Nugent concert.

By this time, Joshua Hutchinson had commenced a solo career. He was noted for singing pro-labor songs, such as "There Must Be Something Wrong," "The Popular Creed," and "The Song of Labor."

At Washington, full once a year do politicians throng,
Contriving there by various arts to make their sessions long;
And many a reason do they give why they’re obliged to stay,
But the clearest reason yet adduced is Eight dollars a day.

Just go with me to the Capitol, if you really would behold
All that imagination craves, and more than e’er was told;
D’ye see the City av’nue swarms with members grave and gay
And what d’ye s’pose they’re thinking oft ‘tis Eight dollars a day.

There is an axiom known to all and rather old given
For ‘tis a common household phrase and very often seen;
That those who’re fools to dance the fiddler too must pay
So Congress fiddles us to the tune–of Eight dollars a day.

All Washington now is wide awake, and all the big hotels
Are filled with Representatives, and O! how liquor sells,
It cannot well be otherwise for think you men will play
The National tune without their grog of Eight dollars a day.

A startling scene will not be play’d before the gazing world
For from the nation’s Capitol, her banner is unfurl’d;
The Congress men are trudging on, each in his chosen way
And all keep time to the glorious tune of Eight dollars a day.

Now to the Senate chamber first, then in the House we’ll go
And learn a lesson while we may of patriotic throe;
The roll is called and quorum form’d when the Chaplains rise to pray
And then the National work begins at Eight dollars a day.

Then every member takes his seat in the velvet chair of state
Thinking that in his dignity’s embodied the nation’s fate;
A flaming speech is made y one when the call is yea or nay
But all are agreed when the question comes of Eight dollars a day.

And next the order of the day comes the mad cry of war.

While very few of the longest heads can hardly tell what's for
But "War exists" all parties cry and th'enemy we must slay
So Congress backs the President–at Eight dollars a day.

Then the cry of war runs through the land for Volunteers to go,
And fight in the war for slavery on the plains of Mexico;
Seven dollars a month and to be shot at that is the soldiers [sic] pay
While those who send the poor fellows there get Eight dollars a day.

But a day of reck'ning's coming on behold the gath'ring storm,
For the People are the Sovereigns yet, and they demand reform;
From North and South the shout is heard and Congress must obey
Or quit their seats for better men, at Eight dollars a day.[356]

The Hutchinson's continued to be popular through the 1940s, but by the 1950s their moment had begun to pass. There were a number of reasons for this. One important factor was the marriage of Abby in 1849 to Ludlow Patton, who dissuaded her from further performing. Abby had been the biggest draw of the Hutchinson family members, and the group was diminished by her absence. Another reason for the Hutchinson's loss of popularity was their appearance at a tribute to Henry Clay on March 7, 1848 in New York City. They also published[357] the laudatory song they sang on that occasion, "Harry of the West":

Come brothers rouse, come hurry out
To see our honored Guest.
For lo! in every street they shout,
"Brave Harry of the West."
For lo! in every street they shout,
"Brave Harry of the West."

The City now is all awake

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[356] Sheet music to Jesse Hutchinson, Jr. and J.J. Hutchinson, "Eight Dollars a Day" (Oliver Ditson: New York, 1848), available at the Petrucci Music Library.

[357] They published two songbooks of their songs during the 1840s.

And in her laurels dress’d,
And voices make the welkin shake,
For “Harry of the West.”
And voices make the welkin shake,
For “Harry of the West.”

The women, too, and children sweet,
Are singing with the rest,
And weaving garlands in the street,
For “Harry of the West.”

Old Broadway now is all alive,
And every heart seems blest
As th’word does round, “he’ll soon arrive,
Brave Harry of the West.”

Behold! the aged Statesman comes!
In highest honors dressed;
No conq’ring hero ever shone,
Like “Harry of the West.”

Nor shall a party feeling dare
To raise one narrow test,
But all shall in the tribute share,
To “Harry of the West.”

For th’glorious day is coming near
When Wrong shall be redressed,
And Freedom’s Star shine bright and clear
On “Harry of the West.”

The hail! all hail! thrice-honor’d Sage,
Our most distinguished guest!
We venerate thy good old age,

Brave "Harry of the West!"[358]

This song was in considerable contrast with "Get Off the Track!," which had declared:

Rail roads to emancipation
Cannot rest on Clay foundation
And the tracks of 'The Magician'
Are but rail roads to perdition.

Pull up the rails! Pull up the rails!
Pull up the rails! Emancipation
Cannot rest on such foundation.

Other members of the antislavery movement regarded praise for Clay, the author of the Missouri Compromise,[359] as backsliding of the worst sort. While this exaggerated the size of the Hutchinson's transgression, highly ideological organizations typically overreact to deviations from shared group beliefs. That is precisely what the American Anti-Slavery Society did, banning the Hutchinsons from the group, albeit temporarily.[360] And as divisions between regions and interest groups became more virulent as the Civil War approached, the Hutchinsons' belief in integration and tolerance began to seem naive and quaint.

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[358] Sheet music to Jesse Hutchinson, Jr. and John W. Hutchinson, "Harry of the West" (C. Holt: New York, c. 1948), available at the Petrucci Music Library.

[359] If you'll remember, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 provided that Missouri would be admitted as a slave state and Maine admitted as a free state. Slavery was banned in US territories north of 36° 30' north latitude, which was the southern border of Missouri.

[360] By then, the "free soil" wing of the Whig Party demanded that *all* US territories be free from slavery. In punishing the Hutchinsons for honoring Clay, it didn't occur to the free soilers that Clay's compromise nearly 30 years earlier had achieved all that was achievable at that time. Indeed, it turned out that the compromise had achieved some goals that were constitutionally *unachievable*, since the Supreme Court later determined in the rightly-reviled *Dred Scott* decision that Congress had no power to restrict slavery in the territories.

The Hutchinson's also lost popularity because the brothers fell out with one another. The brothers had strong personalities, and without Abby to smooth over disagreements, those personalities pushed one another away. Before long, there were several "Hutchinson Family" groups, with each brother leading a contingent of his own family. Still, they all supported Lincoln's presidential campaigns, supported the North in the Civil War, and supported African-American and women's rights after the war. They wrote fewer of there own songs in later years, relying instead on such songs by other composers as "John Brown's Body" and "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground."

The Hutchinsons were the first genuinely American popular music group. They were the product of all the major national developments of the time: (1) the Erie Canal and reorganization of the American agricultural markets that ruined agriculture in New England; (2) the communication and transportation revolutions that made national booking and touring possible; (3) the Second Great Awakening that placed such a premium on new, evangelical religions, such as the Baptists; (4) the antebellum movements for reform; (5) a new American prosperity that gave many Americans the time and money to devote to entertainment; and (6) the beginning of the sure slide into Civil War. They sounded American because they were shaped by the same factors that were shaping the country as a whole.

The Hutchinsons were also an important influence on later American music. Their four-part close harmonies were the group harmony of the future. Following the Hutchinsons, sheet music from the 1940s forward relied on four-part harmonies, usually for soprano-alto-tenor-bass or counter tenor-tenor-baritone-bass. These arrangements were adopted by amateur singing groups attached to college fraternities, lodges, and military units. More important, they were adopted by other "family" singing groups and, especially, by the minstrel quartets. Close quartet singing became an important part of minstrelsy. From there it spread to the black and white performance of spirituals, parlor songs, and comic songs. A crucial descendant of the Hutchinsons were the postwar African-American recreational singing groups that created the sound of the "barbershop" quartet and led to the black gospel and secular quartets of the late 19th and early 20th century, as well as to the white popular quartets of the same period. From these latter black and white groups arose the Birmingham gospel quartets, the Jubilee quartets, the Boswell Sisters, the Mills Brothers, the Andrews Sisters, the Ink Spots, and doo wop. If the Hutchinsons were shaped by America, they, in turn, shaped America's music.

The Luca Family

A group that routed with the Hutchinson Family Singers for about a month were the singing Luca Family. This African-American ensemble began performing in the latter part of the 1840s, and it consisted of father Alexander C., Sr.; mother Lisette; sons John W. (cello), Simeon (first violin), Alexander C. Jr. (second villin), and Cleveland (piano); and aunt Diane.[361] The Luca Family performed both vocal and instrumental music.

The family's fortunes were boosted by a well-received performance before an audience of 5,000 for the Anti-Slavery Society in New York in 1852. A tour of the northeast followed, with appearances in Massachusets, New York, and Pennsylvania. Cleveland, he group's pianist, received particular praise for his viruosity. By 1857, they were touring more extensively, and their reputation had spread beyond their region. Their performances were widely praised. The Lockport, New York *Niagra Courier* of September 2, 1857 published the following:

> [T]heir performance was such as to elicit the enthusiastic approval of all present. . . . The two brothers John and Alexander have superb voices, guided by a correct knowledge of music, and enriched by cultivation. Madame Luca . . . sang well, and gave abundant assurance of superior vocal powers. But the great feature to the entertainment was the performance of C.G. Luca on the piano. . . . Such superior musical powers must win for them a reputation that will bring its recompense.[362]

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[361] Simeon, a violinist, died in 1854. He was replaced by contralto Jennie Allen.

[362] Quoted in Ronald Henry High, "Black Male Concert Singers," in George R. Keck and Sherrill V. Martin, FEEL THE SPIRIT: STUDIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRO-AMERICAN MUSIC (Greenwood Press: New

The Luca Family met the Hutchinsons while both groups were touring Ohio in 1859. They toured together for about a month as their schedules allowed. The response to the combined copany was overwhelmingly positive:

> The concert given in this place on Saturday night lastby the Hutchinsons and the Lucas was among he best musical entertainments ever given here. The audience was large, and the artists sang with spirit.
>
> Where all sang so well, it is difficult to select the best. . . . The Lucas are charming musicians, both instrumental and vocal; and when two such companies unite, there will be superior concerts.[363]

The Luca Family act dissolved in 1860. Liberian President Roberts persuaded Cleveland to teach music in that country. Alexander turned to the minstrel stage, where he performed as a tenor and violinist for several troupes. Later, he taught voice for Sprague's Georgia Minstrels. John sang with the Presbyterian church in Washington, D.C. and for various events during the Civil War. After the war, he moved to Baltimore, where he sang in St. Francis Xavier church and the Bethel church. He moved to New York in 1870, where he concertized until joining the Hyers Ssters as their musical director and stage manager in 1871.[364] He retired to St. Paul, Minnesota in 1884. There, he created a studio, directed church choirs, concertized, and produced theatrical works until he died in 1910.

The Alleghenians[365]

York, 1988), p. 121.

[363] Quoted in High, "Black Male Concert Singers," p. 121.

[364] He also performed, and he won particularly good notices for his performance as Uncle Tom in the Tom show, *Out of Bondage* during the 1876-77 season.

[365] The material included in this subsection comes from a "biographical booklet" devoted to this group on the Hutchinson family

Where the Hutchinson Family were a group of amateurs who turned themselves into professionals, the Alleghenians were professionals who imitated amateurs. The original group consisted of counter-tenor William H. Oakley, the leader of the group, bass James M. Boulard, and tenor Richard Dunning. All three were professional entertainers based in New York City.

The group gave its first concerts in June 17, 1946, when the Hutchinson Family had achieved widespread popularity and were on tour in Great Britain. At the time, another New Hampshire family group, the Baker Family, was also enjoying moderate success. The time seemed ripe, then, for another singing group using Hutchinson-style harmonies and arrangements. That month, the *New York Tribune* described their singing as "similar to that of the Rayners [sic] and the Hutchinsons . . . ." The group, accompanied by a pianist, was well-received by audiences and critics.

The Alleghenians soon added a soprano and a contralto tto the group. Unfortunately, the names of these singers have not been preserved. The group began touring in August for the 1846-47 season. That year and the next, they toured as far north as Canada and throughout the United States, having no problem getting bookings. Their repertoire included the patriotic songs, "My Own Native Land"[366] and "Washington Crossing the Delaware." It also included such sentimental songs as the Hutchinsons' number, "The Seasons," "Oh! Home of My Boyhood, My Own Country Home," and "The Soldiers' Bride." And where the Hutchinsons opposed the Mexican War, the Alleghanians supported it with

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websiite; see http://www.oocities.org/hfsbook/tahome.htm. The booklet/webposting is Alan Lewis's THE ALLEGHENIANS: VOICE AND SPIRIT. The booklet includes an annotated bibliography of the group's published scores.

[366] Which included the verse:

Then hail dear Columbia the land that we love
Where flourishes Liberty's Tree.
'Tis the birth place of freedom
Our own native home
'Tis the land, 'tis the land of the free.

such songs as “Away in Mexico,” “The Field of Monterey,” and a paean to Gen. Zachary Taylor, “Old Rough and Ready”:

> There's not a heart in all the land
> That beats not firm and steady
> For the hero of the Rio Grande
> Old gallant Rough and Ready.[367]

Since the Mexican War was supported by the pro-slavery forces and opposed by the anti-slavery contingent, the Alleghanians were welcome in the South where the Hutchinsons were not. There are reports of them performing as far south as New Orleans in January 1848.

Sometime in late 1846 or 1847, the group replaced its two female members with Caroline E. Hiffert, variously described as a contralto or mezzo-soprano.[368] From that point on, the group seems to have proceeded as a quartet. Probably toward the middle of 1849, Hiffert left the group and was replaced by the teenaged soprano, Miriam G, Goodenow. Goodenow, along with James Boulard, would prove to be the longest-serving member of the group. She was also widely recognized as a spectacular singer and as a very attractive young woman. She quickly became the focus of attention in the group. Thus. the addition of Goodenow to the group marked an uptick in its reception with audiences and critics, and it marks the most successful iteration of the group.[369]

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[367] The song was sung to the tune of the minstrel number, “Dandy Jim from Caroline.” Later, the Hutchinsons performed “We’ll Never Vote for Taylor,” so the differences between the two groups on social issues were fairly stark.

The Hutchinsons and the Alleghanians were friendly through the election of 1848. The sang together on election day and enjoyed the company. Then, the Hutchinsons discovered that the Alleghanians had preceded them on their tour route . . . and had sung the Hutchinsons’ songs along the way. That put a strain on the relationship, but they remained friends.

[368] This seems odd, since a counter-tenor (such as Oakley) would sing in approximately the same range.

Songs from the 1848-49 season included "I Wandered by the Brookside":

I wandered by the brookside, I wandered by the mill;
I could not hear the brook flow, the noisy wheel was still.
There was no burr of grasshopper, no chirp of any bird;
But the beating of my own heart was all the sound I heard.

I sat beneath the elm tree, I watched the long, long shade;
And as it grew still longer I did not feel afraid.
For I listened for a foot fall, I listened for a word;
But the beating of my own heart was all the sound I heard.

He came not, ah! he came not! The night came on alone.
The little stars sat one by one, each on his golden throne.
The evening air past by my cheek, the leaves above were stirr'd;
But the beating of my own heart was all the sound I heard.

Fast silent tears were flowing when something stood behind.
A hand was on my shoulder, I knew its touch was kind.
It drew me nearer, nearer, we did not speak one word;
For the beating of our own hearts was all the sound we heard.

"Our Home Is on the Mountain's Brow" and "Roll On Silver Moon"[370] were also part of the group's repertoire by then. The group played a benefit concert for the poor in Chicago on New Years' Day of 1849, then moved into Hutchinson-unfriendly territory: St. Louis, Tennessee, and back to Missouri. Upon their return to St. Louis on April 10, they joined the St. Louis Oratorical Society in singing Haydn's *The Creation*, with the Alleghanians singing all principal parts, including duets, trios, quartets, and choruses.

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[369] The addition of Goodenow to the group begs to be compared to the addition of Abby to the Hutchinson Family Singers.

[370] To give you an idea, "Roll on Silver Moon" included the following first verse and refrain:

As I strayed from my cot at the close of the day
    'Mid the ravishing beauties of June
'Neath a jessamine shade I espied a fair maid
    And she plaintively sighed to the moon.

refrain:

The group continued to progress in the 1849-50 season. Their reviews were better than ever, praising the quality of their voices, their blend, and the precision of their singing. The critics gave particular praise to Goodenow's voice. The group published a songbook in 1850 that proved popular,[371] one which included the following, the "Alleghanians Boat Glee":

Row! row! Brothers row!
O'er the waves we'll go
Like an arrow swiftly glancing.
'Tis a summer night,
'Tis a summer night,
And the moon shines bright.
Her beams on the waves are dancing,
Her beams on the waves are dancing.
Then ply the oar and leave the shore,
With songs the time beguiling.
There's nothing so bright
As a summer's night,
With a summer moon-light smiling.

Row! row! Brothers row!
O'er the waves we'll go

Roll on silver moon point the traveler his way
While the nightingale's song is in tune.
I never, never more with my true love will stray
By thy soft silver beams gentle moon.

[371] SONGS AND QUARTETTES, SUNG BY THE ALLEGHANIANS (Message Bird Office: New York, 1850).

Our homeward course we're steering,
    And sing good night
    And sing good night
With hearts all light,
No strife or discord fearing.
Then ply the oar and leave the shore,
With songs the time beguiling.
    There's nothing so bright
    As a summer night
With a summer moon-light smiling.[372]

Also in the group's repertoire this season were "The Dying Child's Request," "The Emigrant's Tribute to America," "Kate Was Once a Little Girl," "The Old Farmer's Elegy," "The Herdsman's Song," "Alpine Echo Quartet,"[373] "Ben Bolt," the Hutchinson number "Axes to Grind," and "Where Shall the Soul Find Rest."[374] "Ben Bolt," which was enormously popular in the late 1840s and up to the Civil War, is a good example of the sentimentalism that was part of the concerts of many professional groups, not just the Alleghanians:

Oh don't you remember sweet Alice, Ben Bolt
Sweet Alice whose hair was so brown
Who wept with delight when you gave her a smile
And trembled with fear at your frown.
In the old church yard in the valley, Ben Bolt
In a corner obscure and alone

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[372] The Alleghanians copyrighted this song in October 1849. It was very much in the style of Jesse Hutchinson Jr.'s uptempo numbers.

[373] The latter two songs were "echo" songs.

[374] "Where Shall the Soul Find Rest" contained the following verse:

Tell me, ye winged winds, that round my pathway roar,
Do ye not know some spot, where mortals weep no more?
Some lone and pleasant dell, some valley in the west,
Where, free from toil and pain, the weary soul may rest.

They have fitted a slab of granite so gray
And sweet Alice lies under the stone
They have fitted a slab of granite so gray
And sweet Alice lies under the stone

And don't you remember the school, Ben Bolt
And the master so kind and so true,
And the little nook by the clear running brook,
Where we gathered the flowers as they grew?
On the masters grave grows the grass, Ben Bolt,
And the running little brook is now dry,
And of all the friends who were schoolmates then,
There remain, Ben but you and I,
And of all the friends who were schoolmates then,
There remain, Ben but you and I.[375]

When some slave states threatened secession in response to what they regarded as President Taylor’s insufficient deference to slavery, the Alleghanians sang “Our Glorious Union, For Ever!” in response:

Hail to our beautiful land!
Shall we prove false to thee? Never!
We pledge thee our heart and our hand,
Our glorious Union, for ever!

The Alleghanians also adopted a song written by Jesse Hutchinson on the occasion of the death of his brother, James:

How my heart is in me burning,
And my very soul is yearning,
As my thoughts go backward turning
        To the good old days of yore
When my father and my mother

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[375] The lyrics were originally a poem written by Thomas Dunn English. It was re-written and put to music by Nelson Knease in 1848; found at http://www.contemplator.com/america/bbolt.html.

And each sister dear and brother,
Sand and chatted with each other
        ‘Round that good old cottage door.
                Dear old homestead cottage door,
                Dear old homestead cottage door.

Though our days on earth are fleeting
And all temp’ral joys retreating,
Yet we hope for another meeting
        Better far than days of yore;
When through heav’nly courts ascending,
And with Angel voices blending,
We shall sing on, without ending,
        At our heav’nly Father's door.
        Sing the New Song forevermore,
        Sing the new song forever more, ever more, ever more.

Voice and spirit loved to cheer it,
And the very birds to hear it
Flew around the door, and near it.--
        Near that good old cottage door!
And each sister dear and brother,
Nestled closer to each other,
As our father and our mother,
        Sand their good old songs of yore.

Then were words of kindness spoken,
And each heart renewed the token,
Pledging vows not to be broken,--
        Broken, never, never more;
And though now asunder driven,
With the ties of childhood riven,
Still we cherish pledges given
        ‘Round that good old cottage door![376]

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[376] Sheet music to Jesse Hutchinson, Jr. and Judson Hutchinson’s, “Good Old Days of Yore” (G.P. Reed: Boston, 1850) is available at the

This song remained in the Alleghanans' repertoire for decades.

At this point, the Alleghanians were fully the musical equal of the Hutchinsons in the eyes of many reviewers. Dr. Jason R. Orton declared on the first page of the Alleghanians' 1850 songbook,

> The pieces sung by the Alleghanians are selected with great care, and are of a highly moral and intellectual character; while their Music is distinguished by great simplicity and effectiveness, unusual skill in the management and harmonizing of voices, and a distinct and artistic elocution: and if we have any germs of a distinctive national Music among us, we shall be obliged to look for them to that school which these Vocalists represent.

In the next few seasons, the Alleghanians added to their repertoire the Hutchinsons' reform anthem "Right or Wrong" and perhaps their own most popular song, "The Old-Fashioned Bible." They also adopted "Behold, the Day of Promise Comes," "Goodbye, Sweetheart, Goodbye," "Grand Welcome to Kossuth,"[377] "The Bird Song" (a display piece for Goodenow), "Uncle Sam's Farm," "The Pretty Little Maid," and Thomas Moore's "The Last Rose of Summer."

Jesse Hutchinson, Jr. joined the Alleghanians as a tour manager and publicist during the 1851-52 season. He had just lost his wife and last child to illness and had been having disputes with his brothers. He had always wanted to go to California, but his brothers resisted such a trip as taking them too far from their families. When he heard that the Alleghanians were planning a California trip, he took the opportunity to join them for that season to escape a home now filled with heartbreaking memories.

The Alleghanians arrived in San Francisco in May of 1852. Their performances were packed, and sales of their songbook were brisk. But there were many entertainers in California looking to divert some of the new-found gold into their pockets, and the Alleghanians had some trouble in the San Francisco area finding halls in which to perform. Jesse

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Petrucci Music Library.

[377] Written on the occasion of the visit of the Hungarian revolutionary, Lajos Kossuth, to New York City.

Hutchinson decided to stay in California and go into business.[378] More devastating to the Alleghanians was the news that Miriam Goodenow would also remain in California to marry Thomas P. Robb.[379] That marriage took place in November or December, at which point the Alleghanians started back for the east. They were performing in New York City by January 17, 1853. At this point, the trace of the group is lost, and it may have gone into hiatus. The group seems to have reformed in the summer or fall of 1856, by which time they are beyond the scope of this chapter.

Later editions of the Alleghanians would tour the South Pacific and Latin America. Personnel were fluid. The group would lose popularity, then regain it with a rebuilding in 1872 with new singers and new repertoire. In short, they continued long after most of their contemporaries had moved on. They had the advantage of being professionals, not family. This gave them more flexibility than the family groups in adapting to changing circumstances. It's difficult to fire your tenor when he's your brother.

Blind Tom

Thomas Green Wiggins was born a slave in Georgia in 1849. He was blind from birth and was what was called in that day "simple."[380] But if Tom were an idiot, he was undoubtedly an idiot savant. Tom and his family were house servants, and a four-year old Tom eventually made his way to the family piano. Tom quickly demonstrated that despite whatever limitations he endured elsewhere, there were no limits to what he could do with a piano. In a short time, Tom demonstrated that if he heard a song or instrumental piece once he could usually play it immediately on the piano;[381] he could simultaneously play one song on one hand, a second song on the other hand, and sing yet a third song; he could play the piano when turned away from it; and he could perform other remarkable feats. Tom's owner, Col. James Neil Bethune, realized that he had discovered a gold mine.

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[378] He later changed his mind and started for home in January. When he reached Cincinnati, he fell ill. He died on May 15, 1853.

[379] Goodenow would die about five years later in 1857.

[380] Today, the best guess is that Thomas Wiggins was autistic.

By the time "Blind Tom," as he came to be known, was eight years old, Bethune took him to Atlanta, Macon, and Athens, where he gave public concerts. Tom played pieces by some of the best-regarded European composers of the day, such as Beethoven and Mozart, leaving Georgia audiences stunned. Tom was a quadruple wonder: (1) he performed amazing feats; (2) he was only eight years old; (3) he was blind and couldn't see (much less read) music, and (4) *he was a slave*. In the South especially, that last consideration made Tom not only a savant but a dangerous savant: Was Tom a living refutation of the Southern claim that African-Americans were inherently inferior to whites?

Bethune rented Tom to concert promoter Perry Oliver for three years for a fee of $15,000. Oliver disarmed fears of Tom's seeming exhibition of musical superiority to whites by stressing Tom's simple-mindedness and presenting him as he would a trick horse. Oliver marketed Tom in much the same way the Barnum marketed his freaks.

Tom performed as often as four times a day, earning about $100,000 a year for his promoter or owner. At times, Bethune took over managing Tom; at other times, he leased Tom to other promoters. Over the years, Bethune made about $750,000 from Tom's performances. Those performances often included an "audience challenge," when audience members brought forth unpublished songs or instrumental pieces and challenged Tom to perform them after one hearing, Tom was able to do so.

During the Civil War, Bethune used Tom to raise money for the Confederate cause. Tom was writing his own songs, and one of those songs, "The Battle of Manassas," became popular. Bethune, apparently, donated some or all of the proceeds from the song to the Confederacy. He remained popular in the South while the war was fought and toured throughout the conflict.

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[381] He could also recreate years later speeches he had once heard, complete with cheers and heckles. Tom was triggered by *sound*, not just music.

After the war, Bethune brought Tom on a tour of Europe. Bethune then transfered management of Tom to his son, John. John toured with Tom for eight years, including annual summer trips to New York City, where Joseph Poznanski tutored Tom and transcribed some of Tom's compositions.

In 1882, John Bethune married Eliza Stutzbach. When they divorced, John retained custody of Tom, who had been declared incompetent to care for himself. When John died, Tom was originally returned to James Bethune. But Stutzbach sued and won custody of Tom.[382] Eliza then took Tom on the concert circuit until the mid 1890s. Afterward, Tom remained Eliza's ward.

Tom briefly played in vaudeville in 1903 until he suffered a minor stroke. Thomas Wiggins suffered a major stroke and died in 1908.

Performances: venues and professional performance styles

Professional musical performances require a support system that's usually hidden from the audience. To have a flourishing national professional music system, you need the following: (1) enough prosperity to allow people to spend money on something as frivolous as entertainment; (2) a coterie of performers who are attractive by virtue of who they are or who do something that people are willing to pay money to see; (3) transportation to bring entertainers to performing venues; (4) lodging to house and feed entertainers on the road; (5) systems of communication that allow you to schedule and book a tour, make changes in schedules as needed, inform audiences of performances, and persuade audiences to attend; (6) venues for performances that may be rented by performers or which entrepreneurs may hire performers to fill; and (7) a system of finance that allows everything else to work as a paying proposition.

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[382] Tom's mother, Charity, was not given custody. Apparently, despite the 13th Amendment, the Bethune's previous and now-illegal ownership of Tom took precedence over his mother's claim to her son. In addition, Stutzbach was legally required to support Charity from Tom's earnings, but Stutzbach refused to do so. Slavery may have been barred by the Constitution, but its effects had not been purged from the law. The right of unrelated whites to exploit Tom's labor trumped whatever rights Tom's family had to protect him.

Many of the economic and technological advances of the early 19th century helped make professional touring a real possibility. America's new prosperity, thanks in large part to the American system of manufacturing and the production of cotton,[383] ensured that there were large numbers of people with sufficient discretionary income to spend on mere entertainment.[384] Canals, railroads, and steamboats greatly improved the ease and reliability of travel, although (as we saw in looking tours by art musicians in the 1830s and 1840s)[385] travel still required a great deal of uncomfortable and hazardous travel by coach on unreliable roads. We also saw although there was food and lodging for travelers, the quality of both was low, especially for those who needed to watch pennies. The telegraph was a godsend for scheduling performances in advance, and it was even more essential for learning in advance of changes in schedule and for improvising alternatives while on tour. And the spread of newspapers and cheaper and faster methods of printing allowed tour promoters to go into a town, plant a story in the local newspaper about the performance,[386] then print up posters and handbills to inform the public about the performance and cajole them into attending. In addition,the new system of finance, in which an increase in the bank notes in circulation monetized the colonial system of long-term debt, made the financial aspects of touring simpler.

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[383] See the chapter entitled ANTEBELLUM TECHNOLOGY BUSINESS AND CULTURE for this and for the technological developments described below.

[384] For a time, however, prosperity failed, particularly in the double economic downturns of the Panic of 1837 and the Panic of 1839, encouraged and worsened by the feckless economic policies of Andrew Jackson. Times were so bad in entertainment that many theaters closed.

[385] See the chapter entitled ART MUSIC IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA.

[386] Newspapers were voracious consumers of copy. And the smaller the town, the bigger the need for *something* to happen to justify newsprint. Read Mark Twain's autobiography on the subject.

We've already seen much of this when looking at tours by performers of art music in the 1830s through the 1850s. That leaves us needing to discuss the venues and the performers for professional popular music.

The venues

In order to perform, you need a *place* to perform. And unless you were impossibly sanguine about the weather and unconcerned with acoustics, you wanted that place to be indoors. Which meant that someone must construct a building . . . and someone was going to have to pay for it.

In th antebellum United States, there were several ways of handling this. In new towns seeking to grow, the town itself might build a hotel with a performance area or a hotel and an "opera house" to attract residents.[387] The hotel especially was as large and as elegant as the town could afford to make it, to serve as an advertisement for the town and its future. The hotel might also serve as a meeting place for locals or even as the city hall until the town grew big enough to build a separate building for government functions. Anthony Trollope described it this way:

> [I]n the United States of America the first sign of an incipient settlement is an hotel five stories high, with an office, a bar, a cloak-room, three gentlemen's parlours, two ladies' parlours, a ladies' entrance, and two hundred bedrooms. . . When the new hotel rises up in the wilderness, it is presumed that people will come there with the express object of inhabiting it. The hotel itself will create a population–as the railways do. . . . [I]n the States the towns run to the railways. It is the same thing with the hotels.[388]

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[387] As new residents moved into the town, the price of land went up and the amount of business increased, thus making wealthy all those souls who came to the town early. This is why new towns invested in hotels and opera houses (and why some one-horse towns wound up with coach-and-four hotels).

[388] Quoted in Daniel J. Boorstin, THE AMERICANS: THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE (Vintage: New York, 1965), p. 141. See the excellent chapter from which this quote comes, "Palaces of the Public," regarding the role of

A hotel–and perhaps an opera house–would help grow the town and make its residents rich (maybe). Such a town theater might eventually be sold to a budding entrepreneur or might be rented to persons or groups wanting to give performances. Or, an impressario might rent the theater for an extended period of time, betting that he could bring enough talent to town to make a profit on his share of the proceeds after paying rent.

If the theater were built with private money, the options were similar. The owners might bring in talent themselves, might rent the theater to someone else who would bring in talent, or might simply offer the building for a fee to anyone wanting to give a performance. As railroads connected cities, as towns were started along the railroads, and as hotels and opera houses appeared to goose the towns into growing. a circuit of theaters sprang up across America, ready for professional performers. The tour manager for the performer either had to arrange to rent the building himself or contact whoever was handling bookings for the space he'd rented to see what–if anything--was available. Initial contacts and agreements were generally made by mail, with telegraph used for later alterations in the planned schedule.

Theaters were the primary venue for musical performances, but they weren't the only venue. Symphony halls, convention halls, lodge halls (especially Masonic lodges), and other meeting halls also served as sites for performances. When the performer was associated with a particular cause or political party, meetings of a social or political group might bring in that performer to inspire the participants (such as bringing in the Hutchinson's for a Temperance meeting). Performers with lesser drawing power might perform in a hotel meeting room, a city hall, or a school building. And performances were also given outdoors, such as in the pleasure gardens described in an earlier chapter.[389] Some of these outdoor venues were highly desirable bookings, particularly the well-known

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the hotel in antebellum America. Among other things, hotels might be filled with *residents*. In some places, as many as one in six residents lived in a hotel . . . and another one in four in a boarding house.

[389] See PROFESSIONALS AND AMATEURS IN THE 18TH CENTURY COLONIES, *Pleasure gardens*.

Niblo's in New York City.[390]

As was described earlier,[391] stand-alone musical performances weren't the only events where you could hear professional singing of popular songs. Many comic and dramatic plays included music, either as part of the author's original intention or as later interpolations into the performance. Songs, dances, juggling, and other acts were often performed between acts or during intermissions. Ballad operas, and even grand operas, added popular songs to performances, whether they had anything to do with the plot or not.[392] Popular songs were also sung or played as instrumental numbers as part of art music concerts, including performances by symphonies, small groups of instrumentalists, solo instrumentalists, and art singers.[393] Beginning about 1810, however, singers began to appear more frequently in stand-alone concerts . . . at least often enough that it no longer seemed odd to hear someone singing who wasn't surrounded by a comic play.

Two other things ought to be discussed to understand the place of music in antebellum entertainment. First, the sorts of entertainment enjoyed in the antebellum era was often downright goofy by our standards. American audiences have always preferred short, varied entertainments over long, form-intensive ones. Unadorned, stand-alone plays could attract only so many paying customers. Plays with jokes, singing, performing puppies, tightrope walkers, a few dancers, daring decolletage, dazzling costumes, and a fake fire could attract a whole lot *more* customers. For example, there was a lot of Shakespeare produced in the antebellum period, and little of it looked like what the bard had in mind. An act or a couple of scenes from one play, followed by a different chunk from another play, then maybe some minstrel parody of Shakespeare or parody of a current opera might be par for an evening's course. In addition, there would be dancers, singers, and some slapstick here and there (sometimes in the middle of scenes), with maybe a Punch and Judy show between acts. From our point of view, this was entertainment on magic mushrooms. Singing and instrumental music could show up *anywhere* in *any* entertainment form if a producer thought what was being produced needed a little goosing. Continuity and logic got tricked by Barnum's "This way to the egress" sign.

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[390] Niblo's was one of the premier venues in New York. Niblo's indoor theater (which had yet another performance area on the roof) had a large outdoor pleasure garden behind the building. That garden adjoined James Fenimore Cooper's New York City residence. I wish I knew what Cooper made of that, particularly since as a young man he had fairly drastic ideas regarding how to correct a situation that bothered him.

[391] See PROFESSIONALS AND AMATEURS IN THE 18TH CENTURY COLONIES, *Forms of entertainment requiring music in the 18th century colonies*.

[392] Tawa reports that a Mr. Pearman, performing as Count Almaviva in Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*, introduced into the opera a song written by himself, "A Garden Formed by Nature Wild." For those not familiar with the opera, this makes as much sense as tossing Train's "Hey Soul Sistah" into a reception for Vladimir Putin.

[393] Opera singer Jenny Lind sang "Home, Sweet Home!" repeatedly, for example, during her tour of America because it was an audience favorite. Ole Bull, too, played popular favorites, including "Yankee Doodle," during his tours.

Second, especially early in the 19th century, the United States divided what we would call "entertainment" into two sorts of productions: recreations and amusements. "Recreation" included elements of rest and rejuvenation (needed after hard work), and the best recreation also had elements of education or personal improvement in it.. For this reason, shows often emphasized what might be learned from a show or how a show might rejuvenate the weary soul. This helps explain why what amounted to exhibitions of freaks *cum* variety acts called themselves dime "museums." Melodramas were praised as morality plays in which virtue was always triumphant. As late as the post-Civil War period, Buffalo Bill touted his Wild West Show as educational, and even the Midway attractions of the Columbian Exposition touted the educational benefits of viewing lightly clothed "primitives" and studying the dancing of the abdominally-limber Little Egypt. Even in the early 20th century, participatory dancing was still sold by touting its health benefits. On the other hand, things that merely allowed a person to pass time or to be amused–cards, low comedy, leg shows, juggling, animal tricks, games of chance, and the like–were despised as time wasters. And early in the 19th century, especially in New England, such entertainments were often banned and detrimental to the public welfare. As the 19th century wore on, these views of what was permissible entertainment softened considerably. But the notion that America was a frontier country and that every hand was needed to build the nation persisted to some extent long after the country had an excess of labor. Singing and instrumental music could show up anywhere . . . but whether that music was honored depended upon what kind of music it was and how it was sold.

Performance styles

The performance style of the Hutchinson Family singers and those who copied them has already been discussed. What needs to be described here is the performance style of the so-called "ballad singers" who performed parlor songs and similar material.

Let's start with a basic fact that affected *all* singing to large audiences in this era: The microphone hadn't been invented. If a speaker were going to be heard by the entire audience, that speaker needed to project a *big* voice. The way an untrained singer does this is by yelling. This is not a good idea. Yelling usually results in the singer pushing from the chest and the back of the throat through a tense throat. This is a dandy way to temporarily or permanently damage your vocal chords (Janis Joplin was an example of this). But there is another way to deal with the problem.

Most of the singers who came to the United States from Britain, and who dominated the American popular music scene through the 1830s, had studied the vocal technique of art musicians. In art music, the way you produce a big voice is by expanding your chest cavity, relaxing your throat, and pushing like crazy from your diaphragm.[394] The resulting voice is not only louder but also different in quality from the conversational-style voice that we’re used to hearing from performers, thanks to use of a microphone. The voice is much more “full,” resulting from a disproportionate increase in volume in the lower frequencies. The unusual muscle manipulation required for proper chest expansion and a relaxed throat also has a psychological effect on the singer, one which is difficult to describe. The singer feels somewhat constrained and stiff, not at all informal or relaxed. You’re psychologically primed to sing something substantial, even grandiose. This is just the opposite of most modern singing: Ever since the invention of the microphone and the rise of the Bing Crosby-style singer, we’re used to hearing singers who are relaxed, light, and conversational.[395] Someone singing in the 19th century style will sound “commanding,” perhaps, but not conversational or intimate. The average listener today would probably describe the style as somewhat “stuffy,” “pretentious,” or “artificial.”

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[394] Over the years, I have developed an amazingly loud speaking and singing voice. And I spent years teaching others to speak loudly in public (remember, I used to teach public speaking). So, I do know what I'm talking about here. The reason you relax your throat so that you don't you put too much strain on your vocal chords. And you expand your chest to increase the size of the resonance cavity (swimming and other aerobic exercise helps here). It also helps if you have a fair amount of chest and lat muscle to vibrate (weight lifting will help).

Some of the American singers who became popular in the 19th century, such as Mrs. French,[396] copied the art techniques of the British singers. Many, such as the Hutchinsons, did not.[397] It is difficult to know now to what extent various American singers adopted the vocal techniques of art music when they performed. That, unfortunately, is something we’re unlikely to ever know.

The appearance and growing strength of American-born performers in the 1830s was due to a variety of factors. One was increased prosperity since about 1815, allowing the sort of leisure time necessary to develop professional-level performance skills. Another was the song selection and singing style of American performers, both of which were better suited to the tastes of most Americans. Yet another was the Jacksonian elevation of the common American over the "aristocratic" (and British) tastes of the so-called "better sort." And outrage over the high fees paid to foreign singers (especially opera singers) and criticism of Americans and American audiences from foreign guests played a part in a preference for native entertainment. In sum, the American singers charged less, performed songs audiences liked better, didn't put on airs, and sang in a manner with which most Americans were familiar.

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[395] Which is one of the reasons why most Americans can’t stand the sound of opera–the singing style is the exact opposite of what they’ve learned to enjoy.

[396] Ann Maria Thorne, widely known as “Mrs. French” (née Mestayer), lived from 1813 to 1881. She was the wife of a Philadelphia merchant who received vocal training from Benjamin Carr and became a singer and actress, performing a mostly British repertoire. Under the name “Mrs. French,” she became one of the most popular singers in the United States during the 1820s.

[397] The Hutchinsons probably learned to relax their throats, however, or they wouldn’t have lasted as long as they did.

While vocal style was an important factor in performing songs, it was just the start of the art of the ballad singer. Indeed, calling the performer a "singer" is misleading. *The ballad singer was a singing actor*. The goal of a musical performance was to elicit strong emotions from the audience by means of "sentimental expression." The singer was expected to assume the emotions proper to a song and project these by every means at his or her disposal to the audience. The performer had to supplement the voice with postures, gestures, and facial expressions designed to accentuate the emotions projected vocally. For this reason, a technically excellent voice was not nearly as important as an *expressive* voice, full of life and feeling, nor was it as important as the communicative use of the body to intensify vocal affect. The performer who projected sincere and appropriate emotion, regardless of vocal imperfections, would win the audience.[398]

Tawa points out that many of the most successful singers had voices that were described as "sweet" and "chaste." By "sweet" was meant a warm and delicate expression of a clearly sung melody, designed to arouse pleasant feelings in the audience.[399] By "chaste" was meant a simple and natural performance of the melody without undue ornamentation or distracting mannerisms. Such a voice and singer focused audience attention on the song and its meaning rather than on the singer. Thomas Philipps, who was regarded as a pre-eminent singer in these respects, stated the following:

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[398] One of the oldest maxims in American entertainment is this: "Sincerity is everything. Once you can fake that, you've got it made." Which is a bit unfair, since the best way to rip your audience's heart out is to rip out your own at the same time.

[399] I'm thinking the 101 Strings here. For those of you too young to remember them, try Debbie Boone. For even younger listeners, try Andrea Bocelli. Especially if Kenny G is backing him.

> A common voice may be drilled into regularity of tone, and a degree of sweetness, by persevering and attentive practice. . . . [T]he power of the performer consists chiefly in accommodating the musical to the sentimental accent and emphasis, in giving the style all its varieties of light and shade . . . to conform and to enforce the sentiments, and in studying elocution with minute attention.[400]

Everything the singer did was supposed to be designed to heighten the emotional experience of the song.

The most important musical element of a parlor song was the melody. Consequently, the singer was expected to deliver the melody relatively cleanly and clearly, with a minimum of ornamentation.[401] Likewise, any instrumental accompaniment to the singer had to be careful to keep things simple and unobtrusive to avoid obscuring the singer's melodic work. When possible, ballad singers were backed by a small group of instruments, or a melodeon, or a piano. While a melodeon lacked the volume of a piano, it had the advantage of being eminently portable, thus avoiding the problems of transporting a piano *a la Gottschalk* or relying on the piano (if any) of dubious quality at each frontier stop. This meant that any singer who was not self-accompanied on the piano traveled with a pianist-melodeon player.

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[400] Quoted in Tawa, SWEET SONGS FOR GENTLE AMERICANS, p. 77.

[401] Music in which a singer or solo instrument highlights the melody seems simple, but it is, in fact, one of the most difficult tasks to perform well. It requires a subtlety of variation and taste beyond the reach of most performers. The masters at this were Ella Fitzgerald in her *Songbook* series and trumpeter Bobby Hackett in, of all things, the easy listening music produced under the sponsorship of Jackie Gleason.

This also explains why 19th century audiences disliked performances of popular songs by opera singers. The Italianate style of melodic ornamentation contradicted the American taste for a relatively plain statement of the melody. Americans regarded such ornamentation as empty show designed to display the singer's technique to the detriment of the meaning of the song.

The emphasis on singing the melody involved a complication: Sometimes the lyrics didn't *fit* the melody. The melody was written to fit the first verse of a song. Some later verses might change the scansion for expressive reasons. When that happened, there was never any musical indication of what ought to be done with the melody. That was something that each singer had to determine for her or himself. A good singer was able to adjust the melody to the rhythmic and emotional needs of each verse.

A similar attitude can be found with regard to expressive directions in written music. The written music of parlor songs contained few expressive directions of the sort found in Gottschalk's music. This is because each singer was expected to discover and project *one's own* experience of the song, rather than tailoring one's performance to the conception of whoever happened to arrange the music. Only by finding one's own understanding of a song could a singer hope to project a sincere expression of its meaning. To project that meaning, a singer was free to transpose the song to a more comfortable key, vary the tempo, shorten or lengthen the duration of notes, vary attack and decay, play with vibrato and tremolo, and alter volume and vocal quality as needed. Throughout, however, the singer was expected to articulate words clearly and be heard by the audience.

Singers not only practiced their vocal performance. They also practiced their gestures and facial expressions. Something similar was happening in public speaking in the 19th century. If you look at elocution books of the period, you'll find drawings of postures, gestures, and facial expressions deemed appropriate to various moods and meanings. These were practiced, and a speaker worked to make them seem as natural as possible at the podium. Similarly, the singer practiced to make every move and attitude of the body and face reflect the meaning of what was happening. Facial expression and details of gesture and posture would be caught by those nearest the singer. Persons in the back rows would most be affected by gross gestures and posture. It was important, then, to consider *every* movement and position, from small detail to large outline.

Some singers went beyond mere bodily expression to "singing in character." Such performers would dress as the portrayed character and act out the text of the song, with props when necessary. Unfortunately, we don't know much about the details of this sort of performance. Obviously, however, singing in character required songs in which something *happened*, in order for that something to be acted out. That something could be minimal, however (*i.e.*, the walking of a blind boy). Songs about the emotional reaction to a person or event, such as the death of a loved one, would be better suited to a more conventional approach to performance.

If all this seems very artificial and directed at the distasteful goal of a uninhibited emotional wallow, then you probably have a pretty good understanding of this sort of performance. By our standards, the voice, gestures, facial expressions, and posing probably *were* artificial, although performers tried to make them as natural as possible. But every medium and generation have their own artificialities that are taken for granted: The pace, diction, and vocabulary of situation comedy, for example, are not at all like real life conversation, yet it seems that way to us when we watch it.[402] We know that audiences were genuinely moved by these vocal performances, and that they were not embarrassed to show their emotions in public. Different times, different mores: "Cool" was yet to be invented.

Low-Down and Dirty: The Professional Music of the Urban Working Class[403]

So far, we've largely been occupied with the music of the middle and upper classes. Some very different sorts of music were being played in the urban bars, dancehalls, brothels, and parties frequented by the lower classes. Unfortunately, not much of what was going on in these places was preserved in print in the antebellum era. But we have just enough evidence to give us a brief sketch of what one lower class music scene looked like: the music of the urban working class neighborhoods and impoverished neighborhoods of the lower east side of Manhattan near Five Points.[404]

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[402] Performers who talk through a microphone to a stadium full of strangers as though we're a few neighbors on a back porch is another modern artificiality.

[403] The following books were essential in writing this section: Dale Cockrell, EVERYBODY'S DOIN' IT: SEX, MUSIC, AND DANCE IN NEW YORK, 1840-1917 (W.W. Norton: New York, 2019); George Foster, NEW YORK BY GAS-LIGHT, WITH HERE AND THERE A STREAK OF SUNSHINE (DeWitte and Davenport: New York, 1850); and George Foster, NEW YORK IN SLICES; BY AN EXPERIENCED CARVER (DeWitt & Davenport: New York, 1850).

First, a few remarks to orient you to the culture. This is the music of the working classes, what we would today call "blue collar" workers. It's also the music of those who've fallen out of the working class: grifters, gamblers, prostitutes, smugglers, thieves, neighborhood entertainers, gang members, and sellers of contraband. All lived on the edge. Even those who had jobs were often out of work as business waxed and waned. There was little charity from the government, and everyone had to do whatever it took to keep eating. Prostitution and various forms of thievery were rife, not only because there were so many full time prostitutes and thieves but because many engaged in those occupations part-time, as the need arose.[405] The line between criminals and solid citizens could be blurry.

In the worst areas, filth and disease were also inescapable. Horses, mules, pigs, dogs, cats, and rats fouled the streets. Many residents didn't bother to dump human waste into cisterns to be collected as night waste: Few waste collectors bothered to enter such areas as, say, New York's Five Points to remove waste. Instead, waste was tossed wherever seemed convenient, and it ran through the streets, Outhouses leeched bacteria into the water supply, and they, too, often overflowed into the streets. Garbage lay everywhere. Coal and wood smoke begrimed homes, shops, clothing, and people. Typhoid fever, cholera, tuberculosis, and diarrhea were endemic.

Gas lighting was new for street lights, but lanterns were still the main source of lighting for homes. Beer was bought at local taverns and carried away in buckets. Men spent as much time as they could in the male-only taverns, where they drank, smoked, ate, bragged, fought, and enjoyed entertainment ranging from slapstick to the lascivious, with the occasional sentimental ballad thrown in for langiappe. Domestic abuse cases flooded the courts. Women raised children, kept the home, sometimes did piecework for extra income, and wondered how they'd been dumb enough to marry.

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[404] The neighborhood was called Five Points because it included a five-way intersection. The original streets forming the intersection were Cross, Anthony, Orange, and Little Water. Today, they are Baxter, Park, and Worth Streets.

[405] Women's jobs were often insufficient to support a husbandless family. One survey later in the century found that there were about as many part-time prostitutes in New York and there were full-time prostitutes.

These citizens, untroubled by the pious pleas of strivers for moderation, temperance, delicate manners, and quiet dignity laughed, cried, celebrated, fought, and cursed easily and loudly. Their lives were messy and desperate for enjoyment amidst privation and likely disaster waiting around the corner. Males, trapped at the bottom of the status ladder, took offense quickly and violently, resenting any further real or imagined slight that pushed them even lower than they'd already fallen. Women lived surrounded by predators and looked for a male companion to help fend them off. Children grew up quickly, worked instead of going to school, and left home early to assume for themselves the burden of their survival.

Blacks and whites lived close together. The neighborhoods of blacks, Irish, Jews, and Germans blended into one another. They worked together, played together, joked together, danced together, despised one another together, and screwed together.

Sex was important. It was one of the few joys that could be free, but it was also bought and sold . . . for money, protection, position, control, or for the hope of love. Sex was intermingled with drink, with dance, with music, with comedy, with theater, and with costume. It was to working class life what patchouli and marijuana smoke were to Haight-Ashbury circa 1966: It was everywhere and inescapable.

Alcohol was even more important than sex. Blue collar workers had one day off a week . . . Sunday.[406] They worked ten to twelve hours a day at hard, frequently boring, and often dangerous jobs. Anything that allowed them to escape quickly from that reality was welcomed.[407] Despite the risk of addiction and its ill effects on health, alcohol was a blessed relief. The most popular types of alcohol drunk in the working classes were beer, cider, wine, or corn whiskey.

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[406] Which is why the last straw for the lower classes were New York's blue laws that forbade the sale of alcohol on Sunday. The state avoided a revolution by later finding that beer was exempt from the prohibition.

[407] Imbecilic temperance fiends would persistently attempt to reform society by addressing the symptom of social malaise, alcohol abuse, while

Cheap entertainment took many forms. On sidewalks were African-American shingle dancers,[408] peripatetic fiddlers, and hurdy-gurdies. Dime museums, cut-rate circuses, minstrel shows, Bowery theaters, concert halls, and taverns made musicians, singers, dancers, dramas, comedies, minstrels, animal acts, jugglers, acrobats, magicians, and geek shows available. Much of the entertainment was lewd (or, at the very least, suggestive) or crude, with a few venues making exceptions for the sake of attracting women and children. Few individuals could afford a piano, although some could and did. Instead, most amateurs relied on fiddles, banjos, guitars, mandolins, tambourines, drums, and the occasional horn or reed instrument to satisfy their need to make music.[409]

An important entertainment venue was the dancehall. In the antebellum era, most of these halls were generally small, often a level down from the street, and consisted of benches along the walls for the customers (for sitting or making love), an open sand-strewn space in the middle of the room, with a makeshift bar in one corner and a space for musicians in another. Such places were a combination dance floor, bar, concert hall, gambling den, and brothel. The women found in these places were looking, at least, for someone to buy them drinks and, with luck, someone to rent their bodies. Some places let men in free or for a slight charge but required them to buy their partner a drink after each dance. Pornographic cards, frequently with the address of the seller or some other accommodating woman written on the back, were sold by many of the dancers. Some dancehalls had pianos. More common was a band consisting of some combination of a violin, banjo, concertina/accordion,

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failing to address the innumerable underlying problems that drove the lower classes to drink.

[408] See the chapter entitled THE CIRCUS, THE THEATER, AND THE EARLY MINSTREL SHOW, section The early minstrel show, subsection *Minstrel dance* for a description of shingle dancers.

[409] The impoverished but refined could purchase a melodeon, if they were frugal. Melodeons were a common instrument in storefront churches.

cornet or flute, harmonica, tambourine, and bass fiddle.[410]

The best-known description of the lower-class dancehalls of the day came from Charles Dickens, the result of his visit to New York in 1843. The description that he later published was actually a combination of observations from several dancehalls that he visited in the vicinity of Five Points:

> Here . . . are lanes and alleys, paved with mud knee-deep, underground chambers, where they dance and game; the walls bedecked with rough designs of ships, and forts, and flags, and American eagles out of number : ruined houses, open to the street, whence, through wide gaps in the walls, other ruins loom upon the eye, as though the world of vice and misery had nothing else to show: hideous tenements which take their name from robbery and murder: all that is loathsome, drooping, and decayed is here.
>
> Our leader has his hand upon the latch of "Almack's," and calls to us from the bottom of the steps; for the assemblyroom of the Five Point fashionables is approached by a descent. Shall we go in? It is but a moment.
>
> Heyday! The landlady of Almack's thrives! A buxom fat mulatto woman, with sparkling eyes, v/hose head is daintily ornamented with a handkerchief of many colors. Nor is the landlord much behind her in his finery, being attired in a smart blue jacket, like a ship's steward, with a thick gold ring upon his little finger, and round his neck a gleaming golden watch-guard. How glad he is to see us! What will we please to call for? A dance?' It shall be done directly, sir: "a regular break-down."
>
> The corpulent black fiddler, and his friend who plays the tamborine, stamp upon the boarding of the small raised orchestra in which they sit, and play a livelv measure. Five or six couple [sic] come upon the floor, marshalled by a lively young negro, who is the wit of the assembly, and the greatest dancer known. He never leaves off making queer faces, and is the delight of all the rest, who

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[410] Bass fiddle seems an unlikely instrument until you realize that it was probably plucked rather than played arco. The result would have been a big, slap bass, perfect for keeping time for vigorous dancers.

> grin from ear to ear incessantly. Among the dancers are two young mulatto girls, with large black, drooping eyes, and head-gear after the fashion of the hostess, who are as shy, or feign to be, as though they never danced before, and so look down before the visitors, that their partners can see nothing but the long fringed lashes.
>
> But the dance commences. Every gentleman sets as long as he likes to the opposite lady, and the opposite lady to him, and all are so long about it that the sport begins to languish, when suddenly the lively hero dashes into the rescue. Instantly the fiddler grins, and goes at it tooth and nail; there is new energy in the tamborines; new laughter in the dancers; new smiles in the landlady; new confidence in the landlord; new brightness in the very candles. Single shuffle, double shuffle, cut and cross-cut; snapping his fingers, rolling his eyes, turning in his knees, presenting the backs of his legs in front, spinning about on his toes and heels like nothing but the man's fingers on the tamborine; dancing with two left legs, two right legs, two wooden legs, two wire legs, two spring legs—all sorts of legs and no legs—what is this to him? And in what walk of life, or dance of life, does man ever get such stimulating applause as thunders about him, when, having danced his partner off her feet, and himself too, he finishes by leaping gloriously on the bar-counter, and calling for something to drink, with the chuckle of a million of counterfeit Jim Crows, of one inimitable sound![411]

The dancer has been identified in other sources William Henry Lane, known as “Master Juba,” the king of New York City’s dancers. We’ll be hearing more about him in the chapter devoted to minstrelsy.

Dickens’ publication of his description of this dancehall, recognized by the cognoscenti as Pete Williams’ place, led to that dancehall’s becoming *the* place to visit for natives or visitors to the city who wanted to go slumming. The dancehall was often referred to as “Dickens’ Place.”[412]

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[411] From Charles Dickens, AMERICAN NOTES (John W. Lovell: New York City, 1881 [?]), pp. 669-70.

[412] A movement to rename the entire cul-de-sac where the dancehall was located “Dickens’ Place” in gratitude for the advertising was unsuccessful.

As frequently happened in the New York of that era, the place burned down a few years later, although it was soon rebuilt. One evening, newspaper columnist George Foster visited the place and reported what he found:

> It is Saturday night, and the company begins assembling early, for Satusday night is a grand time for thieves, loafers, prostitutes, and rowdies, as well as for honest, hard-working people. Already the room, a large, desolate-looking place with white-washed walls garnished with wooden benches–is half full of men and women, among whom the latter at this hour predominate. Later there will be pretty nearly an equal equilibrium established--for the “friends of the house” are out in all directions picking up recruits.
>
> In the middle of one side of the room a shammy platform is erected, with a trembling railing, and this is the “orchestra” of the establishment. Sometimes a single black fiddler answers the purpose; but on Saturday nights the music turns out strong, and the house entertains, in addition, a trumpet and a bass drum. With these instruments you may imagine that the music heard at Dickens’ Place is of no ordinary kind. You cannot begin to imagine, however, *what* it is. You cannot *see* the red-hot knitting needles spirted out by that red-faced trumpeter, who looks precisely as if he were blowing glass, which needles aforesaid penetrating the tympanum, pierce through and through your brain without remorse. Nor can you perceive the frightful mechanical contortions of the bass drummer as he sweats and deals his blows on every side, in all violation of the laws of rhythm, like a man beating a baulky [sic] mule and showering his blows upon the unfortunate animal, now on this side, now on that. If you could, it would be unnecessary for us to write.
>
> Probably three quarters of the women here, and who frequent this place, are negresses of various shades and colors. And the truth compels us to say that, on the whole, they are more tidy and presentable–or rather less horribly disgusting–than their white companions. . . . The orchestra have taken their places, ready to begin. The “bar” is crowded by motley and thirsty souls, refreshing themselves for the severe exercises about to commence. Each gentleman, by a simultaneous and apparently preconcerted movement, now “drawrs” his “chawr” of tobacco, and depositing it

> carefully in his trowsers pocket,, flings his arms around his buxom inamorata and salutes her whiskey-breathing lips with a chaste kiss, which extracts a scream of delight from the delicate creature, something between the whoop of an Indian and the neighing of a horse. And now the orchestra strikes up "Cooney in de Holler" and the company "cavorts to places." Having taken their positions and saluted each other with the most ludicrous exaggeration of ceremony, the dance proceeds for a few moments in tolerable order. But soon the excitement grows–the dancers begin contorting their bodies and accelerating their movements, accompanied with shouts of laughter and yells of encouragement and applause, until all observance of the figure is forgotten and every one leaps, stamps, screams and hurras on his or her own hook. Affairs are now at their hight [sic]. The black leader of the orchestra increases the momentum of his elbow and calls out the figure in convulsive efforts to be heard, until shining streams of perspiration roll down his ebony face; the dancers, now wild with excitement, like Ned Buntline at Astor Place, leap frantically about like howling dervishes, clasp their partners in their arms, and at length conclude the dance in hot confusion and disorder. As soon as things have cooled off a little each cavalier walks up to the bar, pays his shilling for the dance, and the floor is cleared for a new set; and so goes on the night.[413]

Note that one of the musicians called the figures, however ineffectual that might have been.

Foster also published descriptions of even lowlier dancehalls in his newspaper columns:

> All the house in this vicinity, and for some considerable distance round–yes, every one–are of the same character and are filled in precisely the same manner. The lower stories are usually occupied as drinking and dancing rooms; here and there, as evening sets in, the inmates of the house, dressed in most shocking

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[413] George Foster, NEW YORK BY GAS-LIGHT, WITH HERE AND THERE A STREAK OF SUNSHINE (DeWitte and Davenport: New York, 1850), pp. 73-74.

> immodesty, gather. The bar sends forth its poisonous steam–the door is flung wide open, if the weather will permit it; and the women, bare-headed, bare-armed and bare-bosomed, stand in the doorway or on the side-walk, inviting passers-by, indiscriminately, to enter, or exchanging oaths or obscenity with the inmates of the next house, similarly employed. The walkers in these haunts are mostly sailors, negroes and the worst of loafers and vagabonds who are enticed and perhaps even dragged in by the painted Jezebels, made to "treat," and then invited to the dance–every room being provided with its fiddler, ready to tune up his villainous squeaking for sixpence and a treat at the end of the piece. The liquor of course is of the most abominable description, poison and fire; and by the time the first dance is concluded, the visitor feels his blood on fire–all his brutal appetites are aroused, and he is ready for any thing. More drinking is proposed–then more dancing–then drink, and so on, until the poor victim loses what little human sense and precaution he is endowed withal, and hurries his partner off in a paroxysm of drunken lust. Of course if he has any money or valuables on his person he is completely robbed.[414]

And Foster added the following in a later book:

> The room looks like a large-dimly lighted cavern.–On a barrel by the side of the bar sits and old negro, tuning his fiddle, while the dancers on the floor have just taken their places. Away they go–a fat and shiny blackamoor with his arm around the waist of a slight young girl, whose skin is yet white and fair, but whose painted cheeks and hollow glaring eyes tell how rapidly goes on the work of disease and death. Opposite this couple, a man naked as at the first moment of his birth, whirls shouting and yelling away with a brutal-looking woman, once evidently a queenly beauty. The other places in the cotillion are occupied by a notorious kracksman with his "pal"–a celebrated "toucher"– . . . and a stupid-looking sailor, more than half seas over, carefully watched by the hag who is to pick his pockets, and who never loses sight for an instant of her prey. Around the

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[414] Foster, New York by Gas-Light, p. 54.

> sides of the room in bunks, or sitting upon wooden benches, the remainder of the company await impatiently their turn upon the floor–meanwhile drinking and telling obscene anecdotes, or singing fragments of ribald songs. This is the great Dance-house of the Five Points . . . .[415]

Dancehalls of all sorts would continue in popularity well into the 20th century. And they would be associated with prostitution throughout their existence.

Beginning in the late 1840s, a new institution began to employ musicians and singers: the concert saloon. This institution was apparently an outgrowth of the pleasure garden. Both served food and alcoholic beverages and provided entertainment. Both, too, were associated with prostitution. The first establishment that called itself a concert saloon appeared in 1849, when the Military Gardens changed its name to the Brooklyn Concert Saloon. It cost 25¢ to enter ($2 for a private box) to hear "the most popular Songs, Glees, Choruses, Solos, Duetts, Refrains, Dances, Manolas, Polkas, &c."[416] By the 1850s, Niblo's Garden split of Niblo's Concert saloon. The entertainment was more low-brow at the concert saloon than in the pleasure garden.[417]

The brow got even lower at the concert saloons pitched at the working class. Many saloons added a small raised platform for performers and set two or three musicians on it. This helped attract customers, and the concept caught fire. By the late 1960s, there were about 300 such concert saloons of dubious repute in New York City.

But what gave these concert saloons their dubious repute–and hauled more men in through the doors–was their "waiter girls." The saloons fell over themselves trying to hire the sexiest women they could find to serve drinks and food to their customers. The women also had to be willing to flirt with the men, suffer with good cheer being groped by drunken yahoos, and be content with low wages. The foreseeable result of this combination of qualifications was that many of the waiter girls were actually prostitutes who found it more convenient to stay indoors and allow their customers to come to them. When the persistently moral element of the city caught on to what was happening in 1862, they passed a law prohibiting women from serving drinks in any establishment that also provided entertainment. The times, the cops, and Tammany Hall being what they were, the law was more honored in the breach than in the letter.

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[415] George Foster, NEW YORK IN SLICES; BY AN EXPERIENCED CARVER (DeWitt & Davenport: New York, 1850), p. 25.

[416] Quoted in Dale Cockrell, EVERYBODY'S DOIN' IT: SEX, MUSIC, AND DANCE IN NEW YORK, 1840-1917 (W.W. Norton: New York, 2019)

[417] At one time, while Niblo's Garden featured German opera, Niblo's Concert Saloon advertised Emma Stanley performing "The Seven Ages of Woman." Her show that required 30 costume changes, 24 character impersonations, and 12 songs in seven different languages, all against the backdrop of "An Elegant Boudoir Scene."

Musicians and singers also found work in other establishments. Some brothels added music as foreplay in their establishments. The higher class of brothel was often marked by a piano as an attempt at gentility:

> Without ceremony we enter at the front door and are met by the lady of the house, an elderly, discrete and very respectable-looking person, with a neat mob-cap upon her head. She receives us with extreme affability, and motions us to be seated till the young lady at the piano has concluded the piece she is playing. The piano is a superb one, and the touch and execution of the performer would do honor to Strakosch himself. She sings, but her voice is husky and seems to have lost its freshness and transparency, although it exhibits a thorough training and greater powers of execution than are usually possessed by amateurs. There is, however, no feeling nor expression in what she sings. All is as cold as ice. Around the room are seated six or seven very conspicuously-dressed women, relieved here and there by a man, and all decorously listening to the music. With the exception of the somewhat bizarre and startling latitudes and longitudes of costumes observed by the ladies, there is nothing to indicate that we are not assisting at the incipient crystallization of a regular evening party.[418]

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[418] Foster, NEW YORK BY GAS-LIGHT, pp. 26-27. Attempts to determine how many brothels or prostitutes could be found in New York

Musicians also found jobs playing for showings of "*tableaux vivantes*," scenes for which models posed in scanty clothing or nude for the edification of an audience:

> [W]e stumble up a narrow staircase and find ourselves in a dimly-lighted room . . . the Front is occupied by a rough counter furnished with variously-colored bottles of raw whiskey . . . A green rag runs across the lower end of the room, and at one corner sit two men, one scraping a villainous fiddle, and the other punishing a rheumatic piano. The music changes to a low, plaintive air, a little bell jingles, and up goes the rag. We refer to our programme and ascertain that the tableau in order is "Susannah in the Bath." The same brawny female who has already appeared as Venus, Psyche, and the Greek Slave has now appeared as Susannah in the bath, with her face and frontage to the audience. A light gauze drapery is held in her right hand and falls in kind of a demi-curtain before her knees–otherwise, she is in *puris naturalibus*. Behind her are the "elders," stooping and leaning over each other, trying to get a good sight. Susannah, seated upon the "revolving pedestal of Canova," commences her circumgyrations; and when she has got nearly once round, one of the elders begins speaking to his neighbor in his excitement–or we believe he drops his plug of tobacco on the ground–which startles fair Susannah, who raises her hand, still holding her curtain, to her head. The consequence may be

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City in this era–or how many men frequented them–were necessarily estimates at best. Walt Whitman surely exaggerated when he said that 19 men out of 20 had consorted with prostitutes; about half of all men was the usual estimate. Dr. William Sanger, author of THE HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION: ITS EXTENT, CAUSES, AND EFFECTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD (1858), estimated that New York possessed 80 first-class brothels, 100 second-class brothels, 120 third-class brothels, and 78 fourth-class brothels, plus had 151 dancehalls that promoted prostitution. He also determined that half of all prostitutes were between the ages of 18 and 23, a bare majority were born in the United States and the rest in Ireland, and that they were about evenly divided between Protestant and Catholic. However, Sanger seems to have interviewed only white prostitutes.

> imagined. And in this condition she completes her revolution before the audience, who fairly yell with delight as the curtain goes down . . . Overcome by these unexpected demonstrations of popularity, the obliging *artiste* comes out again and goes through the same performance three or four times more, without taking breath.
>
> Such is an unexaggerated description of a specimen of the exhibitions known in the handbills as "*tableaux vivantes*," and which are now openly advertised, posted, countenanced, and commonly-councilled in this virtuous and reputable metropolis. We have by no means selected the worst of these tableaux to pass our pen over. "Venus rising from the Sea," "The Lady Godiva, or Peeping Tom of Coventry," &c. &c. are quite as bad, and others, whose titles we have forgotten, are absolutely worse.[419]

In addition to musicians hired beforehand by various establishments, there were also buskers of one to three individuals who went from place to place looking to play.

Most of the descriptions we have of musical performances in the lower class of venues don't say very much about the actual music being played. Many of the descriptions list the instruments being played, but they say little about *how* they were played. We know the names of no more than a few of the more popular performers in the dancehalls: Jack Ballagher (a black violinist who received the highest payment per dance of any musician), the Inyard brothers (dancers who defeated all challengers), Jerry Go Nimble (a singer of comic songs), and Tom Parsons (who invented rhymed lyrics on the spot about the company or New York City notables). Other entertainers, whose names have been lost, included a blind clarinet player; a Scotsman complete with kilt and bagpipes; and a dark-skinned organ grinder, equipped with monkey, whose barrel organ played "Moll Brooks," "Fisher's Hornpipe," and various waltzes. Other popular dancehall numbers included "Black-Eyed Susan," "Will, the Wild Rover," and "Bay of Biscay." Given the tremendous amount of music being played, this is a poor serving of information. Unfortunately, it's all we have.

Keep in mind that what was true of New York City was probably true of other cities, too. Prostitution was a national problem, and again and again we hear music where we locate prostitutes and their customers finding one another. There is every reason to believe that the tenderloin districts of other cities included dancehalls, concert saloons, and brothels where sex, booze, and music intersected.

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[419] Foster, NEW YORK BY GAS-LIGHT, pp. 12-13.

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So far, we've only told half the story of popular music. You may not have noticed this because it was the story of the half of popular music that is still solidly with us today . . . *professional* popular music. Even more important in the 19th century was *amateur* popular music, the half of popular music that isn't doing so well these days. The story of that popular music is told in the next chapter.

Discography

The first of these CDs in particular contains a number of pieces that might have been heard performed by professional entertainers. They are particularly heavy on songs performed by the Hutchinsons. The latter two CDs include songs that were heard both on the stage and at home. The performances on these CDs are similar in style to what might have been heard from a professional entertainer.

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See also the citations to CDs and websites in the footnotes and, of course, Wikipedia.