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THE AMERICAN CONCERT TOURS OF LEOPOLD DE MEYER, HENRI HERZ, AND SIGISMOND THALBERG. (VOLUMES I AND II)

City University of New York PH.D. 1986

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THE AMERICAN CONCERT TOURS OF LEOPOLD DE MEYER, HENRI HERZ, AND SIGISMOND THALBERG

by

R. ALLEN LOTT

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1986

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PREFACE

A growing area of research in musicology, particularly in the study of American music, focuses on the sociological aspects of music-making. Richard Crawford has recently suggested that the role of a scholar in American music is not simply to study the music itself but to establish the context in which that music was performed and heard.[1] This dissertation examines one area of music-making in nineteenth-century America--the tours of traveling piano virtuosos--and attempts to place them within the context of their time.

Beginning in the 1840s, touring European performers were a staple of concert life in America. Some of the finest pianists, violinists, and singers in the world brought concerts to a country eager to hear good music. By studying in detail the tours of three pianists--Leopold de Meyer, Henri Herz, and Sigismond Thalberg--we learn not only what music Americans heard them perform, but who attended the concerts, how audiences responded to the music, and what economic forces determined the management of the tours.

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[1] Studying American Music, I.S.A.M. Special Publications No. 3 (Brooklyn, NY: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1985).

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Research Method

I began my research somewhat naive about how much material awaited me. From a survey of the few undocumented secondary sources that touch on my topic, I anticipated tracing appearances by De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg in a dozen or so cities. Yet as I started reconstructing the complete itinerary of each pianist, I watched the task grow; it did so continually, and always to my amazement, until the number of cities visited by these pianists neared one hundred and the number of concerts given by them passed six hundred. Often an extra effort to pursue information on a postponed or canceled concert (which at first might seem to be of little importance) revealed much about the details of management or the attitudes of Americans toward European performers. In short, it was mostly through my attempt to find everything that anything of importance was uncovered.

To reconstruct the itineraries, I began by searching as many contemporary music periodicals as possible, principally those in the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress. Their reports of musical events from across the country supplied a skeletal itinerary. Dwight's Journal of Music, The Musical World and New York Musical Times, and the New-York Musical Review and Gazette were especially informative. In addition, New York newspapers, particularly the New York Herald, often kept their readers apprised of the whereabouts of musical celebrities.

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Numerous dissertations on the concert life of individual cities and states were also helpful in providing specific dates of concerts.[2] Because of their focus, however, they rarely gave me all the information I desired, and I went to primary sources whenever possible to complete the picture.[3]

After a rough itinerary had been established, I searched local newspapers to confirm dates and gather as much information as possible about each concert. Only a few cities included in this study have no extant newspapers, and only a few have strategically important issues missing. I was indeed fortunete in the abundance of surviving newspapers from the 1840s and '50s. Many of them are housed

---

[2]Those include dissertations and master's theses by William F. Betterton (on Davenport, IA), Ronald Fred Cole (Portland, ME), Patricia J. Falcone (Worcester, MA), James Smith Ferguson (Vicksburg, MS), John Joseph Hindman (Charleston, SC), James R. Hines (Norfolk, VA), Charles H. Kaufman (New Jersey), Jean Lincoln (Michigan), Katherine Hines Mahan (Columbus, GA), Nancy Regan Ping (Wilmington, NC), Susanne M. Robertson (Lowell, MA), Walter E. Steinhaus (Macon, GA), Albert Stoutamire (Richmond, VA), Mary Evelyn Durden Teal (Detroit, MI), and Charles R. Wyrick (Cincinnati, OH). Complete citations of these works, some of which have been published, can be found in the Bibliography.

[3]Both the dissertation by Teal on Detroit and by Steinhaus on Macon give much attention to Thalberg's appearances in those cities. In addition, Hindman on Charleston and Cole on Portland include detailed appendixes listing concerts in the respective cities; consulting primary sources, however, revealed minor inaccuracies: Herz did not perform in Charleston on 21 February 1848 (several of his works were on the program), and Thalberg's Portland concert scheduled for 14 October 1857 was indefinitely postponed.

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at the Library of Congress and the American Antiquarian Society, both of which I was able to visit, and many others are available on microfilm through interlibrary loan. When I had no access to newspapers from a particular city, public libraries and historical societies were gracious in searching specific issues for me.[4]

By searching local newspapers for concerts given in their city of publication, reports of concerts in surrounding cities were frequently discovered. A New Orleans or St. Louis newspaper, for example, might indicate that Thalberg planned to stop in Natchez or that De Meyer had already performed in Memphis. For many cities on Thalberg's tour, in which he performed almost every night,

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[4]To locate extant newspapers, two guides are essential: Winifred Gregory, American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1937; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967); and Library of Congress, Newspapers in Microform: United States, 1948-1983 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1984), with annual supplements. Newspapers in Microform lists the microform holdings of libraries by newspaper title under the city of publication. Most of these titles are available on interlibrary loan, although public libraries often do not lend their city newspaper. For titles and cities not listed there, American Newspapers, 1821-1936 lists the holdings of original issues. Although out of date, it is still the only comprehensive union list of its kind (individual states frequently have their own union lists that are much more recent, but not so readily available in all libraries). If issues are not listed in either source, local libraries and historical societies and state archives should be consulted, for many issues have surfaced since the compilation of American Newspapers and not all library holdings appear in Newspapers in Microform.

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no clues were found to indicate that he visited them. A comparison of open dates with geographically possible cities added a significant number of appearances to his documented itinerary.

Local newspapers, therefore, provided the backbone of my research. In many cities they are the only surviving source of information. They supply not only the basic information about a concert (usually through advertisements), but through reviews and editorials they reveal much about the audiences and their reception of the performers, attitudes toward visiting artists, and the business of music. Newspapers, however, can be problematic sources. Journalistic coverage of music and the arts during the mid-nineteenth century was notoriously subject to corruption.[5] Attendance reports and the relative success of artists are sometimes exaggerated in either direction, and opinions expressed are often biased by favoritism or cold cash. But the abundance of information in newspapers simply cannot be discarded for fear of overstatements when it is often all that we possess. In addition, because so many newspapers--over 250--were surveyed for this study, the margin for large-scale error is reduced.

Of the other published sources consulted, the most important include accounts by contemporary musicians,

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[5]See, for example, Chapter IV below.

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both European and American. They provide a professional view of the performance style of these pianists and an assessment of their significance. Herz's own version of his American tour is a rare, first-hand look at America from a nineteenth-century European musician's viewpoint. It is amusing, occasionally insightful, and frequently untrustworthy, as will be seen.[6] Dissertations that were helpful include Michel Béro's on Sigismond Thalberg, Kenneth Gene Graber's on William Mason, and most especially Laurence Lerner's on Bernard Ullman (the manager of both Herz and Thalberg).[7] Arthur Loesser's classic Men, Women and Pianos provided a wealth of information as well as inspiration.

Another source is sheet music, which survives in abundance. Most major research libraries have substantial collections of the music of De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg, especially the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Newberry Library (Chicago), and Free Library of Philadelphia. Numerous programs of the concerts of these three pianists also survive, but only a handful of letters and album leaves relating to their American tours have been found.

I made an attempt to search nonmusic periodicals, other contemporary publications, and diaries, but the findings

---

[6]I wish to express my thanks to the Department of History of the University of Wisconsin at Madison for permission to quote from the translation made by Henry Bertram Hill of Herz's account.

[7]See the Bibliography for citations of these works.

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were either all too rare or not substantially different enough to justify the needle-in-a-haystack approach necessary for such investigation. I definitely reached a point of diminishing returns. In addition, I did not scour the period immediately following the tours of De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg. In my conclusion I offer some preliminary suggestions about how these pianists affected American musical life. But not until we know more about what happened after they were here--such as changes in repertory and interest in concerts--can a full assessment be made. Much remains to be done.

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to this dissertation and made my work easier and more enjoyable. As my adviser, H. Wiley Hitchcock enthusiastically encouraged me to pursue my topic; he has since given continued support and sage advice in many ways, for which I am profoundly grateful. Siegmund Levarie, L. Michael Griffel, and Sherman Van Solkema all read the dissertation with great care and made many valuable suggestions. I particularly appreciate the willingness of Richard Crawford of the University of Michigan, D. Kern Holoman of the University of California, Davis, and John Graziano of City College/CUNY to read the dissertation and am grateful for their expert criticisms.

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Many libraries and librarians were more than helpful in my research. I owe a special debt to interlibrary loan librarians, for this project would have been impossible without their assistance. The staff of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, who often went beyond the call of duty to assist me, deserve a special thanks. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the aid of libraries which I was able to visit or librarians who graciously answered queries by mail: American Antiquarian Society, Worcester; William Cooper, Archives of Ontario, Toronto; Beinecke Library, Yale University; Biblicthèque Nationale, Paris; Bernard Huys, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels; Boston Public Library; Norma Jean Lamb, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library; Chicago Historical Society; Chicago Public Library; Frances Forman, The Cincinnati Historical Society; Mary R. Naish, The Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County; Columbia University; Free Library of Philadelphia; Susan L. Conklin, Department of History, County of Genesee, Batavia, NY; Otto Biba, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien; Betty Fudge, Hamilton (Ontario) Public Library; Robert A. Wright, Harvard Theatre Collection; Alfred Lemmon, The Historic New Orleans Collection; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Sharon K. Johnson, Iowa State Historical Department, Des Moines; Phillip W. Rhodes, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, VA; Michael Dicketts, Kingston (Ontario) Public Library; Carol J. Nicholas, Lexington (KY) Public Library; Library Company of Philadelphia; Library of

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Congress; Rose Lambert, Louisiana Historical Center of the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans; Memphis/Shelby County Public Library and Information Center; Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson; Lisa Onofri, Museum of the City of New York; Cathy Carlson, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond; New Bedford (MA) Free Public Library; New Orleans Public Library; New-York Historical Society; New York State Library, Albany; Diana Haskell, Newberry Library, Chicago; Rosemary Moravec, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Diane Mathews, The Oneida Historical Society, Utica, NY; Onondaga County Public Library, Syracuse, NY; Lynn T. Legate, Ottawa Public Library; Michael C. Walker, Petersburg (VA) Public Library; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Jan Stokes, Rockford (IL) Public Library; Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden; Helen Hollis and Cynthia Hoover, Smithsonian Institution; Eleanor M. Richardson, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Susan W. Price, E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University; Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville; Troy (NY) Public Library; Elizabeth Pattengill, Utica (NY) Public Library; Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland; and Franz Patzer, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the 1840s and '50s many of Europe's leading virtuosos began touring the United States. Among the first in a long line of outstanding performers to visit America were the singers Adelaide Alboni, Laure Cinti-Damoreau, Giulia Grisi, Jenny Lind, Giovanni Mario, and Henriette Sontag; the violinists Alexandre Artôt, Ole Bull, Camillo Sivori, and Henry Vieuxtemps; and the pianists Henri Herz, Leopold de Meyer, and Sigismond Thalberg. These performers greatly influenced the musical life of a country so young that it was unable to satisfy its own appetite for music. As John Tasker Howard states, they "affected our musical life so deeply that they cannot be ignored."[1] Yet the American tours of these virtuosos remain largely unexplored: only those of two such performers--Ole Bull and Jenny Lind--have been studied in any detail.[2]

---

[1]Our American Music, 4th ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1965), p. 199.

[2]See Inez Bull, Ole Bull's Activities in the United States between 1843 and 1880 (Smithtown, NY: Exposition Press, 1982); Mortimer Smith, The Life of Ole Bull (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press for the American-

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This dissertation documents the American tours of Leopold de Meyer (1845-47), Henri Herz (1846-50), and Sigismond Thalberg (1856-58) in an effort to further our understanding of the role these virtuosos played in nineteenth-century America. Each of these three pianists was among the best of his time; each had something different to offer American audiences; and each performed throughout the United States. A combined study of their tours, which span a thirteen-year period, illustrates the dramatic increase in musical activities in mid-nineteenth-century America.

The American tour of each pianist will be examined individually, and, from time to time, issues common to all three will be discussed: audiences (Who attended their concerts and why?), repertory (How did the music they performed compare with the music already heard in the United States?), impresarios (What role did management play in their tours?), and money (How much of a fortune was there to be made in giving concerts in America?). The stage for the coming of these pianists must be set first by considering the attraction America held for European performers, the reasons these visitors were successful, and America's prior experience with pianists.

Scandinavian Foundation, 1943; reprint ed., Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973); and W. Porter Ware and Thaddeus C. Lockard, Jr., P. T. Barnum Presents Jenny Lind (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

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The New World Beckons

In 1845 Gustave Chouquet, the New York correspondent to La France musicale, gave advice to musicians considering an American tour. Although he warned them of difficulties, he began his report by stating the prevailing view of the New World:

> Since the extravagant success obtained in the United States by the graceful Fanny Elssler, the European artist imagines that America is a country of gold, where he will acquire a fortune in two or three months, where the president of the union will have him honored by congress; where the inhabitants of each city will give him serenades and carry him in triumph, for the greatest satisfaction of his enormous self-esteem.[3]

The following year the same journal announced that America had replaced Russia, specifically St. Petersburg, as the ultimate destination for the most talented performers. It explained:

> The United States offers a hundred cities where a lucrative success awaits the eminent artist, for it can not be forgotten that the Yankee is a good appreciator. For the true merit there is a furore, and a fiasco awaits the mediocre talent. Vieuxtemps, Artot, Ole Bull, Mmes Borghèse, Damoreau, Fanny Elssler, like new Christopher Columbuses, opened the route to this new Eldoraldo [sic].[4]

The music press in Europe assiduously reported on the reception of visiting artists in the United States, and

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[3]"De l'Amérique au point de vue musical," La France musicale 8/5 (2 February 1845), 37-38. Translations are mine except where noted.

[4]A. Pontécoulant, "Une Révolution dans la marche des astres," La France musicale 9/46 (15 November 1846), 371.

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European interest in America increased with the intelligence of each new successful tour. According to Thomas Ryan, an immigrant musician and the clarinetist in the Boston-based Mendelssohn Quintette Club: "The success of the Germania [Musical Society] was the cause of much trumpeting all over Europe that America was a country which wanted music and would pay for it."[5] And Jenny Lind's phenomenal financial success in her tour of 1850-52 raised the talk about America to a fever pitch. Alexander W. Thayer, in his "From My Diary" column in Dwight's Journal of Music, quoted a "private letter from Europe": "The success of Jenny Lind, in our favored land, has excited all the dramatic and operatic artists--all want to partake in the glorious American harvest."[6]

The notion of America as an appreciative and wealthy consumer of music became common. It was by no means the only belief held by Europeans about the New World. In 1855 the conductor and opera impresario Max Maretzek, who had immigrated to the United States in 1848, summarized the two opinions of America circulating abroad among artists:

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[5]Recollections of an Old Musician (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1899; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), p. 65.

[6]2/2 (16 October 1852), 13.

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> Some believe it to be a literal El Dorado, the Land of Musical Promise running with rivers of milk and honey. . . . These plant the land of their imagination with cities . . . filled with gold, and silver, and ivory. Their inhabitants are wealthy, confiding and generous, in the extreme. . . . In fact, the wealth, opulence, and prodigality of republican America, has become proverbial. . . .
>
> Others are there, however, to be found in Europe, who regard America in a very different light. These believe it to be inhabited by a set of savages, barbarians, and Red Republicans. In their opinion, it contains a race of people who eat raw meat and devour uncooked vegetables, who chew tobacco, and void their rheum upon ladies' dresses and Turkey carpets, who drink unheard of quantities of brandy, schnapps, ale and Monongahela whiskey, while, instead of having been provided with a delicately palpitating heart like other races of mankind, Nature has in its place inserted simply a silver dollar, coined in their own mint.[7]

Many Europeans did have serious doubts about the artistic sensibility of Americans. Their skepticism was fueled by the biting observations in first-hand accounts of America by such writers as Frances Trollope in her Domestic Manners of the Americans of 1832[8] and Charles Dickens in his American Notes and Martin Chuzzlewit, based on his first visit to the United States in 1841. The musical taste of Americans was more specifically condemned by the Hungarian composer and conductor Joseph Gungl during his orchestra's tour of this country in 1848-49:

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[7]Crotchets and Quavers: or, Revelations of an Opera Manager in America (New York: S. French, 1855; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1966, and New York: Dover Publications, 1968), pp. 65-66.

[8]See Carol J. Oja, "'Trollopiana': David Claypoole Johnston Counters Frances Trollope's Views on American Music," College Music Symposium 21/1 (Spring 1981), 94-102.

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> Madame Musica . . . lies still in the cradle here. . . . It is a matter of course, that only the so-called anti-classical music can in any degree suit the taste of an American public; such as Waltzes, Gallops, Quadrilles, above all Polkas.[9]

Similar opinions were held by those without first-hand experience, such as the director of the Paris opera who remarked to the American composer William Henry Fry: "In Europe we look upon America as an industrial country--excellent for electric telegraphs and railroads but not for art."[10] Another Parisian, Pierre Zimmermann, as director of piano classes at the Conservatoire refused even to allow the American pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk to audition because "l'Amérique n'était qu'un pays de machines à vapeur."[11] In 1849, when Berlioz heard that Liszt was planning to visit

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[9]Neue Berliner Musikzeitung 3/9 (28 February 1849), 70-71; English translation in Dwight's Journal of Music 2/11 (18 December 1852), 83-84. Gungl gave the public exactly what he thought it wanted. Alexander W. Thayer wrote indignantly of Gungl's accusations: "And what did he do to improve that taste? Gave full-priced concerts and filled his programmes with polkas and galops; and would seem to have avoided all great names as if he feared that Gungl would suffer by contrast" (Dwight's Journal of Music 1/25 [25 September 1852], 196).

[10]The Musical World and New York Musical Times 5/13 (26 March 1853), 196; quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 2/26 (2 April 1853), 202. Fry retorted that "although we had excelled in making electric telegraphs to carry ideas without persons, it was not a necessary consequence that we built railroads to carry persons without ideas."

[11]Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Notes of a Pianist, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), p. 52.

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America, he wrote to the pianist: "Your project for a tour of the United States seems violent to me--to cross the Atlantic to make music for Yankees who just now are only thinking of California gold!"[12] A few years later Liszt had apparently changed his mind:

> Liszt, the great and only rival of Thalberg, says a German paper, is urged on all sides to visit America, but seems to have the smallest possible respect for the musical intelligence of the Yankees, and refuses all offers of speculators. He thinks something of gaining money, but not everything--and "will not play," as he says, "where he may be stared at as a rara avis, but not understood or appreciated as an artist."[13]

Barnum's sensational publicizing of Jenny Lind's tour confirmed many misgivings about American taste and raised questions about what was required to be successful in the United States. Towards the end of Lind's American sojourn, Friedrich Wieck, the father of Clara Schumann and Marie Wieck (the latter also a talented pianist), wrote to a correspondent of Dwight's Journal of Music (identified by Dwight as "a German friend in Virginia"):

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[12]Berlioz, Letter to Franz Liszt, ca 25 March 1849, Correspondance générale, III, 1842-1850, ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), p. 614; English translation in Hector Berlioz: A Selection from His Letters, ed. and trans. Humphrey Searle (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), p. 110.

[13]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 4 April 1857, p. 270. The American paper gave its view on this news item: "There is a great deal of what may be termed 'bosh' in the foregoing. At his own time there is no doubt that Liszt will come, even with the fear of making money before his eyes."

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> W. advises me to go with Marie and [the singer] Louise Wölfel to America. But is America yet ripe for exhibitions of Art so fine and noble, and which evidently are not of the taking order?[14]

The German friend offered his opinion to Dwight:

> They are artists of the highest rank. . . . They never will employ a Barnum or somebody to sound the trumpet before them; they are too true Artists . . . and will never submit to posting up, paying trumpet-sounding agents, &c., &c.

A year later, a reviewer for the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik was surprised to find in the pages of the recently begun Dwight's Journal of Music that good music was appreciated in the United States. In an "open letter to Mr. J. S. Dwight," the writer stated:

> We confess to you frankly, that here in Germany we had no very high idea of the musical culture of the North Americans in general, and that very unsettled opinions still prevail about the motives, which secure an artistic success in the United States.[15]

Despite the misgivings some European artists had about America, many were willing to ignore them when faced with the prospect of glory and riches. Musicians had immigrated to the United States since the early eighteenth century and

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[14]Dwight's Journal of Music 1/17 (31 July 1852), 133. Almost five years later America was still on Marie's mind: from Dresden in February 1857 another correspondent to Dwight's reported that she "intimated a desire to go to the U.S. if she could feel assured of success" (10/24 [14 March 1857], 189-90).

[15]Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 38/25 (17 June 1853), 269; English translation in Dwight's Journal of Music 3/17 (30 July 1853), 133. The review continued: "We are therefore very much indebted to you, dear sir, that you have through your 'Journal' convinced us of something better."

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had made important contributions to the musical life of their new homeland. Charles Theodore Pachelbel, Peter von Hagen, Alexander Reinagle, Hans Gram, James Hewitt, Victor Pelissier, Rayner Taylor, Benjamin Carr, Gottlieb Graupner, and Anthony Philip Heinrich all saw the United States as a place to begin a new and more successful life. Anton Rubinstein was just one of the struggling musicians who remained in Europe but seriously considered emigrating to the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.[16] The failed European revolutions of 1848 especially sent many desperate musicians, including the orchestra known as the Germania Musical Society, to this country.[17] In late 1848 the New York Herald reported:

> Musical affairs in this city are growing to be quite interesting; every arrival brings some new genius to our shores. During the last few weeks we have had nearly a hundred musicians, of all ranks, arrived from Europe.[18]

A steady stream of exceptional musicians began to see America not as a new home but a lucrative spot for their

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[16]Rubinstein recounts his "fantastic intention" in his autobiography; English translation by Aline Delano as Autobiography of Anton Rubinstein, 1829-1889 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1890), pp. 36-37.

[17]See H. Earle Johnson, "The Germania Musical Society," The Musical Quarterly 39/1 (January 1953), 75-93.

[18]21 December 1848. (Page numbers for newspapers are cited only when the paper is longer than four pages.)

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concert tours beginning in the early 1840s. The first artists to exploit America seriously in this respect had been British actors,[19] such as Edmund Kean (American debut in 1820), Junius Brutus Booth (1821), William Charles Macready (1826), Charles Kean (1830), Charles Kemble and his daughter Fanny (1832), Tyrone Power (1833), and Ellen Tree (later Mrs. Charles Kean) (1836), and singers like Joseph Wood and his wife, the former Mary Anne Paton (1833),[20] Arthur and Ann Seguin (1838), and John Braham (1840). Other performers and personalities soon followed their lead, including the magician Antonio Blitz (1834),[21] the dancers Fanny Elssler

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[19]As a British author stated in the mid-nineteenth century: "America has always been considered an 'El Dorado' by the leading actors of the London stage,--a safe reserve to retreat on should home attraction slumber or threaten to decline. The truth of the hypothesis has generally established itself by successful experiment" (John William Cole, The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, 2 vols. [London: Richard Bentley, 1859], 1:342). In 1835 Berlioz considered for the first of several times a trip to the United States, primarily as an opportunity to revive the career of his wife, the English actress Harriet Smithson, for as the composer wrote: "All the [English] actors . . . fly to America" (Letter to his sister Adèle, 2 August 1835, Correspondance générale, II, 1832-1842, ed. Pierre Citron [Paris: Flammarion, 1975], p. 244).

[20]See Memoir of Mr. and Mrs. Wood (Philadelphia: Turner & Fisher, 1840).

[21]Blitz eventually settled in Philadelphia; he was the grandfather of the noted singer Marie Van Zandt; see Katharine H. Amend, "Blitz, Antonio," Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-), 2:378; and Arthur Regan, "Van Zandt, Marie," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 3:515-17.

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(1840) and Lola Montez (1851), and the writers Dickens (1841) and Thackeray (1852). Except for the Garcia family who presented the first Italian opera in New York in 1825,[22] a consistent influx of visiting virtuosos began in 1843 with the appearance of a trio of outstanding violinists: Artôt (who toured with Cinti-Damoreau), Bull, and Vieuxtemps. These three were soon followed by the pianists De Meyer in 1845 and Herz in 1846.

Foreign versus Native Artist

Why were European performers so successful in the United States? First, and most important, America had reached a stage in its development where people had ample money and leisure time to spend on music and other forms of culture and entertainment. Economically, by 1843 the country had recovered from the depression that followed the financial panic of 1837. Sociologically, the simultaneous rise of the middle class and of the public concerts they supported created a demand for performers. America had begun to produce its own talented musicians, but not nearly enough to provide music for an entire burgeoning

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[22]See Molly Nelson, The First Italian Opera Season in New York City: 1825-1826 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976).

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country. As a Buffalo newspaper explained in 1857:

> Doubtless we have not the advantage of European cities in having an abundance of great artists, and that is sufficient reason for our warm reception of those which visit us, and the enjoyment of the treats they afford us.[23]

The time was right for good performers to be rewarded for bringing music to a public enthusiastic from its first decades of extensive concertgoing.

Visiting musicians were also successful because many Americans apparently shared the European view that the United States could not produce distinguished artists of its own. First-rate American musicians were rarely able to match the widespread success of the visiting performers. Witness, for example, the single concert tour of the pianist William Mason, the son of one of America's leading musicians, Lowell Mason. He had just returned from studying in Europe with Moscheles, Dreyschock, and Liszt when he launched an ambitious tour in the fall of 1854 that was to include the principal cities of the entire country. Despite, however, his illustrious family name, prestigious education, and impressive skill as a pianist, Mason's concert venture was a financial failure, and he was forced

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[23]Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 11 April 1857.

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to cancel most of his engagements.[24]

The European artists, on the other hand, were virtually guaranteed success whether they deserved it or not. When a concert given in New York in 1838 by the American violinist Ureli Corelli Hill attracted only a small audience, The Musical Review lamented:

> It is painful . . . to see how poorly an enterprising and highly respectable American artist, aided by the best talent in the country, is patronized by the people, while an ignorant itinerant coxcomb, alike destitute of musical science and moral principle, can "alone" draw crowded houses.[25]

Many of the Europeans had well-established reputations that preceded them, and those who were also composers were often already household names. The American public, lacking self-confidence in matters of musical taste, relied heavily on an artist's reputation in deciding on attending a concert

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[24]Kenneth Gene Graber, The Life and Works of William Mason (1829-1908) (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1976), pp. 53-55.

[25]The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence 1/21 (24 November 1838), 283-84. The "itinerant coxcomb" in this instance was very likely the singer-songwriter Henry Russell, who was singular in his ability to give solo recitals without the customary aid of assisting performers. Russell claims he was forced to appear alone because the local musicians were jealous of him and refused to assist in his concerts (Cheer! Boys, Cheer! Memories of Men & Music [London: John Macqueen, 1895], pp. 82-83). For information on Russell's years in the United States, see John Anthony Stephens, Henry Russell in America: Chutzpah and Huzzah (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1975).

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or giving its approval. As one critic wrote in 1853:

> It is a pity, but 'tis true that our people generally would just as soon hear one pianist as another, provided he or she has a name or reputation (honestly acquired, or fictitious, it matters but little).[26]

The lesser European artists usually announced their various titles and positions, and it was absolutely essential for an American artist to do so:

> It is a mortifying fact . . . that our artists are afraid to make their appearance at home before having made a "European reputation." "Nothing can be done in America," say they, "until we have got up a name in Europe." One must come as "Prima Donna from La Scala," or "Violinist to his Sublime Majesty the King of Lilliput," or "Pianist to the Emperor of Russia," or "A Pupil of Mendelssohn," in order to secure a hearing. There is a toadyism in this which is not in harmony with American character, and the sooner we respect ourselves sufficiently to rise above it, the better.[27]

The Europeans, moreover, possessed an indefinable mystique which proved irresistible to the American public and which native artists could not hope to duplicate. Even Louis Moreau Gottschalk, the American performer most endowed with a unique charisma, achieved success slowly in his

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[26]The Albion, quoted in Arthur Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p. 502.

[27]New-York Musical Review and Choral Advocate 5/17 (17 August 1854), 289. Years later Rafael Joseffy remarked: "It is strange that with all the democratic feeling here, Americans will still run to any foreigner who comes over and advertises a bit. A German or a Russian pianist is always somebody. . . . It is only the American product which is not given a fair chance" (quoted in Edwin Hughes, "Rafael Joseffy's Contribution to Piano Technic," The Musical Quarterly 2/3 [July 1916], 355-56).

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native country. On his return to the United States in 1853 from his European triumphs, he could have received a hero's welcome. Instead, he lost money in his first concerts in New York and Philadelphia.[28] One music journal chastised the public that could allow such a crime:

> Shame on the communities that have made foreign artists to stagger under the load of weighty favors imposed on them, to let an American artist, the executive rival of Thalberg and Liszt, to find the fruits of his honorable ambition turned to ashes!
>
> Shame on the communities that should allow the first great performing artist that our country has produced, find that the blood of his youth, the tears of his early enthusiasm, the religious devotion of his nights and his days, have been deprived of adequate recompense![29]

Not every European artist who came to the United States was successful. In 1854 an American music journal stated:

> Artists who are painfully toiling for the acquisition of skill and reputation in Europe, look to this land as the field for their pecuniary reward. Glowing accounts of immense audiences and high prices are published abroad, and singers and players on instruments flock hitherward with high hopes, to return, too commonly, with empty pockets.[30]

Both La France musicale and the Neue Berliner Musikzeitung warned their readers that an established reputation was

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[28]Gottschalk recalled: "My first concert in New York was a success, but the receipts did not amount to half of the expenses. The second . . . was a fiasco" (Notes of a Pianist, p. 46).

[29]The Musical World and New York Musical Times 6/2 (14 May 1853), 18.

[30]New-York Musical Review and Choral Advocate 5/17 (17 August 1854), 288.

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essential and that untrustworthy impresarios and extravagant concert expenses were among the difficulties to be encountered in America.[31] Nevertheless, celebrated European performers with good management were able to enjoy great success not only because of their genuine musical talents but also because Americans discriminated against American-born artists. With their reputations and cachet as foreigners, they attracted a diverse audience ranging from the devoted music lover to the fashionable concertgoer to the merely curious.

The Piano and Pianists in Nineteenth-Century America

The piano was by far the most important instrument in nineteenth-century America. Through its versatility as a solo and accompanying instrument, its appropriateness in the concert room and in the home, and its usefulness as a tool in music education, it played a vital role in many aspects of musicmaking.[32]

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[31]See, for example, Gustave Chouquet, "De l'Amérique au point de vue musical," La France musicale 8/5 (2 February 1845), 37-38; and "Das Virtuosenthum in Amerika," Neue Berliner Musikzeitung 3/4 (24 January 1849), 30, 3/5 (31 January 1849), 37-38, and 3/6 (7 February 1849), 47-48.

[32]See the discussion in H. Wiley Hitchcock, Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 73-75.

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In Europe around 1800 the piano was generally considered to be appropriate for the aristocratic salon or as a solo instrument in concertos. But within a few decades, improvements in piano construction and development of the virtuosic school of piano playing gave the instrument a firm footing in the concert hall as a solo instrument. In a review of De Meyer's first appearance in the United States, the New York Herald proclaimed:

> De Meyer has not only shown what genius and perseverance can achieve, but he has, at the same time, clearly proved, that the pianoforte is the instrument, par excellence, for a concert room.[33]

It was especially important in the home, where a rising number of musical amateurs--many of them products of Lowell Mason's pioneering efforts in music education--made music for their own enjoyment and that of their friends.[34] In 1867 the Atlantic Monthly was able to claim that "almost every couple that sets up housekeeping on a respectable scale considers a piano only less indispensable than a kitchen range."[35]

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[33]21 October 1845.

[34]Dwight's Journal of Music described the home as the place "where musical powers of every degree of cultivation always find ready and delighted listeners, where the refined audiences that hear the public performances of our city, receive the rudiments of their musical knowledge, where, of all places, Music finds her fittest sanctuary and permanent dwelling place" (20/3 [19 October 1861], 230).

[35]James Parton, "The Piano in the United States," The Atlantic Monthly 20 (July 1867), 82.

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American manufacturers soon met the demands of the public by increasing production of pianos. At the beginning of the century most pianos were imported, and between 1800 and 1820 there were only about a dozen piano manufacturers active in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. In 1829 American firms manufactured an estimated 2,500 pianos (equivalent to one instrument for every 4,800 inhabitants). By 1852 the number had risen to 9,000 (one for every 2,777 persons), and by 1860 21,000 pianos were produced in one year (one for every 1,500 persons).[36] After living in the United States from 1821 to 1861, an English writer could state:

> Music is more cultivated in America, up to a certain point, than in any country in the world, except Germany. I am sure there are ten pianofortes in every American town or village to one in England.[37]

Although the piano was gradually becoming ubiquitous in the United States, the level of playing was still at a relatively basic level. In 1891 the songwriter George F. Root recalled his early years of piano study in 1838-39 when he began lessons as a young man of eighteen or nineteen:

> I worked steadily at my piano lessons, and got on well, considering the obstacles I had to overcome in my grownup hands. But piano playing was not then what it is now, by a difference that it would be hard to

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[36]Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, pp. 468-69, 492, 511-12.

[37]Thomas Low Nichols, Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861 (New York: Stackpole Sons, 1937), p. 190.

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describe. A piano in a country town was a rarity, and a person even in Boston who could play as well as hundreds of young people all over the country now play, would have attracted universal attention.[38]

Certainly some very fine pianists had been heard in America before the advent of De Meyer and Herz. New York had been particularly blessed with several first-rate, if not quite virtuoso, players who had immigrated to the United States in the 1830s, including Henry Christian Timm in 1834,[39] Daniel Schlesinger in 1836,[40] and William Scharfenberg in 1838. Philadelphia was favored with such pianists as Benjamin Carr Cross, Herman Thorbecke, and Edward Walker. They were active in local concert life, performing piano solos and concertos, accompanying other performers, and teaching, but they did not to any great degree venture into touring.

Several other pianists had brief concert careers or lived for a while in the United States before returning to

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[38]The Story of a Musical Life (Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1891; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 10.

[39]See John Tasker Howard, "Timm, Henry Christian," Dictionary of American Biography, 18:555-56.

[40]Upon his death in June 1839, Schlesinger was eulogized as "the most eminent pianist that our country contained" (The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence 2/4 [15 June 1839], 63-64). The concert billed as a "Musical Solemnity, In Memory Of Daniel Schlesinger" was an important stepping stone in the founding of the New York Philharmonic (Howard Shanet, Philharmonic: A History of New York's Orchestra [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975], pp. 69-72).

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Europe. Root remembered hearing in the late 1830s the first visiting pianists, who "much excelled the best we had heard":

> Jane Sloman was first, and in a few months Rakemann. They had great success then, but such playing now would be considered only mediocre--I mean as concert playing. Every large city in the country has better players.[41]

Sloman came to the United States with her actor parents in 1839, made her debut in 1841, and performed until at least 1850; she remained in America after that date and continued her career as a composer.[42] The Rakemann referred to by Root was Louis Rackemann, who lived in New York between 1839 and about 1843. He made his American debut under his original name, Ludwig Rakemann, claiming to be a "pupil of Hummel and Thalberg," and appeared in the eastern United States before settling in London. According to Dwight he "was the first to introduce us to the New School piano compositions--to Thalberg, Liszt, Henselt, Doehler, Chopin."[43] His brother Frederic joined him in the United States in 1842 and after only a small amount of performing soon devoted himself

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[41]Story of a Musical Life, pp. 16-17.

[42]See A Biographical Sketch of Jane Sloman, the Celebrated Pianist (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1841); and Judith Tick, American Women Composers before 1870 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), pp. 188-91.

[43]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/2 (11 October 1856), 14.

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solely to teaching.[44] Julian Fontana, a friend of Chopin who often served as the composer's copyist, lived in Havana and New York sporadically from 1842 to 1851,[45] giving his first New York concert in January 1846.[46]

The major eastern cities, then, were not without opportunities to hear good piano playing. Solid players and fine teachers could also be found in some midwestern cities. In addition, the violinist and pianist William Vincent Wallace had performed in a number of cities from New Orleans to Boston in his American sojourn of 1842-44,[47] and in 1843 Louis Rackemann had toured as far west as St. Louis.[48] But much of the country was still unexposed to exceptional piano playing. With the advent of De Meyer in 1845, Herz in 1846,

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[44]See Charles Sedgwick Rackemann, Frederic William Rackemann, a Memoir: By His Son (printed privately, 1885).

[45]Elżbieta Dziębowska, "Fontana, Julian," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 6:697-98.

[46]Margaret Fleming Morin, "America's Interest in Chopin: 1830-1870" (Master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1936), p. 12. In August 1848, Chopin wrote to his friend: "I think you have done well, to settle in New York instead of in Havana" (Chopin's Letters, comp. Henryk Opieński, trans. E. L. Voynich [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931; reprint ed., New York: Vienna House, 1973], p. 367).

[47]Kathleen Hellyar Myers, William Vincent Wallace: Life and Works (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1980), pp. 49-56. Wallace was again in the United States from 1850 to 1854 (pp. 122-40).

[48]H. Earle Johnson, "Some 'First Performances' in America," Journal of the American Musicological Society 5/3 (Fall 1952), 239n.

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and Thalberg in 1856, America received its first widespread introduction to virtuoso piano playing. Almost one hundred cities in the United States and Canada heard at least one of these pianists.[49] For the first time, three of the world's best pianists came to the doorstep of thousands of Americans.

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[49]See the Appendix for a list of concerts given by De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg in America.

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PART I

LEOPOLD DE MEYER

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CHAPTER II

THE LION STALKS AMERICA (1845-46)

America's first encounter with a bona fide piano virtuoso was provided by the colorful and eccentric Austrian pianist Leopold de Meyer (1816-83). His forceful technique and imaginative compositions created a sensation throughout the country. During his two-season tour (1845-47) he made at least 85 appearances in 26 cities in the United States and Canada. His success was qualified, however, for he was not always able to maintain the delicate balance between his role as a serious musician and that of a clever and aggressive publicist. But in spite of the press's frequent censure of his publicity tactics, his presence in the United States was a notable event in American musical life, and to many his playing was a revelation.

For a time De Meyer captured the attention of the entire western musical world. From St. Petersburg to St. Louis, he was hailed as one of the greatest pianists of the day, and his compositions were enthusiastically received--two of them were even orchestrated by Berlioz. Yet, like many pianist-composers of his era, he receded into obscurity, a victim of changes in public taste, the passing

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of the virtuoso age, and the neglect of his compositions by other pianists. Today he is long forgotten.[1]

He was born Leopold von Meyer in Baden near Vienna on 20 December 1816 and showed keyboard talent from an early age, although he did not at first pursue music seriously. He studied law at the University of Vienna, following the desires of his father, a state counsellor at the Austrian court. He performed frequently in the aristocratic salons of Vienna and at the court, but only after his father's death was he able to fulfill his own wish by committing himself to music. At seventeen he began studying with Carl Czerny and with François Schubert, the latter a professor at the Vienna Conservatory. After only two years of intensive study he embarked on a performing career, generally using the name Leopold de Meyer.[2]

De Meyer's career is a perfect illustration of how the routes traveled by virtuosos were shifting:[3] he spent most of the first eight years of his career performing in Russia

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[1]The only modern reference work that includes an entry for him is Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, ed. Nicolas Slonimsky, 7th ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984).

[2]The Biography of Leopold de Meyer (London: Palmer and Clayton, 1845), pp. 3-4. This publicity pamphlet, the primary source for De Meyer's early years, is described below.

[3]See the article Pontécoulant, "Une Révolution dans la marche des astres," La France musicale 9/46 (15 November 1846), 371 (quoted on p. 3 of this dissertation).

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and eastern Europe (1835-43) before eventually making his way to America. After leaving Russia, he made a brief visit to Constantinople, returned triumphantly to Vienna in 1843, and then proceeded to conquer audiences and musicians in western Europe. In London he performed with distinguished virtuosos including Julius Benedict, Charles de Bériot, Ignaz Moscheles, Camillo Sivori, and Henry Vieuxtemps. The Musical World declared: "He is assuredly one of the most original and remarkable pianists of the age."[4] In Frankfurt one writer claimed: "Excepting Liszt, no pianist has met at this theatre a reception so enthusiastic as M. de Meyer."[5] And in Brussels he was elected an honorary member of the Cercle des Arts, and L'Observateur stated confidently: "Nothing can be more brilliant, more finished, more powerful, more feeling, than the playing of this incomparable pianist."[6]

It was no small achievement that De Meyer attained what was probably his greatest success in Paris, the undisputed capital of piano virtuosos. Within a few weeks he was touted as "the principal ornament of all our great salons. . . . It is difficult to imagine the immense effect that he

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[4]19/28 (11 July 1844), 233.

[5]Journal de Francfort, quoted in The Musical World 19/42 (17 October 1844), 343.

[6]Quoted in The Musical World 19/49 (5 December 1844), 399.

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produces everywhere."[7] In less than three months, he made almost thirty appearances in private soirees and concerts, including two solo recitals and a guest appearance at a concert organized by Berlioz.[8]

De Meyer was at the height of his European celebrity when he decided to visit the United States. His rise to fame in western Europe had occurred so rapidly that his name had only begun to be known in the United States, and little if any of his music preceded him. To prepare his way in America, he issued a publicity pamphlet entitled The Biography of Leopold de Meyer. It was supposedly "undertaken at the instigation of several friends and admirers of the great pianist" and was written "to commemorate his successes in Europe, and to prove to the inhabitants of the New Continent that his extraordinary fame, already gone forth amongst them, is but the echo of the Old World."[9]

The biography recounts De Meyer's triumphs and adventures as "The Lion Pianist" among emperors, kings, and sultans, and effusively extols his virtues as an artist, pianist, and human being. Except for a few lapses in

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[7]Revue et gazette musicale 12/4 (26 January 1845), 30.

[8]Revue et gazette musicale 12/9 (2 March 1845), 71.

[9]The Biography of Leopold de Meyer, p. 3.

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chronology, the information it presents is basically correct, but it is couched in an exaggerated manner that strains credibility. The publication brought much attention to the pianist--not all of it favorable. After praising a performance by De Meyer, John Sullivan Dwight denounced the pamphlet and the state of musical affairs that made it necessary:

> Persuaded as we are of the genuineness of him and of his art, we regard the book as of the worst species of humbug, since it represents him as a charlatan. Of a free, careless, unsuspecting simplicity; fond, doubtless, of applause, while determined to deserve it; earnest and conscientious in the real sphere of his life, which is his music, and accepting the fashions of the world, for the rest; without much thought about it, he has let his officious admirers invest him with all the civilized machinery of puffing. It takes from the true respectability of the artist. We know there is this excuse for it, that every thing now-a-days is done by management and pretension, that the world has got so schooled to humbug, that the genuine as well as the false have to make use of it as an introduction, and that no man, in any department, be he ever so great, can get along in the world unless he will consent to do as the humbugs do. But is there, then, no dignity left in the deserving?[10]

Dwight was accurate, in general, in blaming management for the widespread use of humbug, but he was too kind in De Meyer's case. His only manager was his brother-in-law, G. C. Reitheimer, and the pianist probably worked closely with him in planning publicity. Despite his genuine talents as a pianist, he probably thought such promotion was a necessity,

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[10]"Musical Review: The Biography of Leopold de Meyer," The Harbinger 2/1 (13 December 1845), 11.

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at least in America, and most likely considered any publicity good publicity.

De Meyer's pamphlet was not only symptomatic of his individual approach to publicity but of the European attitude toward supposedly unsophisticated American audiences as well. Biographies similar to De Meyer's had been used previously to herald performers like Jane Sloman and the child actor Joseph Burke, and they became a standard feature of a performer's American tour: Camillo Sivori, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and Hans von Bülow, among others, were each introduced to the American public by a biographical pamphlet.[11]

The most striking feature of De Meyer's publication was its illustrations. Most of these portrayed the pianist in a series of respectable poses performing before various dignitaries. But one was a caricature showing him pounding the keyboard with his hands, elbows, and one knee. Many famous performers were the subject of caricatures, but De Meyer was obviously proud of his and exploited them to the fullest: they appeared on publications of his music (see

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[11]E. James, Camillo Sivori: A Sketch of his Life, Talent, Travels and Successes (London: Pietro Rolandi, 1845); Paul Arpin, Biographie de Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pianiste américain (New York: Imprimerie du Courrier des Etats-Unis, 1853), abridged English translation by H. C. Watson as Life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk (New York: n.p., 1853); and Hans von Bülow: A Biographical Sketch. His Visit to America (New York: Cushing & Bardua, 1875).

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figure 1), on concert programs, and even on his personal stationery (see figure 2).

De Meyer's publicity tactics, which created for him "more notoriety than confidence,"[12] must be viewed, however, in the light of his personality. He was depicted as having "a most amiable, generous, and jovial private character" and a "hearty and merry laugh."[13] De Meyer's biography described the pianist's personality in some detail:

> De Meyer, in appearance, is exceedingly prepossessing. His countenance is open, frank, animated, and intelligent; and his features are expressive of indomitable good spirits and everlasting humour. Indeed, he is one of the best-tempered men in existence; and it is a rare thing to see him ruffled, even when provocation might well excuse a show of anger. In deportment and manners he has that ease and bearing which nothing but a consciousness of high birth and associating with the best classes of society could confer. . . . From his education he is necessarily a man of learning and acquirement; from his travelling and mixing so much with the world, a man of information and knowledge.[14]

A Philadelphia newspaper corroborated De Meyer's "gentlemanly deportment" and claimed he "won the respect and attention of every person who has had the pleasure of making his acquaintance."[15] With his background in the Austrian court as a youth, De Meyer was a cultured and well-educated

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[12]Boston Chronotype, quoted in John Sullivan Dwight, "De Meyer Again in Boston," The Harbinger 3/20 (24 October 1846), 318.

[13]New York Herald, 18 October 1845.

[14]The Biography of Leopold de Meyer, pp. 16-17.

[15]Philadelphia Daily Chronicle, 28 February 1846.

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CARICATURE D'APRÈS DANTAN.

COMPOSITIONS

POUR LE PIANO, PAR

Leopold de Meyer,

PIANISTE DE LL MM.II L'EMPEREUR D' AUTRICHE ET L'EMPEREUR DE TOUTES LES RUSSIES.

1 *Le départ et le retour*
2 *Airs russes.*
3

New York

CHEZ SCHARFENBERG & LUIS 361 BROADWAY.
DEPÔT OF FOREIGN MUSIC.

SCHARFENBERG & LUIS NEW YORK

10 ST CHARLES STREET CHAS. HORST. NEW-ORLEANS

Fig. 1. De Meyer, Le Départ et le retour (New York: Scharfenberg & Luis, 1845), cover. (Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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MARCHE MARCCAIRE

Sir!

I feel most happy to fulfil your very modeste and flattering desire. By proffering my Autograph

(here it)

Your most obedient

Leopold de Meyer

Cincinatti 27. April 1847.

Fig. 2. De Meyer, Letter dated Cincinnati, 27 April 1847. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

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person. But in addition he was an ingenious showman who obviously enjoyed spreading publicity about himself almost as much as he enjoyed playing the piano.

The Park Theatre

De Meyer was in London when the complicated negotiations involving four different agents were completed for his first appearances in the United States. One of the four agents was John Povey, "General Theatrical Agent for the United States" and the representative for New York's Park Theatre, where De Meyer was engaged for six appearances.[16] It may seem to have been hardly worth crossing the Atlantic for only six performances, but De Meyer no doubt assumed that other engagements would follow.[17]

De Meyer sailed from Liverpool on 27 September 1845 on board the steamship Great Britain and arrived in New York on

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[16]The Musical World 20/31 (31 July 1845), 369, and 20/38 (18 September 1845), 454.

[17]Contrary to one press report which stated that De Meyer had "been engaged to perform at most of the principal towns" in the United States, he had no other engagements (The Albion, 18 October 1845, p. 500). But only one week after his arrival, it was announced that De Meyer would tour the country and remain for about a year (New York Herald, 22 October 1845).

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15 October accompanied by Povey and his Biography.[18] His arrival was duly noted in the press, but no great reception awaited him and at least one newspaper described him as a violinist.[19] Within only a few days, however, the New York Herald, which consistently gave the best coverage of musical and theatrical events, claimed that "the excitement which his arrival in this country has called forth in the musical and fashionable world is indescribable."[20] Prior to his public debut, De Meyer performed on 18 October at a private soiree in his rooms for a group of musicians, painters, writers, doctors, lawyers, and political leaders. This gave him an opportunity to arouse some excitement about his playing and to meet the people he later associated with during his stay in New York. De Meyer knew he needed the cooperation of local musicians to make a success. According to one report, "the enthusiasm of the audience . . ., including many of the leading pianists of our City, was intense and the applause electric and unbounded."[21]

Even though De Meyer had given a number of solo recitals in Brussels and Paris, his American debut on 20 October 1845 took place in much humbler circumstances.

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[18]The Albion, 18 October 1845, p. 503.

[19]New York Evening Post, 16 October 1845.

[20]18 October 1845.

[21]New-York Daily Tribune, 20 October 1845.

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Because the Park Theatre was a theatrical playhouse--the actors Charles Kean and his wife completed an engagement there the week before De Meyer's began--he was essentially an extra attraction, beyond the usual offerings of the theater. For two weeks he appeared on alternate nights playing one piece (plus an occasional encore) during each of two intermissions. These intermissions occurred between three lightweight comedies, such as Petticoat Government, The Boarding School, and The Dumb Belle, or between two comedies and a dance.

De Meyer was billed as the "Imperial and Royal Pianist, by Diploma, to the Emperors of Austria and Russia" (titles which he consistently used and on which he had some claim), the "Paganini of the Piano," and the "Greatest Pianist of Modern Times";[22] the last two were probably the work of the Park Theatre manager. At his debut he appeared between performances of The Green Eyed Monster, The Bengal Tiger, and My Neighbor's Wife and performed his Introduction and Variations on the Drinking Song from Lucrezia Borgia, his Marche marocaine, and as an encore his Airs russes.

If any members of the capacity audience--hundreds were turned away[23]--had doubted De Meyer's ability to measure up

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[22]New York Herald, 20 October 1845.

[23]New York Herald, 22 October 1845.

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to his publicity claims, they were evidently convinced of his skills on first hearing. His debut, as related by the Herald, was a resounding success:

> It is difficult to afford an adequate idea of the unparalleled enthusiasm--it might be called a frenzy--with which [De Meyer] was received. The applause was so tremendous and withal so protracted, that we really began thinking that the audience were under the influence of some species of Tarantella; and everybody looked so excited, that a stranger, who would have entered the theatre after the Marche Marocaine, could have fancied himself in a lunatic asylum, with De Meyer--the only one who looked reasonable--as the keeper. Never did [an] artist make such an impression on his first appearance.[24]

De Meyer performed six times at the Park Theatre to "crowded houses"[25] and introduced some of the other mainstays of his repertory: Marche triomphale d'Isly, and fantasias on L'Elisir d'amore, Lucia di Lammermoor, and Norma.

The Music of De Meyer

Like most pianists of his day, De Meyer almost solely performed his own works. The only other pieces on his American programs were his own arrangements of Rossini's Overture to William Tell and Félicien David's Le Désert, the latter for two pianos. With guest artists he also performed

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[24]New York Herald, 21 October 1845.

[25]The Albion, 1 November 1845, p. 527. On the day of his fifth appearance the New York Sun (30 October 1845) reported that "his success has been immense."

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two duos for violin and piano--one on themes from William Tell composed by Osborne and Bériot and one based on La Sonnambula by Bériot and Benedict.

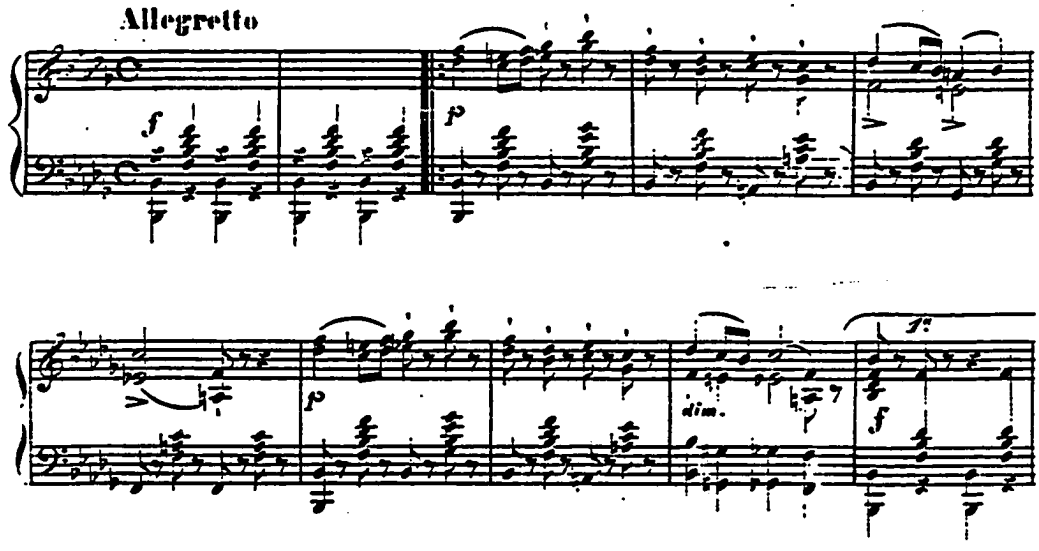
Following the taste of the time, many of De Meyer's own compositions were also strongly indebted to Italian opera. Among his own works he performed in the United States were fantasias on Bellini's Norma and I Puritani, Donizetti's L'Elisir d'amore, Lucia di Lammermoor, and Lucrezia Borgia, and Rossini's La Donna del lago and Semiramide. In all these pieces De Meyer shows himself to be more than a competent composer-arranger, capable of constructing a series of variations with a continuing array of challenging fingerwork--chromatic runs, arpeggios, and passages in double thirds and in octaves. He even injects some interesting harmonic progressions, such as in the third variation of the Semiramide Fantasia: the variation begins in C minor and makes its way through E-flat major, E-flat minor, B major, and back to E-flat major before returning to A-flat major, the key of the entire work.

De Meyer's best works, however, are undoubtedly several novel and striking pieces evocative of the music heard in his travels. Some are evidently based directly on folk material and range from straightforward keyboard transcriptions, as in the Chant bohémien, to more elaborate interpretations, as in two sets of Airs russes. The first set (Op. 20) is built around a main theme of eight measures in B-flat minor (example 1). Two other eight-bar sections
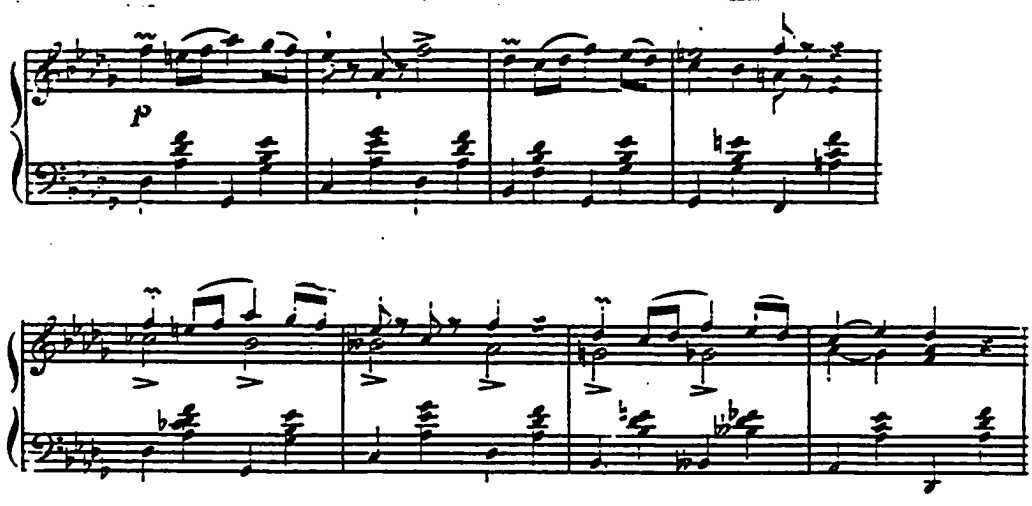
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in D-flat major follow, derived from the opening four-note motive. In the second of these, by adding a mordent to the opening note and enlarging a stepwise progression to a third, De Meyer transforms the peasant-dance quality of the theme into one of the lighthearted salon (example 2).

Example 1. De Meyer, Airs russes (Op. 20), measures 1-10.



Example 2. De Meyer, Airs russes (Op. 20), measures 21-28.
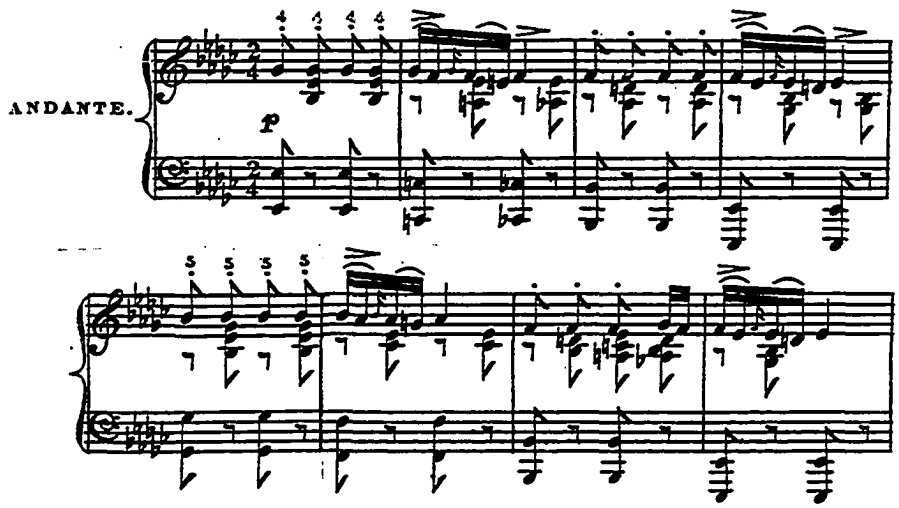


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After an almost literal repetition of the first three sections, a central development section introduces new, more pianistic passages in B-flat major (with use of appoggiaturas reminiscent of Chopin), a fresh statement of the main theme in D minor, and a virtuosic section in B-flat minor/D-flat major with a series of descending trills--a favorite device of the pianist--and arpeggios in the right hand. A cadenza prepares the final, unaltered statement of the first three sections, followed by a codetta. Except for the one virtuosic central passage and the one-measure cadenzas that punctuate the major structural divisions, the work is not difficult.
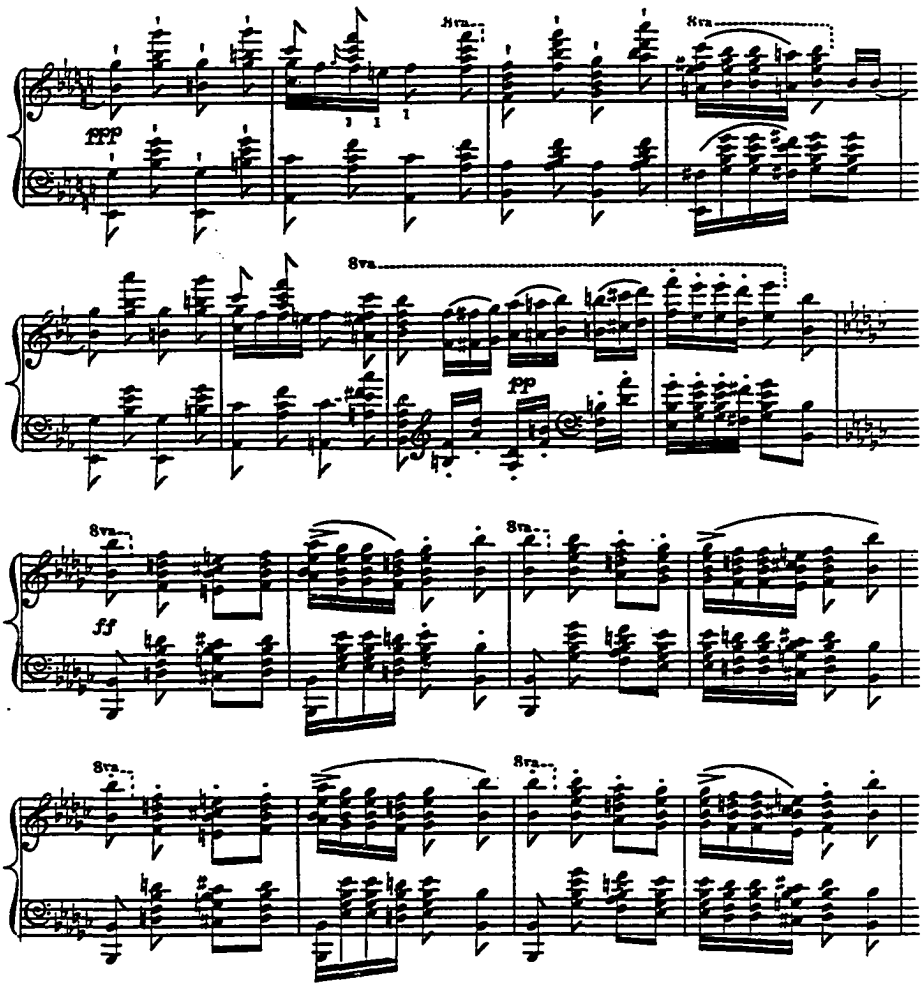
Whereas the first set of Airs russes relies heavily on literal repetition of entire sections, the second set (Op. 43) gradually transforms the original material into a brilliant showpiece. The work resembles, in at least a general way, the Hungarian Rhapsodies of Liszt with its use of folk material, emphasis on virtuosic exhibition, and the pairing of slow and fast sections. An andante statement of the theme in E-flat minor (example 3) is followed by a fantasia-like development with the theme heard in an inner voice. The tempo changes to allegro vivace and the work abruptly becomes a polka constantly shifting between major and minor. Rapid chordal leaps and octave runs bring the piece to a rousing climax (example 4).

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Example 3. De Meyer, Airs russes (Op. 43), measures 1-8.
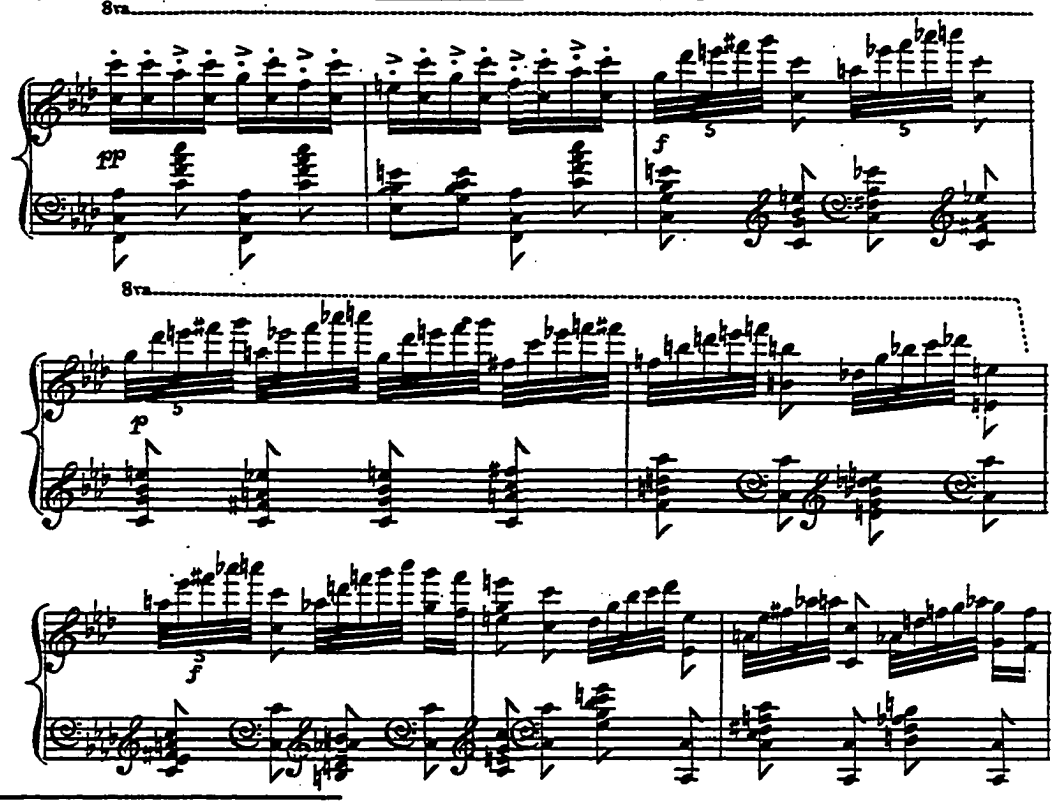


Example 4. De Meyer, Airs russes (Op. 43), measures 109-24.



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Other works are probably based on original material but are meant to suggest an exotic locale, such as La Danse du sérail. Subtitled a "grande fantaisie orientale," it is a programmatic work inspired by the pianist's experience in Constantinople, where he supposedly played before the Sultan.[26] Programmatic headings include: "Rêverie à la vue du Bosphore," "Causerie des odalisques," "Entrée du sultan," and "Danse des odalisques."[27] Although the entrance of the sultan is a conventionally diatonic triumphant march, some local color is suggested in the dance of the odalisques through greater chromaticism (example 5).

Example 5. De Meyer, La Danse du sérail, measures 234-41.



[26]The Biography of Leopold de Meyer, pp. 6-7.

[27]An odalisque is a member of a harem.

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De Meyer's most popular work by far was the Marche marocaine. It also was inspired by his stay in Constantinople--despite its title--for the piece was originally published as Machmudier: air guerrier des Turques.[28] De Meyer's outstanding success in Paris can be directly linked to this work,[29] considered by one of the Escudier brothers as "one of the most original, the most eccentric pieces of piano music that exists."[30] Berlioz gave a vivid account of the reception accorded De Meyer's performance of the piece at a concert in the Cirque Olympique organized by the French composer:

> As for the Marche marocaine . . . to say that it was called for again in the vast hall of the Cirque, that it electrified and transported that immense audience whose attention, one would think, could have been attracted only by the great masses of harmony, is to

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[28]Diabelli of Vienna first published the work as Machmudier. As Marche marocaine, it was first advertised for sale by the Bureau Central de Musique in La France musicale 7/45 (10 November 1844), 327.

[29]The title itself must have aroused the interest of the French because of their military campaigns in Algeria and Morocco. De Meyer craftily retitled the work to capitalize on their military involvement in Africa.

[30]He continued his review of De Meyer's first solo recital in Paris (14 February 1845): "You cannot believe that L. de Meyer can produce such extraordinary effects with ten fingers; it is truly miraculous. The piece had to be repeated three times in the same concert; it was a success, an immense success, such as we have not seen in Paris for a long time" (La France musicale 8/8 [23 February 1845], 57).

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> recognize in it, as performed by the author, a most extraordinarily powerful impact.[31]

A New York review confirms French accounts of the work's impact and explains its secrets:

> His own Marche Marocaine is after all his most pleasing and astonishing effort. Its abrupt, gigantic theme, and its overwhelming power--its passages of wild sweetness--its startling harmonies, and certain passages of full chords, which sweep from one end of the instrument to the other with the full force of his powerful arm, and the full capacity of his comprehensive grasp, combine to make it the most remarkable piano forte composition of the day.[32]

The Marche marocaine is indeed filled with dense chordal writing (example 6), sweeping passages (example 7), and bravura octave runs (example 8), which made the work contrast sharply to the rampant opera variations with their emphasis on delicate filigree. The full chordal texture of the music was partly responsible for De Meyer's large sound, probably the most noted feature of his playing. The Musical World, in a review of the pianist's appearance at a London Philharmonic Concert, claimed:

> Perhaps Leopold de Meyer is the only pianist on record, who, after the performance of an orchestra of seventy performers, can play with such immense power as to make the audience entirely forget the colossal force of the band.[33]
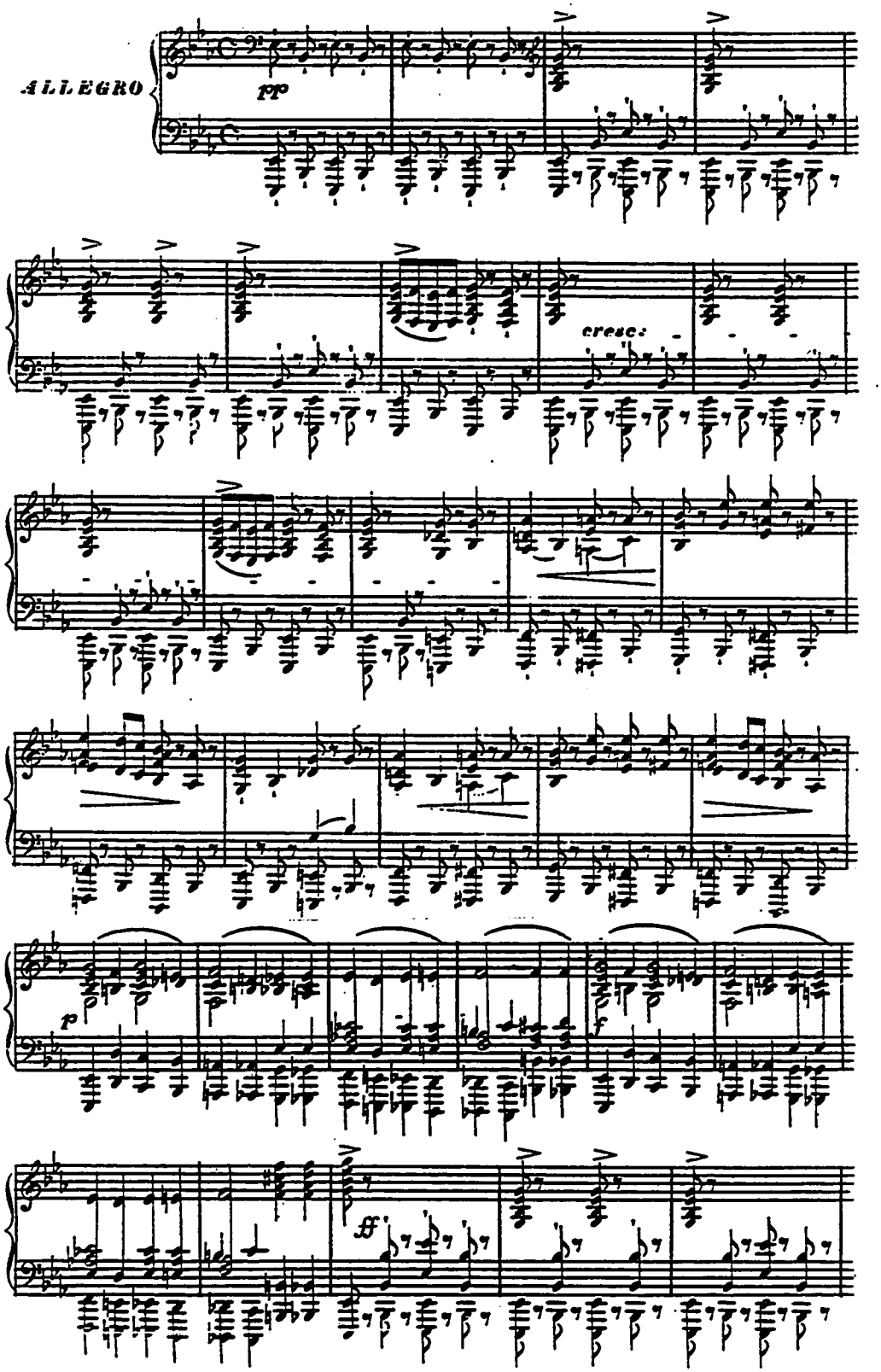
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[31] Journal des débats, 4 March 1845. De Meyer performed the work on 16 February 1845 at the second of Berlioz's four concerts at the Cirque Olympique. Berlioz then orchestrated the work and performed it on 6 April 1845 at the final concert of the series; see R. Allen Lott, "A Berlioz Premiere in America: Leopold de Meyer and the Marche d'Isly," 19th-Century Music 8/3 (Spring 1985), 226-30.

[32] Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 30 October 1845.

[33] 20/24 (12 June 1845), 278.
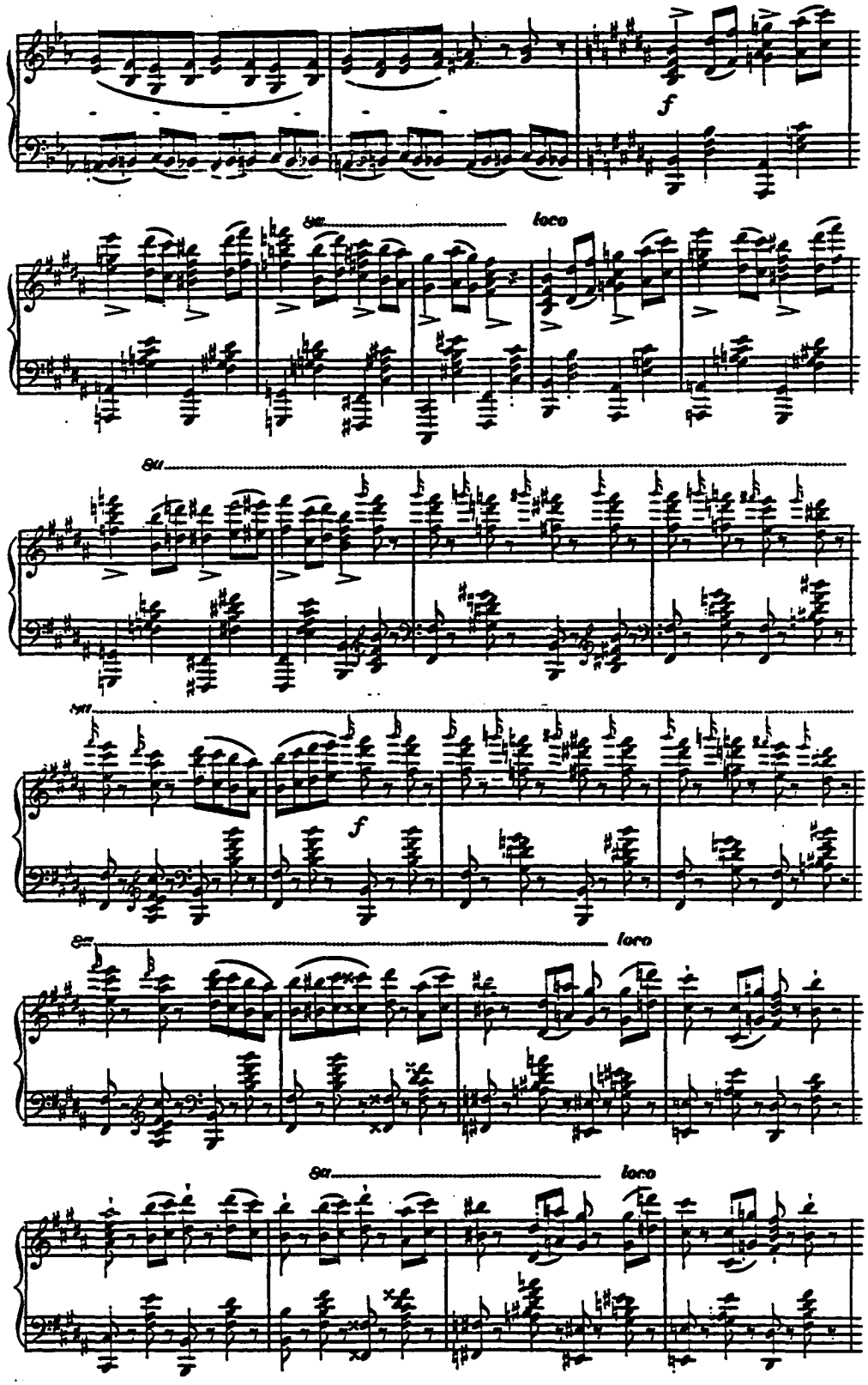
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Example 6. De Meyer, Marche marocaine, measures 1-30.



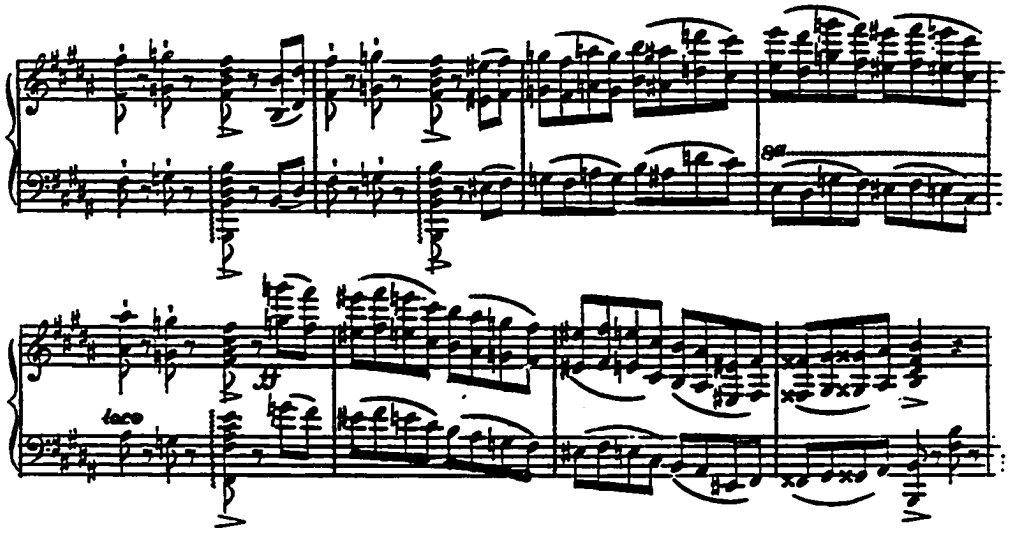
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Example 7. De Meyer, Marche marocaine, measures 56-79.



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Example 8. De Meyer, Marche marocaine, measures 101-8.



A New York paper wrote that the pianist

> delights in masses of sounds and his compositions are to other musical works what the Niagara at the Falls is to other rivers.[34]

And a St. Louis paper declared:

> His marches are the grandest in tone and volume that we have ever listened to, and the majestic step of his measure seems to be accompanied by the chorus of an army.[35]

The above review was referring also to De Meyer's Marche triomphale d'Isly, another stirring march with a full chordal texture.[36] Built on an insistent rhythmic pattern (example 9) that is only slightly varied (example 10), the piece could easily become tedious, but in the hands of a
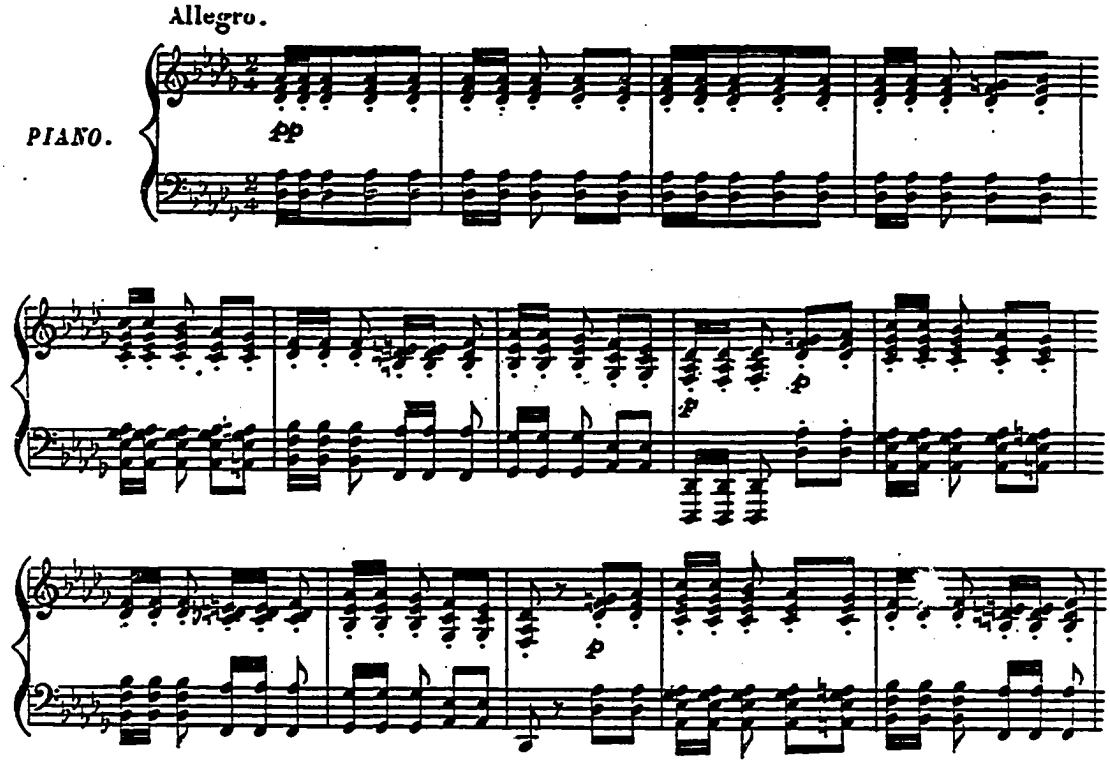
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[34]New-York Daily Tribune, 20 October 1845.

[35]Saint Louis Reveille, 29 May 1846.
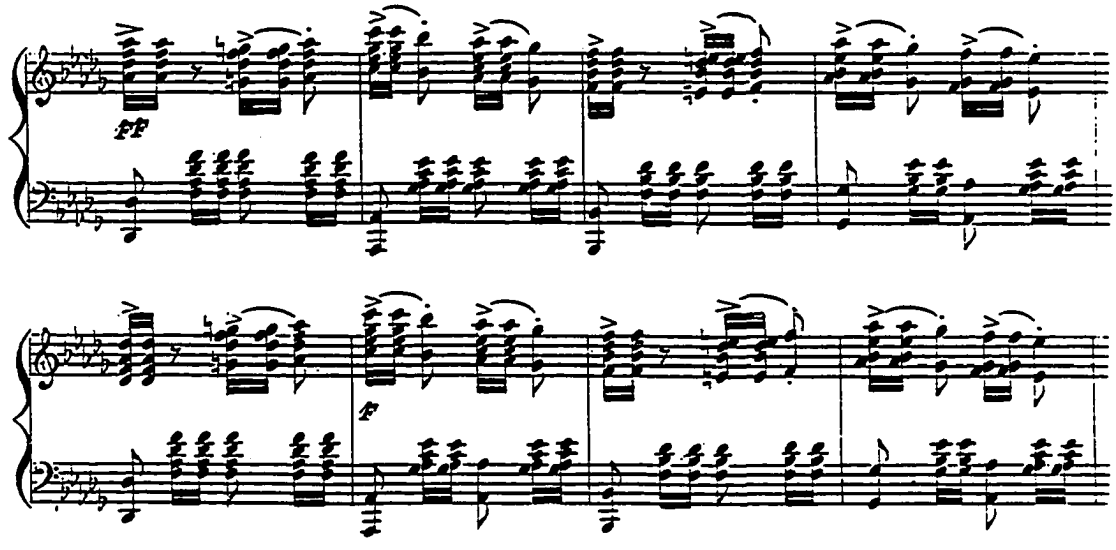
[36]The work, named after the battle of Isly in which the French defeated the Moroccan army at the Isly River on 15 August 1844, was De Meyer's attempt to recreate the tremendous success of the Marche marocaine. It became the second piece of De Meyer's to be orchestrated by Berlioz (see Lott, "A Berlioz Premiere in America").

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Example 9. De Meyer, Marche triomphale d'Isly, measures 1-14.
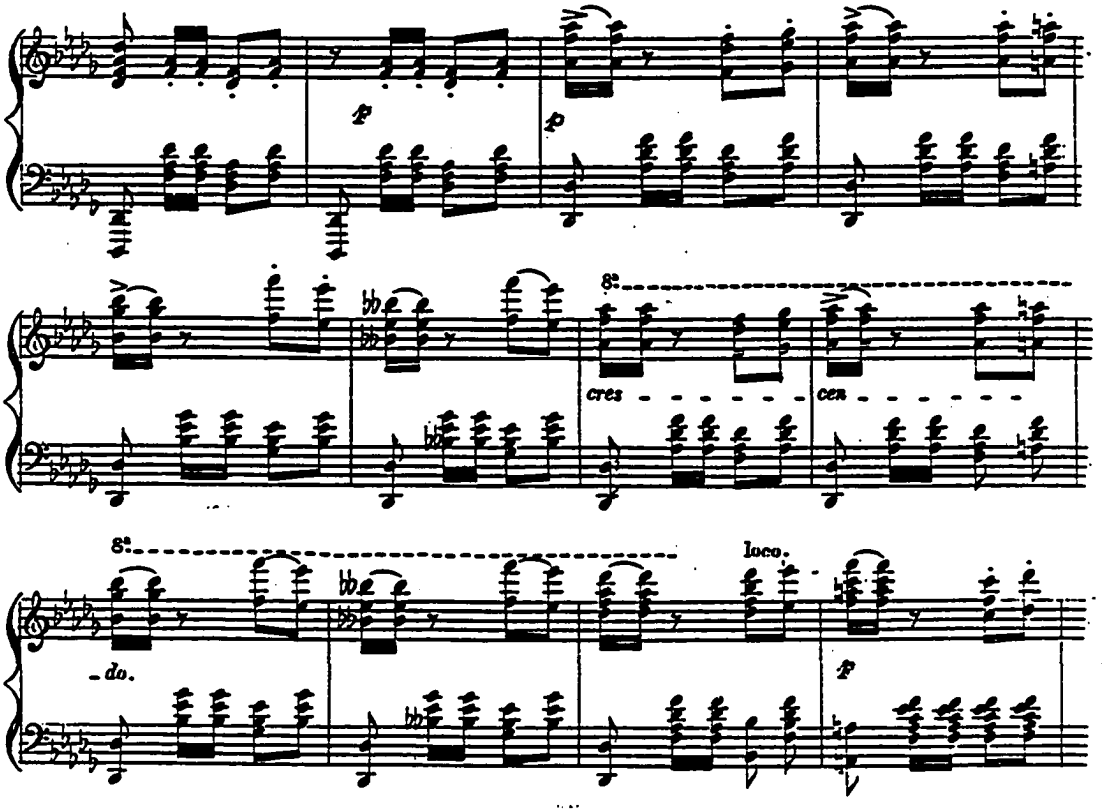


Example 10. De Meyer, Marche triomphale d'Isly, measures 41-48.



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dynamic performer like De Meyer it was surely mesmerizing. Midway through the march some relief is provided by a new lilting theme that is nevertheless closely related to the main idea and illustrates De Meyer's considerable lyrical gift (example 11). As a whole, the work is a tour de force posing formidable technical difficulties because of its relentless rhythmic drive and sizeable leaps for both hands.[37]

Example 11. De Meyer, Marche triomphale d'Isly, measures 139-50.



[37]A New York review describes how De Meyer met the demands of the work: "He took intervals which are almost incredible, with unerring precision and effect" (Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 30 October 1845).

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Other compositions of De Meyer include The Carnival of Venice, a keyboard adaptation of Paganini's famous work; Le Départ et le retour, a pairing of a nocturne and polka; and Airs nationaux américains, comprising variations on "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle." The last was one of many sets of variations that was de rigueur for every visiting artist to compose as homage to the music of his guest country.[38] De Meyer apparently never performed his Nocturne (Op. 21) in the United States, but it rates as one of his better pieces, if not among his most original.

De Meyer was by no means a great composer, but he was adventurous. He freely employed unusual keys, experimented with striking modulations, and frequently used chromatic themes and harmonies; the last trait is evident in both the Marche marocaine and the Marche triomphale d'Isly. His fondness for extended tertial harmonies, such as ninth and eleventh chords, lends flavor. (It can also verge on the cloying when combined with an overtly sentimental melody more typical of De Meyer's works after his first American tour.) In general, many of his pieces are remarkably original in an era of widespread conformity to opera-based variations. His music possesses considerable charm, color, and excitement.

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[38]A squib appearing in 1853 had the tune of "Yankee Doodle" complaining: "Why is it, sir, when one of your foreign Crowderos, your bewhiskered fancy fiddlers, has tickled his audience with his capering fingers, till they call him out again--why is it that I am to be dragged out and tortured for an encore? What have I done to be served up so?" (Dwight's Journal of Music 2/20 [19 February 1853], 155).

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Grand Concerts in New York

After his engagement at the Park Theatre concluded on 1 November 1845, De Meyer was solely under his brother-in-law's management for the rest of his American tour. He soon announced that his "first grand concert"[39] would take place on 7 November in the Tabernacle, at that time the principal concert hall in New York. Originally built as a church, the Tabernacle was a large amphitheater on Broadway seating almost three thousand people.[40] Had he performed in such a vast hall immediately on his arrival, De Meyer would probably have attracted only a meager audience. But by the time he had finished his six successful appearances at the Park Theatre, De Meyer was no longer an obscure European pianist: he was the talk of the town. Reviews of the first concert describe the Tabernacle as "crowded," "filled,

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[39]The designation of De Meyer's seventh appearance in the United States as his "first grand concert" has caused it to be occasionally mistaken as his American debut.

[40]The pianist Richard Hoffman described the hall: "The Tabernacle . . . was the only large room available for public concerts or meetings except Castle Garden (then used for the opera), and its acoustic properties were very good. It was, however, a dismal, badly lighted place and the entrance could only be approached through a long, narrow alley from Broadway. The New York audiences of to-day would revolt against the inconveniences which were cheerfully endured by their grandparents in 1847" (Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976], pp. 95-96).

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seldom to a greater degree," and "completely crammed."[41]

In his first concert, as in most of his remaining appearances in the United States, De Meyer was assisted by other performers.[42] Solo recitals were almost unheard of in America and would certainly not have been given in a hall as large as the Tabernacle. The program was typical: only four piano pieces alternating with as many vocal numbers were scheduled. The number of works actually performed, however, was usually higher and could almost be doubled because of the consistent practice of the audience's demanding (and the performer's giving) encores. The encores could be either a repetition of a work or, as was more customary, an entirely different piece.[43] The program for De Meyer's first concert comprised the following:

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[41]New York Evening Post, 8 November 1845; New York Herald, 13 November 1845; and New-York Daily Tribune, 8 November 1845.

[42]As one critic expressed it, assisting artists were "engaged to 'fill up the chinks'" (Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 7 February 1846).

[43]The Boston Post facetiously defined the word "encore": "A French word, which, being translated into American means, 'we intend to get the worth of our money;' consequently, when it is used the performer does not repeat the piece just given, as the word seems to indicate, but plays another. Authorities--Ole Bull, Sivori, Herz, De Meyer, &c" (quoted in New Orleans Daily Picayune, 2 February 1847).

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Part I

1. Duett from Don Giovanni, Mozart . . . Madame Adler and Sig'r Philip Mayer

2. Russian Airs, second set, composed and executed, for the first time, by . . . . . Leopold de Meyer

3. Aria from Norma, "Casta diva," Bellini . . . . . Madame Adler

4. Introduction and Brilliant Variations on the Carnival of Venice, by Paganini, arranged and executed for the first time, by . . . . . Leopold de Meyer

Part II

1. Grand Aria from Lucia di Lammermoor, Donizetti . . . . . Sig. Philip Mayer

2. Overture to William Tell, Rossini, arranged and executed, first time, by . . . . Leopold de Meyer

3. Recitative and Grand Aria from Masaniello, Auber . . . . . Madame Adler

4. Grand Marche Marocaine, (by desire,) composed and executed by . . . . . Leopold de Meyer[44]

Now a celebrity, De Meyer was invited to appear on 10 November as a guest artist in Ureli Corelli Hill's Festival Concert. Hill was a leading member of the New York musical establishment and had been in 1842 the "chief begetter of the New York Philharmonic."[45] De Meyer performed his Marche marocaine on the piano and also led the almost one-hundred-piece orchestra in the same work "as Instrumented by the great Berlioz, with an original Coda, and executed in Paris

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[44]The program is reproduced as it appears in the New York Herald, 7 November 1845. The phrase "by desire" was the typical justification for scheduling a work already performed several times.

[45]Shanet, Philharmonic, p. 82.

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under his direction with astonishing effect."[46] This was, in fact, the first "Berlioz work" to be performed in America.[47]

Prior to leaving for Boston, De Meyer gave another concert in New York on 14 November, offering his La Danse du sérail and The Battle of New Orleans, Grand March, the latter "expressly composed for this Concert."[48] He was assisted by the American singer Julia Northall, the harpist Madame Lazare, and again by Philip Mayer. This concert also "had a full attendance and was very successful,"[49] but three days later De Meyer left for Boston, where he was to be given a much different reception.

De Meyer in Performance

In Boston on 19 November 1845 De Meyer gave a private soiree as he had in New York for the leading members of the community and the local musicians, including twenty

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[46]New York Herald, 10 November 1845.

[47]The overture to Les Francs-Juges, performed on 7 March 1846 by the New York Philharmonic Society, was the first original composition by Berlioz heard in America (H. Earle Johnson, First Performances in America to 1900: Works with Orchestra [Detroit: Information Coordinators for the College Music Society, 1979], pp. 59-70).

[48]New York Herald, 14 November 1845. No work by De Meyer titled The Battle of New Orleans was apparently ever published.

[49]New-York Commercial Advertiser, 15 November 1845.

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"distinguished professors."[50] One of the invited guests was John Sullivan Dwight, then music critic for The Harbinger. Just prior to De Meyer's arrival in Boston, Dwight had published a lengthy two-part article on the pros and cons of virtuosos.[51] Having voiced reservations about the breed in general, Dwight's glowing account of De Meyer's soiree takes on a special credibility:

> The wonderful pianist had no sooner established himself in commodious and elegant quarters in Boston, then the musical conoscenti [sic] were bidden to his rooms to have a preliminary taste of his quality. Some forty gentlemen were assembled, musical professors, critics, dilettanti, editors, in short the nucleus whose opinion is fame with our little musical world. With what feelings we went, may be judged from the views we have lately expressed respecting the whole modern tendency of music. The deepest in music we knew to be not of the order which makes triumphal processions through the world. . . . We went prepared to be astonished and delighted, to hear something which might compare with Liszt and Thalberg in point of execution, though less perhaps in sentiment and in the deeper qualities of Art. We were not disappointed.
>
> The genial, hearty manners of the man established at once a most free and familiar relation between him and his guests. . . .
>
> The honors of the house had been done by his companion, a most polite tall Austrian gentleman, whose politeness seemed to be the overflowing of his

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[50] Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 20 November 1845. De Meyer seems to have given similar soirees in other large cities. On the day of his first concert in New Orleans it was reported: "Amateurs who have heard him play in private in this city assure us that the half has not yet been told" (New Orleans Daily Picayune, 16 April 1846).

[51] "Musical Review: The Virtuoso Age in Music," The Harbinger 1/23 (15 November 1845), 362-64, and 1/24 (22 November 1845), 378-81.

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affection for his Maestro upon all his guests[52] . . . while De Meyer himself threw himself into the sociable current and made one of us. . . . He is a short, stout, jovial, healthy looking man, of light, flying hair, and full, blue German eyes. He congratulates himself on his advantage in being the only one of the great pianists who is fat; this enables him to bear the immense amount of physical exertion and nervous excitement, which is the greatest wonder about his playing. Indeed his physique is extraordinary; he is himself a Grand Piano, and can stand any amount of violent vibration without any symptom of exhaustion. . . .

He began. A soft trill in the highest octave, accompanied with the most delicate pianissimo runs, continuous, clear, cool, liquid, and distinct, as so many little mingled rills of water; nature herself could not satisfy the sense more perfectly; we were children with delight. By degrees he passed into some quaint lively Russian airs, one of which acquired a movement not unlike the Galop Chromatique of Liszt; wonderful variations succeeded, with a constant accession of new force, till he smote the keys with superhuman energy, bringing out such a breadth of harmony, that not inaptly has it been said that he tears up great masses of chords by the roots and flings them about with a furious joy. The workings of his countenance grew most intense, every muscle seemed to protrude, and the brow almost to lift itself off the head, his whole body played, he would straighten back and look round in triumph upon his audience, he would rise from his seat as if upon a race-horse; and finally, with the whole instrument vibrating like twenty, he sprang up into the arms, as it were, of the audience, laughing and shouting, with as much delight as any of them, at the admirable thing which had been accomplished. Criticism was put to flight; the resisting gentlemen were taken off their feet, and there seemed a general impulse to fling their arms about each others' necks, as in Schiller's Hymn to Joy. Joy, indeed, was the sentiment of it; besides that, it had little other; it was the perfect gratification of the senses, and seemed to do one a physical good. No one stopped to consider that it was not the deepest sphere of musical expression: to regret any other sentiment would have been sheer pedantry. Enough that

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[52]The "tall Austrian gentleman" was undoubtedly Reitheimer.

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men, cold, stiff, conventional men, were surprized [sic] into joyous intimacy by the naturalness of the thing. . . .

The next piece was a "Fantasie on the drinking song from Lucrezia Borgia," in style his own as before, only with still greater contrasts, if possible, of passages of unimaginable delicacy with others of tremendous weight. . . . Then came his famous "Marche Marocaine," one of his most original compositions, and a work, though simple and plain in its construction, yet of a breadth and fire entirely irresistible.

But the master piece of the evening was a Fugue, in which he twisted together a subject from Bach with one from Handel, and wrought the whole out in the extreme of the modern piano style; it was a perfectly successful marriage of opposite extremes; exceedingly complicated, yet every theme and every note admirably distinct and individual; and altogether a feat which we could scarce credit on the testimony of our eyes and ears. This was truly great music, and converted the most experienced and cautious judges.

We describe the experience of that evening simply as it was. We attempt no criticism; we venture no conjectures as to how De Meyer may compare with Liszt or Thalberg; we care not to settle his rank as a composer or performer. Whatever his sphere may be, he exerts the power of genius in that sphere, and therefore must be in harmony with true genius in all spheres. A certain air of vanity about him we can readily forgive; he accepts the fashions of the times, and frankly shows it. But that his music is a genuine thing, and that his skill quite distances all that we have heard, is true and undeniable. . . .[53]

Dwight's description of De Meyer confirms most other reports. The great contrasts noted by Dwight were perhaps the most characteristic element of De Meyer's playing. This was vividly depicted in one of many humorous accounts of the pianist:

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[53]"Musical Review: Leopold de Meyer," The Harbinger 1/25 (29 November 1845), 396-97.

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> He began; the first crash of the instrument took the nap entirely off the hat of a boy, who, like Zaccheus, "climbed a tree" on the opposite side of the street. Again he touches it, and the silvery notes drop from his fingers like the gentle dew of heaven on a patch of cucumbers. Anon and you hear "leetle bits of notes," brilliant as a diamond's flash, and about as big as a gnat's tooth, while with distended ears you eagerly bend forward to catch them, as, growing beautifully less, they die away in the distance. SLAM! CRASH!! BANG!!! THUNDER AND CATARACTS!!!! you are knocked into the middle of next week, and buried leagues deep among the wounded and dying--you're a gonner--while just before you "kick the bucket," soft strains, as if of paradise, steal over your sensibilities, affecting a resuscitation beyond the power of "smelling salts," and you "come to," and conclude to stay awhile.[54]

Richard Hoffman, who had studied briefly with De Meyer in 1844 or 1845 in London, also commented many years later on the contrasts in De Meyer's playing:

> I still remember his touch as the most wonderful combination of superb power and exquisite delicacy I ever heard.[55]

De Meyer's "superb power" was due in large part to the full chordal texture of his compositions as already discussed, but it must also be attributed to his

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[54]Cincinnati Spirit of the Times, quoted in Rochester Daily American, 28 July 1846, and in The Musical Gazette 1/13 (20 July 1846), 98.

[55]Some Musical Recollections, p. 75.

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revolutionary use of arm weight.[56] This technique intrigued the young pianist William Mason, who later became one of America's leading piano pedagogues:

> It was from a careful study of the manner of his playing that I first acquired the habit of fully devitalized upper-arm muscles in pianoforte-playing. The loveliness and charming musical beauty of his tones, the product of these conditions, greatly excited my admiration and fascinated me. I never missed an opportunity of hearing him play, and closely watched his movements, and particularly the motions of hand, arm, and shoulder. I was incessantly at the pianoforte trying to produce the same delightful tone quality by imitating his manner and style.[57]

Mason later studied in Europe with Dreyschock, Liszt, and others, but reported that the technique of arm weight was virtually unknown:

> During my whole stay abroad none of my teachers or their pupils, with many of whom I was intimately associated, seemed to know anything about the importance of the upper-arm muscles, the practical knowledge of which I had acquired through the playing of Leopold de Meyer.[58]

Perhaps Dwight's most significant remark is his confident declaration that De Meyer was technically the best

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[56]De Meyer also gained force by dropping his hands from a great height. One account of his playing claims "he raises both hands as high as his head, from which they descend successively upon the keys with wonderful rapidity" (London Times, quoted in The Musical Gazette 1/14 [3 August 1846], 107), and another describes him "lifting his hands almost to his forehead" (St. Louis Evening Gazette, 30 May 1846, quoted in New York Herald, 10 June 1846).

[57]Memories of a Musical Life (New York: The Century Co., 1901; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), pp. 19-20.

[58]Ibid., p. 69.

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pianist America had yet heard. This point was readily admitted by all. In a survey of the pianists that had performed in New York, one critic claimed of De Meyer: "It is true that to the mass here, he comes an undisputed wonder, for we have had no one in this country who can be classed in any way with him."[59] A Charleston critic had "no hesitation in ranking him far above any piano forte player whom it has been our lot to hear," and in New Orleans another stated: "That De Meyer is, by many furlongs, in advance of any pianist who has ever visited America, is a conceded point."[60]

These assertions, combined with the knowledge of De Meyer's successes in Europe, where audiences had heard Liszt, Thalberg, and others,[61] make it impossible to believe Harold Schonberg's statement that "De Meyer seems to have

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[59]This critic considered Louis Rackemann perhaps the best pianist in America before De Meyer and "a correct and careful player, but frigidly cold and unsatisfying" (Newspaper clipping, Henry C. Timm Scrapbook, Music Division, New York Public Library).

[60]Charleston Courier, 1 April 1846; and New Orleans Daily Picayune, 18 April 1846. Many similar statements appeared, such as in the New York Evening Post, 8 November 1845 ("We have certainly never had a pianist in this country that is equal to him"), and in the Philadelphia Times, 3 March 1846 (He "surpasses all who have visited America"). An extant program of De Meyer's first Boston appearance (21 November 1845) bears an annotation in ink: "greatest pianist ever here" (Music Department, Boston Public Library [**M.19.3]).

[61]The Musical World of London stated that "De Meyer, with equal powers of execution to those so transcendantly possessed by Thalberg and Liszt, surpasses both in the delicacy of his touch and the purity of his tone" (20/22 [29 May 1845], 259).

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been a faker."[62] His stage deportment and sense of showmanship, however, caused him to appear less than a serious artist. A reporter for a Boston music journal suggested that the pianist deliberately acquired extravagant stage mannerisms specifically for American audiences; he recalled hearing De Meyer previously in Europe, where he "did not . . . mingle much tom-foolery with his performance."[63]

Dwight mentions that De Meyer would "look round in triumph," a quirk noted by many others, including a New Orleans critic:

> While performing his most difficult passages he looks round upon the audience as much as to say, "What do you think of that?" and when playing the softer and more melodious parts, a smile of satisfaction radiates his countenance as if he felt persuaded his hearers were enjoying the perfection of harmony.[64]

Another writer interpreted the pianist's audience-gazing in a slightly different manner:

> As he whirls along he occasionally glares upon his auditors with a kind of insane stare, which shows the intensity of his concentration upon the wild music with which he weaves his spells.[65]

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[62]The Great Pianists (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 179.

[63]The Musical Gazette 1/22 (23 November 1846), 173.

[64]New-Orleans Bee, 17 April 1846.

[65]Brooklyn Star, quoted in The Albion, 1 November 1845, p. 527.

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A disagreement occurred in Rochester, where one paper believed that this habit of the pianist's was impudent and another believed that "the ladies . . . found it interesting."[66] A Pittsburgh critic further described the pianist's facial expressions:

> De Meyer's appearance while playing is singular enough. It is a treat to watch the constant succession of grins, frowns, smiles, squintings and unnameable contortions which convulses his broad good natured looking face. It would seem that he had thrown his whole soul into the business, and every physical and mental faculty was compelled to lend its assistance.[67]

Richard Hoffman claimed that De Meyer was "a perfect mountebank on the stage,"[68] and another New Orleans critic confirmed that De Meyer's "manner at the piano is unfortunate--it is too ferocious, too theatrical."[69] Inspired by his epithet, writers delighted in creating graphic accounts with references to his leonine qualities:

> When playing his rapid forte passages he reminded us irresistibly of an infuriated tiger maddened by the sounds itself had made, tearing the instrument in its rage, yet by some mysterious chance producing nothing but a series of perfect harmonies.[70]

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[66]Rochester Daily American, 8 August 1846.

[67]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 8 July 1846.

[68]Some Musical Recollections, p. 75.

[69]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 18 April 1846. The critic qualified his judgment by admitting: "But for all that, the matter is so superior that we must not find fault with him."

[70]New-York Daily Tribune, 20 October 1845.

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> From his playful purrings, to the bounding, lashing rage, as it were, of his extacy [sic], the man is lion all over![71]

Even Longfellow succumbed to the obvious temptation and described him as "a wonderful performer, pouncing on the keys like a lion on the reeds of a jungle; and shaking the notes from his paws like drops of water."[72] And another caricature--similar to the notorious one in the Biography but more lifelike--captured a definite cat-like pose (see figure 3).

De Meyer was a dynamic and exhilarating performer. By flamboyantly demonstrating the difficulty of his playing, he communicated excitement. Assuredly his total physical involvement was a striking contrast to the manner of most other pianists of the time, who strove to make their performances appear as effortless as possible. This perspective may slightly temper the fanciful descriptions of his playing, although they are too numerous to discount completely. A few writers, however, entirely refuted De Meyer's platform antics, as did a Rochester critic:

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[71]Saint Louis Reveille, 29 May 1846.

[72]Samuel Longfellow, ed., Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow with Extracts from His Journals and Correspondence (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886; reprint ed., Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 2:60. Longfellow also added: "Great delicacy, likewise, and evenness of touch; and yet he does not touch the soul."

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Fig. 3. De Meyer, Meyer-Polka: Fantasia, cover. (Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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> About M. De Meyer's position at the piano, we saw nothing very remarkable. He sits erect, producing the most astounding effect with the least apparent effort.[73]

And another writer was perplexed by the wild accounts:

> As for all that soul-throwing, instrument-crushing, shrieking, torturing and expiring, it utterly escaped our observation. True, De Meyer broke one of the keys, but otherwise he seemed to deal civilly enough with the piano, and the piano seemed to take his manipulations with reasonable composure.[74]

De Meyer was not without his detractors, and while many people recognized his talents, they still harbored misgivings about his use of them. The Albion admitted that "such execution has never been witnessed in this country," but questioned whether "the force and rapidity with which M. De Meyer strikes the keys of his instrument must be fatal to sweetness and delicacy of tone, and to that expression which constitutes the main beauties of the piano."[75]

A more serious criticism was voiced by A. N. Johnson, an associate of Lowell Mason and editor of the Boston Musical Gazette. He acknowledged that De Meyer was "really a great performer," but classified his performance as merely an "exhibition of difficult finger feats"; he was

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[73]Rochester Daily American, 8 August 1846.

[74]New-York Commercial Advertiser, 8 November 1845. The writer believed that De Meyer "must laugh at the transcendental nonsense which is uttered and written in the attempt to make it appear that a piano under his hands is not a piano, but something never created or imagined."

[75]25 October 1845, p. 515. But another critic disagreed: "He gives to the softer passages an infinite degree of expression and feeling" (Philadelphia Times, 3 March 1846).

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severely disappointed in De Meyer's repertory: "We have some how or other got the idea into our heads, that loud thumping is loud thumping, that rapid execution is rapid execution, and that neither is necessarily MUSIC."[76]

Boston Revolts against Dollar Concerts

De Meyer's first and last Boston concert of the season took place on 21 November 1845. Although "he was received with the highest degree of enthusiasm" and "was complimented by being called out at the close of each piece,"[77] the attendance was apparently very low. The spectators were described as "select" and "intelligent."[78]

The next day an announcement appeared for De Meyer's second Boston concert, to take place within a few days. He almost immediately postponed it, supposedly "in consequence of a slight indisposition," later specified as an injury he "sustained on the muscle of the fourth finger of the right

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[76]The Musical Gazette 1/21 (9 November 1846), 165. Regarding the pianist's stage manner, Johnson was equally outraged: "It seemed to us that if, immediately after striking the last chord of the piece, he had turned a summerset over the piano, it would have been in perfect keeping with the performance."

[77]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 22 November 1845.

[78]"Boston Correspondence," New York Herald, 27 November 1845; and Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 22 November 1845.

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hand."[79] During the next few weeks the public was kept informed of improvements in his condition and was apprised that the concert would indeed take place. One rumor had it that De Meyer had been thrown from a horse and had dislocated his right arm.[80] In any event, he left Boston at the end of December, almost six weeks after his first concert, without having given a second.[81] Reportedly a warmer climate was recommended to accelerate his cure.[82] The American Journal of Music believed, however, there was another reason for De Meyer's departure. Sarcastically referring to the pianist as "the unfortunately sprained one," it claimed:

> De Meyer . . . left Boston enraged and disappointed, because he could not draw dollar houses, although the ostensible cause is a sprained finger. . . . As the M.D.'s of Boston had not the essential salve (the Melodeon crowded at one dollar per ticket) to cure the gentleman, he has gone south to better his "finger,"--and pocket.[83]

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[79]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 24 and 25 November 1845.

[80]New York Herald, 28 November 1845.

[81]De Meyer's extended stay in Boston following only one concert was mysterious. As the author and editor George William Curtis wrote from New York to his friend Dwight (22 December 1845): "I wait eagerly for [De Meyer's] reappearance here, and cannot discover why he tarries so long in Boston" (Early Letters of George Wm. Curtis to John S. Dwight, ed. George Willis Cooke [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898], p. 235).

[82]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 30 December 1845.

[83]The American Journal of Music, and Musical Visitor 4/18 (22 January 1846), 141.

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De Meyer had charged a dollar admission to his concerts in both New York and Boston. Most visiting musicians had done the same for several years, and their concerts were occasionally referred to pejoratively as "the dollar concerts." Apparently many Bostonians stubbornly refused to pay such a price when admission to other concerts, including those of the Boston Philharmonic Society and the Boston Academy of Music, was still only fifty cents. A dollar was, in fact, a substantial amount: most unskilled and factory laborers had to work an entire day to earn it.[84] With justification, then, The American Journal of Music argued that "people cannot--and more--will not, pay the extravagant sum of one dollar to attend a single concert."[85] The journal chided musicians, in this case specifically De Meyer, for charging such an unreasonable amount, and--recalling the almost empty houses that Ole Bull had suffered--warned them that past failures should teach musicians "the utter fallacy of appealing to the monied few."[86]

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[84]Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860: American Consumption Levels on the Eve of the Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 393.

[85]The American Journal of Music, and Musical Visitor 4/18 (22 January 1846), 141.

[86]Ibid. Complaints about high ticket prices also plagued Thalberg during his American tour.

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The New York Herald, a staunch supporter of De Meyer, told a different story of the pianist's reception in Boston:

> [De Meyer] had just given his first concert in Boston, and was beginning to create a fund of excitement in the musical and fashionable world there. At the time of the accident, extra trains had been arranged from all the surrounding towns, such as Salem, Worcester, Providence, and other places, to convey the fashionable people to Boston, on the nights of his concerts, and thousands of tickets were sold in advance, when the misfortune came upon him like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. It is probable that this great musician, by his recent accident, has already lost nearly $10,000.[87]

But in a review of De Meyer's first New York concert after he returned from Boston, the Herald, while criticizing the New England city for its lack of taste, unwittingly succeeded in exposing its false report:

> The very crowded and fashionable house which greeted De Meyer . . . has satisfied every body that, unlike Boston, which has little real taste, whenever decided talent is produced in this city, a great house and a fashionable assembly will follow.[88]

Return to Success:

New York to Washington

Whether De Meyer was injured or not, over a month passed before he gave his final two concerts of the season in New York. At both he presented his own two-piano

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[87]New York Herald, 3 January 1846.

[88]New York Herald, 7 February 1846.

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arrangement of Félicien David's Le Désert. David's work, based on Arab themes, was first performed in Paris in December 1844 and was an immediate success; it was presented there frequently during the following months. Shortly after the work's premiere, De Meyer arrived in Paris and appeared in several of David's concerts. His two-piano version of Le Désert was America's introduction to the work and "created much excitement among the dilettanti."[89] At the first concert (5 February 1846) De Meyer performed the work with Charles Perabeau (see figure 4) and at the second (12 February) with George Loder. Loder was one of the conductors of the New York Philharmonic and two months later led the first American orchestral performance of Le Désert on 2 April 1846.[90]

New York evidently still appreciated De Meyer: the Post claimed that for the first concert the Tabernacle was crowded with "one of the largest and most brilliant audiences we ever saw in that building," and the Sun reported that "his concerts have uniformly met with the best attendance."[91] The second concert was attended by about two

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[89]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 6 February 1846.

[90]Le Désert was produced five times in New York within the next two months. H. Earle Johnson cites the first performance of the work as taking place in 1854 in Boston (First Performances in America, p. 118).

[91]New York Evening Post, 6 February 1846; and New York Sun, 12 February 1846.

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LEOPOLD
DE
MEYER

Begs to announce, that his

GRAND CONCERT

Will take place at the

TABERNACLE!

On Thursday Evening, February 5th, 1846,

On which occasion, he will be assisted by

Madame OTTO,

Mr. BROUGH,

AND

Mr. Charles Perabeau

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

1. Ballad—"My heart's on the Rhine," by Mr. BROUGH..... ...SPEYER
2. Fantasia on Airs from I Puritani—arranged for the Piano, and executed by..... LEOPOLD DE MEYER
3. "Come dolce Cavatina, by Madame OTTO..... .....ROSSINI
4. Variation on airs from "Semiramide," composed for the Piano, and executed by ....LEOPOLD DE MEYER

PART II.

1. Aria Tyrolien, by Madame OTTO..... .....BLUM
2. Introduction and Brilliant Variations, from "Lucrezia Borgia," arranged for the Piano, and executed by ....LEOPOLD DE MEYER
3. Scena—"Rage thou angry storm" from the Gipsy's Warning, by Mr. BROUGH..... BENEDICT
4. Grand Duett, from the Celebrated Ode Symphony, LE DESERT, by Felician David, arranged for Two Grand Pianos, by LEOPOLD DE MEYER, and executed on Two Instruments from Erard's Factory, by Mr. CHAS. .. ..PERABEAU & LEOPOLD DE MEYER

Tickets, One Dollar,

To be had at the principal Music Stores, and at the door on the evening of the Concert.

CONCERT TO COMMENCE AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

HERALD BOOK AND JOB OFFICE, 97 NASSAU STREET.

Fig. 4. Program, Concert of De Meyer, New York, 5 February 1846. (Music Division, Library of Congress)

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thousand people,[92] and De Meyer "was repeatedly encored and covered with wreaths thrown by his admirers."[93]

De Meyer moved on to Philadelphia, which like New York received him eagerly and where he gave three concerts at the Musical Fund Hall. The hall seated almost fifteen hundred people and was "filled with the most brilliant audiences" for his first two concerts (21 and 25 February);[94] the third (3 March), however, attracted only five hundred people.[95] For his second concert an announcement appeared which was frequently used in his later concerts throughout the United States:

> Mr. Leopold de Meyer respectfully invites Ladies and Gentlemen who have a desire to become acquainted with his touch of the Piano, to take their seats on the Platform near the instruments.[96]

Benjamin Carr Cross, a member of the Musical Fund Society, served as accompanist to the vocal assistants in De Meyer's Philadelphia concerts and was probably responsible

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[92]Morris's National Press: A Journal for Home 1/2 (21 February 1846), 2.

[93]New York Evening Post, 13 February 1846. Another paper reported: "We never saw bouquets and garlands bestowed so freely upon a man" (Newspaper clipping, Henry C. Timm Scrapbook).

[94]Philadelphia Daily Chronicle, 28 February 1846.

[95]Musical Fund Society, Memorandum Book: Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1837 - September 30, 1847, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[96]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 25 February 1846.

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for the pianist returning two weeks later to appear as a guest artist at the Society's only concert that season.[97] For performing three pieces, he received at least four hundred dollars.[98] On the same program was the violinist Joseph Burke, who, as opposed to De Meyer, had "in the kindest manner volunteered his valuable services."[99]

De Meyer also met with great success in Baltimore and Washington, where he gave, respectively, three and two concerts. In Baltimore he played the organ in the cathedral the Sunday (8 March) before his first concert (10 March).[100] At the latter, a boisterous audience, including a large delegation from Washington,[101] enjoyed a performance of its patriotic songs:

> We never saw a more thoroughly delighted and excited audience--so much so, that while his thunders lasted, they could not keep their seats, and what is worse, their tongues. . . . It may be well here to remark that

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[97]This concert was "crowded with the elite" and was "the most Talented & Brilliant ever given in the Hall" (Musical Fund Society, Memorandum Book: Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1837 - September 30, 1847).

[98]Louis C. Madeira, Annals of Music in Philadelphia and History of the Musical Fund Society, ed. Philip H. Goepp (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1896; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), pp. 154-55. The Washington correspondent to the New York Herald reported that De Meyer demanded and was paid five hundred dollars while Ole Bull had previously received only two hundred and fifty dollars (New York Herald, 18 March 1846).

[99]United States Gazette, 17 March 1846. Burke will figure prominently in De Meyer's second season in America.

[100]Baltimore Sun, 10 March 1846.

[101]"Washington Correspondence," New York Herald, 18 March 1846.

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> Mr. De Meyer did not bargain for any accompaniment of sticks and umbrellas, to the performance of our national airs, and according to our opinion, such things had better be reserved for the pit of a showbooth.[102]

A second concert attracted about fifteen hundred people to a hall that could comfortably seat only twelve hundred.[103] The first of his two Washington concerts (19 March) was attended by foreign ministers, congressmen, officers of the army and navy, former President John Quincy Adams,[104] and the uncle and nephew of President Polk, who greeted the pianist "with long-continued shouts of applause."[105]

Having given concerts in five major northeastern cities of the United States and, with but one exception, having been enthusiastically received, De Meyer was ready to begin what was known as "the southern tour," which was to take him to almost twenty cities in the South, the Midwest, and Canada.

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[102]Baltimore Sun, 12 March 1846.

[103]"Baltimore Correspondence," New York Herald, 15 March 1846.

[104]"Washington Correspondence," New York Herald, 21 March 1846.

[105]"Washington Correspondence," Richmond Enquirer, 24 March 1846.

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CHAPTER III

DE MEYER IN THE SOUTH AND WEST (1846)

A southern tour was usual for most traveling performers, who naturally tried to visit the major cities of the growing nation. But a city was included on an itinerary more because of its location and accessibility than its population. Outside the Northeast, transportation still relied principally on ships rather than trains, and many of the smaller river towns (like Natchez or Vicksburg) heard performances because they were conveniently situated between larger cities. The tours generally began on the eastern seaboard, with Charleston the most important stop, continued by ship to New Orleans, and then followed the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, concluding in Canada and the northern resort areas (or "watering places" as they were frequently called). De Meyer followed this route on his first southern tour, making at least 35 appearances in 19 cities in a period of 5 months (see table 1 and map 1).[1]

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[1]On De Meyer's return to New York in the fall, an article summarizing his tour listed correctly the cities in which he had given concerts, but consistently inflated the number of concerts in each city (New York Herald, 2 October 1846).

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TABLE 1

ITINERARY OF DE MEYER'S FIRST SEASON (1845-46)

20	Oct	New York, NY	2	May	Mobile, AL
22	Oct	New York, NY	6	May	New Orleans, LA
24	Oct	New York, NY	9	May	New Orleans, LA
28	Oct	New York, NY	13	May	Natchez, MS
30	Oct	New York, NY	15	May	Natchez, MS
1	Nov	New York, NY	20	May	Vicksburg, MS
7	Nov	New York, NY	27	May	St. Louis, MO
10	Nov	New York, NY	29	May	St. Louis, MO
14	Nov	New York, NY	1	Jun	St. Louis, MO
21	Nov	Boston, MA	9	Jun	Louisville, KY
5	Feb	New York, NY	11	Jun	Louisville, KY
12	Feb	New York, NY	15	Jun	Cincinnati, OH
21	Feb	Philadelphia, PA	18	Jun	Cincinnati, OH
25	Feb	Philadelphia, PA	22	Jun	Cincinnati, OH
3	Mar	Philadelphia, PA	25	Jun	Cincinnati, OH
10	Mar	Baltimore, MD	2	Jul	Pittsburgh, PA
13	Mar	Baltimore, MD	6	Jul	Pittsburgh, PA
17	Mar	Philadelphia, PA	14	Jul	Cleveland, OH
18	Mar	Baltimore, MD	20	Jul	Buffalo, NY
19	Mar	Washington, DC	21	Jul	Niagara Falls, NY
21	Mar	Washington, DC	24	Jul	Toronto, Ontario
24	Mar	Richmond, VA	28	Jul	Rochester, NY
30	Mar	Charleston, SC	?	Jul	Hamilton, Ontario
16	Apr	New Orleans, LA	31	Jul	Toronto, Ontario
18	Apr	Mobile, AL	5	Aug	Montreal, Quebec
20	Apr	New Orleans, LA	7	Aug	Montreal, Quebec
24	Apr	New Orleans, LA	15	Aug	Saratoga Springs, NY
29	Apr	Mobile, AL	22	Aug	Newport, RI

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MAP 1

ITINERARY OF DE MEYER'S FIRST SEASON (1845-46)



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On the Road with Pianos

Accompanying De Meyer were his manager and brother-in-law, Reitheimer, and the Erard pianos he had brought to America. Although pianos could be found throughout the United States by the 1840s, no American instrument had yet achieved an international reputation; moreover, grand pianos were scarce. The English pianist Richard Hoffman, who came permanently to the United States in 1847, stated that during this period he generally "played upon a 'square,' as the piano manufacturers did not make a 'grand' except to order, and all foreign pianists brought their own instruments with them."[2]

De Meyer's promotional pamphlet mentions that he had sent an Erard "manufactured purposely for himself" ahead of him to New York,[3] but from his very first appearances he usually performed on two Erards, said to cost, respectively, 5,000 and 4,000 francs (the equivalent of $1,000 and $800).[4] Although no description of his performance

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[2] Some Musical Recollections, p. 97.

[3] The Biography of Leopold de Meyer, p. 17.

[4] New-York Daily Tribune, 20 October 1845.

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procedure has been found, De Meyer most likely alternated playing on two pianos that faced each other. This would have allowed both sides of the audience to receive an unobstructed view of the keyboard.[5] Just before he left New York in February 1846, he received "another magnificent piano . . . manufactured expressly for De Meyer, by the far famed Erard of Paris . . . making three superb Erards in this country, belonging to him";[6] he performed on all three of them at his first Philadelphia concert.[7] Later, in New Orleans and Rochester, he claimed to have four Erards.[8]

The Erard grands were an important attraction in their own right, and De Meyer consistently gave them much publicity. An announcement for his third appearance at the Park Theatre--"Leopold De Meyer will Perform on Erard's

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[5]Thalberg followed this procedure after performing in the United States several months: for his concert of 16 February 1857 "there was a new arrangement made in the disposition of the platform. It was in the middle, and held two Erards, at which Thalberg played alternately, so that we could see by turns his fingers and his face" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/21 [21 February 1857], 164). Hans von Bülow performed in a similar manner according to Amy Fay, Music-Study in Germany (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1880; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), p. 176.

[6]New York Herald, 12 February 1846.

[7]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 21 February 1846.

[8]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 30 April 1846; and Rochester Daily American, 28 July 1846.

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Patent Seven Octave Grand Piano Fortes"[9]--became a regular feature of his advertising campaign, and his performance with Perabeau of Le Désert was billed as "executed on Two Instruments from Erard's Factory" (see figure 4). Towards the end of his first season, De Meyer's effort to spur interest in his concerts through the pianos reached new heights. In Pittsburgh he supposedly scheduled his first concert for the theater because it was "the only apartment in the city large enough for his monster instruments."[10] And a Rochester advertisement claimed he would use "one of his four magnificent Monster Pianos."[11]

Only once did transporting the pianos impede the tour's progress. After leaving Washington, De Meyer gave concerts in Richmond (24 March 1846) and Charleston (30 March), each time performing on two Erards. From Charleston he went by steamer to New Orleans, where he arrived on 6 April; but his pianos did not, which forced him to postpone announcing his concerts.[12] De Meyer had sent the pianos he used in Charleston, which included his favorite instrument, through

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[9]New York Herald, 24 October 1845.

[10]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 2 July 1846.

[11]Rochester Daily American, 28 July 1846.

[12]The New York Herald (24 April 1846) quipped that "it was impossible to produce a piano in New Orleans which could withstand the electrical shock of his embodied thunder."

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the mail by way of Montgomery; they still had not arrived by 11 April. As a precaution he had also sent pianos by ship from Baltimore directly to New Orleans. These had not arrived either, and he was in New Orleans a full week before he announced the date of his first concert.[13]

Having experienced some of the difficulties of shipping pianos, De Meyer decided to reduce the number of pianos--now claimed to be four--he had in his caravan. While still in New Orleans he advertised:

> On account of the great inconvenience and expense of travelling with so many Pianos, Mr. Leopld de Meyer offers for sale one of the four Instruments he used in his Concerts. It is a GRAND PIANO, of Erard's make, from Paris, entirely new, of the most powerful and richest sound and action, the case being of rosewood, very elegantly finished.[14]

The piano was on display at the music store of Charles Horst, who soon announced that he had purchased the piano himself and would dispose of it by selling chances.[15]

One wonders how the pianos sounded after two seasons of frequent moving and climatic changes. At the time a European piano was generally acknowledged to have a better tone than an American one, but it was more susceptible to

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[13]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 4 and 11 April 1846.

[14]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 30 April 1846.

[15]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 2 May 1846. If the New Orleans reports are correct, De Meyer's later claim of having "four magnificent Monster Pianos" in Rochester is probably false (Rochester Daily American, 28 July 1846).

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severe changes in temperature and humidity than its American counterpart, which usually had an iron frame. The pianos were most likely handled with great care, however, and they were transported in special containers to protect them.[16] In addition, the pianos were probably tuned in most cities. During De Meyer's second season, an advertisement for a Cincinnati concert of his stated: "Leopold De Meyer's Pianos are tuned, and the complicated mechanism kept in order, by the able Accordist, Mr. Klepfer."[17] And in St. Louis the "accordist" Mr. Groteguth was praised because his tuning was "able to withstand a two nights' battering."[18] Traveling with his own pianos assured De Meyer of performances on quality instruments, although overseeing their transportation and maintenance must have been a nuisance. Not until Thalberg began using Chickering pianos during his American tour was a pianist traveling in the United States guaranteed

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[16]The Saint Louis Reveille reported during the Mexican War (7 March 1847): "De Meyer's monstre music box--his piano shell--stands outside of the Planters' House, and attracts very general attention. Some wag in New Orleans, while the strange looking affair stood outside of the St. Charles Hotel, wrote upon it in huge letters: 'THIS BOX CONTAINS THE BODIES OF SIX MEXICAN OFFICERS'--an announcement which added considerably to the interest of the exhibition."

[17]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 27 April 1847.

[18]Saint Louis Reveille, 19 March 1847.

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to find, without worry or fuss, instruments in top condition awaiting him in every city.[19]

Management and Strategy

All the tasks involved in managing a tour (such as renting a hall, providing publicity, finding assisting artists) increased in difficulty with the generally more rapid change of location practiced in the South and West. The pace of De Meyer's tour, however, was positively leisurely when compared to Thalberg's hectic schedule just a decade later. De Meyer averaged only three concerts every two weeks, whereas Thalberg consistently performed six nights a week. Presumably Reitheimer assumed most of the managerial duties, although his precise role as De Meyer's manager remains unclear. This was in the days before impresarios received top billing and "presented" artists. Reitheimer's name, for example, does not officially appear in any publicity until July 1846 in Rochester, where he signed an advertisement for De Meyer's concert as his chargé d'affaires,[20] and only occasionally did he later affix his name to an announcement or public communication.

Actual planning for these concert tours was minimal. De Meyer arrived in each new city with no specific

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[19]See chapter XIV for information on Thalberg's use of Chickering pianos.

[20]Rochester Daily American, 28 July 1846.

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engagement and with almost no advance publicity. In contrast to later managers, Reitheimer did not arrange for advertisements by mail or telegraph, and he did not travel ahead of De Meyer to prepare for concerts.[21] In Mobile the first announcement for the pianist's opening concert appeared just two days before the event, and even then the "particulars and place [were] not yet arranged."[22] De Meyer's arrival was not always a total surprise, for newspapers frequently copied reviews from eastern cities or a neighboring town and apprised their readers of the pianist's progress across the country. In a few cities (Natchez, Louisville, and Pittsburgh), the newspaper editor reported having received or seen a letter announcing the imminent arrival of the pianist,[23] and in St. Louis, unlike New Orleans, De Meyer's visit was heralded by the early arrival of one of his pianos.[24]

The first task faced by Reitheimer in each city was to secure a satisfactory location for the concert. Most cities

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[21]For example, De Meyer and Reitheimer both arrived in Cincinnati on the same day according to the list of arrivals in the Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 15 June 1846.

[22]Mobile Register and Journal, 16 April 1846.

[23]Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette, 2 May 1846; Louisville Journal, 1 June 1846, quoted in New York Herald, 7 June 1846; and Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 23 June 1846.

[24]Saint Louis Reveille, 20 May 1846.

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had suitable buildings, ranging from concert halls (the Apollo Rooms in Louisville, the Melodeon in Cincinnati) to meeting places for societies (Hibernian Hall in Charleston, Odd Fellows' Hall in St. Louis, Masonic Hall in Nashville) and theaters (St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans and theaters in Mobile and Pittsburgh).[25] Hotel ballrooms or dining rooms were also frequent sites, particularly in small resort cities like Niagara Falls, Saratoga Springs, and Newport, which probably had no other adequate hall. De Meyer also performed in hotels in cities that did have actual concert halls, including Mobile, St. Louis, and Nashville. Although churches were often used for concerts, only once did De Meyer perform in one (in Pittsburgh).[26]

Problems occasionally arose in securing an appropriate hall. When De Meyer was performing at the Planters' House (a hotel), in St. Louis, one writer lodged a complaint about the objectionable location:

> There is but one thing annoying connected with his concerts--the want of a suitable hall to give them in. His singular power requires corresponding space; and,

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[25]Examples are taken from both of De Meyer's southern tours.

[26]On the day of De Meyer's concert at the Fifth Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal (6 July 1846) joked: "We understand that the authorities of the Church intend to put an additional lightning rod on the building, to carry off the electricity, while the Pianist is rolling his thunder."

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> more than that, his characteristic energy loses one-half of its effect, the performer being hidden.[27]

In Nashville, De Meyer gave his first concert at the Masonic Hall, but after it was announced that "some difficulty exists in procuring a hall for another evening" he gave his second concert at the City Hotel.[28]

After securing a hall, arrangements had to be made for the sale of tickets, which were usually sold at music stores, bookstores, and hotels, and were also available at the door. Tickets were for general admission only and not for reserved seats.[29] De Meyer still charged one dollar, but if the concert was given in a theater, ticket prices ranged from twenty-five cents to a dollar depending on the seat location; admission for children was often set at half price. If De Meyer gave more than one concert in a city, the price might be slightly reduced for additional performances. For example, at his third concert in Cincinnati and his second in Pittsburgh, two tickets

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[27]Saint Louis Reveille, 29 May 1846.

[28]Nashville Daily Union, 7 April 1847.

[29]For De Meyer's third concert in New Orleans the Daily Picayune (24 April 1846) warned: "Ladies should be early in their attendance if they would find choice seats unoccupied." And for his first concert in Cincinnati at the Melodeon, the Daily Cincinnati Commercial (15 June 1846) advised: "That beautiful room will be full; so, reader, if you wish a seat, go early."

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purchased at one dollar apiece "admit[ted] two ladies and a gentleman."[30]

Local performers assisted De Meyer even in the smaller cities. Concert announcements do not always list other performers, but reviews indicate that, in at least some of those cases, assisting artists were indeed on the program. Either the other performers had not been engaged by the time the announcement was placed in the newspaper, or the presence of assisting artists was taken for granted by the public, or perhaps the local performers were not of sufficient interest to warrant their inclusion in advertising. A visit to a music store most likely yielded the names of local performers. Although a vocalist usually participated in the concerts, the type of performer varied depending on the musicians available in a particular city. In St. Louis De Meyer was assisted by members of the recently organized Polyhymnia Society. William Robyn, the society's musical director, "was appointed as a committee of one to visit all great artists and offer the service of the Polyhymnia to assist in their concerts. The object was to give our members an opportunity to hear all great artists."[31] At De Meyer's second concert, for instance, the "Quartette

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[30]Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, 25 June 1846; and Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 6 July 1846.

[31]The Autobiography of William Robyn, edited and annotated by Ernst C. Krohn, reprinted in Missouri Music (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), p. 270.

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Party of the Polyhymnia Society of St. Louis" performed the overtures to Norma and The Barber of Seville.[32] Having appeared in De Meyer's concert for no financial consideration, the society expected a favor in return:

> I told [De Meyer] that our society was going to give a concert and we would be very much obliged to him if he would play one piece at our concert to help our society along. He said yes he would play one piece if we would pay him one hundred dollars. I told him it would be no more than right after assisting him in three concerts that he should play one piece for us. He burst out laughing, and said: "I did not ask you to assist me, you offered your services." With that I left and thought it a good lesson.[33]

In Cincinnati De Meyer antagonized another local performer, the violinist Joseph Tosso, whom he "grossly insulted . . . by offering him a small sum for playing at his first concert."[34] Because at least some musicians, like the Polyhymnia Society, volunteered their services to such traveling virtuosos, it is not clear whether De Meyer did not give him a large enough sum, or whether he offended

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[32]Saint Louis Reveille, 29 May 1846. This is the only concert for which the Polyhymnia Society is listed in an advertisement, but Robyn claims it participated in all three of De Meyer's concerts.

[33]Robyn added that August Waldauer, a violinist from the New Orleans Opera who later settled in St. Louis and also performed at one of De Meyer's St. Louis concerts, "played a violin solo which was more applauded than any piece Mr. Myer [sic] played" (The Autobiography of William Robyn, p. 271).

[34]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 20 June 1846. Tosso was the violinist famous for popularizing "The Arkansas Traveler" (see Ophia D. Smith, "Joseph Tosso, the Arkansaw [sic] Traveler," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly 56/1 [January 1947], 16-45).

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Tosso by offering him money at all.[35] In any case, De Meyer had a more successful relationship with the violoncellist George Knoop, who assisted at his second and third Cincinnati concerts.[36] Indeed, De Meyer's fourth and final concert was a benefit for Knoop and his wife, a singer and guitarist,[37] and in a departure from his custom of using local artists, De Meyer engaged Knoop to perform at his two concerts in Pittsburgh.[38]

After the essential details of the concert were settled--securing a hall, arranging for ticket sales, and engaging assisting artists--the next stop was the local newspaper office, where an advertisement for the concert was placed and perhaps an agreement made for an editorial to call attention to the concert. The advertisement usually

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[35]Expenses relating to assisting artists are discussed further in chapter XV.

[36]The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer (25 June 1846) described Knoop as "ever ready with his Violoncello--a cheerful volunteer on public occasions, and for the benefit of others, in a genuine spirit of good-nature and self-sacrifice."

[37]De Meyer's letter to Knoop, in which he thanked him for his "kindness to me in proffering [his] valuable aid at my second and third Concert" and offered his services for a benefit, appeared in the Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 25 June 1846. Knoop teamed up briefly with Herz and the violinist Camillo Sivori in the fall of 1847 (see chapter VII).

[38]The other two such exceptions included Orlando Guilmette of New Orleans, who performed with De Meyer in both New Orleans and Mobile, and Philip Mayer of New York, who performed in New York and Boston.

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appeared the day after De Meyer's arrival and announced a concert to take place within the next few days. Often a complete program of the concert was part of the advertisement, although it could include only the pieces that De Meyer was to perform, when perhaps an assisting artist had not yet been engaged. Occasionally only a brief announcement appeared, stating the time, place, and price, and the reader was referred to the handbills available at the ticket offices and posted around the city.[39]

For additional publicity De Meyer did not forget his Biography, which he sent to members of the press, or his prized caricatures. Although these caricatures were innocently designed for good-humored publicity, they sometimes got the pianist into trouble. In Cincinnati a local newspaper took exception to them and De Meyer's method of distribution:

> We do not wish to detract from the just worth of this far famed pianist. We believe he is the "Lion Pianist" of the world. But what of that? There are, doubtless, thousands--yea, thousands in the world almost as big a lion as he, and not half as big an a--! We didn't say what. He has, from all accounts, been guilty of petty meanness since his arrival here, that justly entitles him to an asinego appellation. He has insulted good taste by parading over the city, at the bookstores, and other places, caricatures of himself! Who ever heard of such an act by any well bred gentleman? A modest man, truly, thus to represent himself--to cause the stare and wonder of the multitude.--The aristocracy of

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[39]The first brief notice for De Meyer's opening concert in Mobile stated that "the bills will appear to-morrow" (Mobile Register and Journal, 17 April 1846).

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> Europe are caricatured--he must be; the former by the mass, the latter by himself! We notice by one of his caricatures that to his head is attached a monkey, playing a piano with his tail! Admirable. Another has the head of the Lion Pianist and the body of a donkey! Most admirable. Such a man is a fit thing to insult our citizens who receive him kindly.[40]

The caricatures also appeared on De Meyer's concert programs. In New Orleans a critic attending De Meyer's first concert was "prepared for a clever display of talent, embroidered and bedizened with any amount of humbug," and the playbill confirmed his expectation:

> In looking over his programme . . . the first thing that arrested our attention was a cut exhibiting him in a most grotesque and equivocal attitude. It was not till after a second inspection of the pictorial illustration of the "bill of fare" that we ascertained that he was represented as sitting at the piano, and greatly disturbed by the searching qualities of his own performance. At a glance he might have been thought to be sitting on a rail as well, or perhaps undergoing the manipulation of a tooth-puller. This woodcut, we suppose, he takes with him wherever he goes, to give a tragic aspect to his small bills, and to impregnate his audience with wonder as to what is in store for them.[41]

Despite his initial skepticism, the critic was eventually won over by De Meyer's performance:

> It was not till he got into the middle of his first performance that the suspicion of humbuggery began to give way to the acknowledged splendor of his acquirements; and his astonishing variations upon the bacchanalian air from Lucrezia Borgia, thumped the little remaining remnant of distrust right out of us.[42]

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[40] Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 22 June 1846.

[41] New Orleans Daily Picayune, 18 April 1846.

[42] Ibid.

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Certainly to De Meyer's delight, his concerts in New Orleans inspired another caricature, this time by the local artist Arthur Andrieu (see figure 5). Above the opening bars of the Marche marocaine, De Meyer is seen carrying two of his Erard pianos slung over his shoulders, with Orlando Guilmette, the singer who appeared in the New Orleans concerts, perched on one of the pianos. One of De Meyer's hands is in a pocket of his plaid pants; the other holds a moneybag inscribed with the names of recently fleeced cities--New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and New Orleans.

Highlights

The caption of the Andrieu caricature states that it was drawn after De Meyer's eighth concert in New Orleans. The pianist enjoyed some of his greatest success there,[43] but he gave only five concerts in that city. For the first one (16 April 1846), the 1,500-seat hall was packed, and 500

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[43]New Orleans was perhaps the only city where he was serenaded by the local musicians, an honor bestowed consistently a few years later on Jenny Lind (New York Herald, 24 April 1846).

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Fig. 5. Arthur Andrieu, Caricature of De Meyer (1846). (Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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people were turned away.[44] At his fourth concert (6 May), the "stage was filled with ladies and gentlemen," who had accepted his offer to become acquainted with his touch.[45]

This fourth concert had been postponed twice, the first time because of bad weather. A more unusual reason was given for the second postponement: the concert had been scheduled for the Armory Hall, the site of the first concert, but it was rescheduled for the St. Charles Theatre because of activities relating to the Mexican War.[46] De Meyer's final concert, in fact, was a benefit for the Louisiana Volunteers with the object of providing them with "a fine band of musicians to accompany them to Mexico."[47] Although De Meyer's "personal concerts on each occasion in this city [had] been crowded to excess,"[48] the benefit

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[44]New York Herald, 27 April 1846. The large attendance was corroborated by local newspapers which reported that the "hall was completely filled--every passage being entirely blocked up by persons unable to find seats" and that "many persons went away not being able to obtain even standing room" (New Orleans Daily Picayune, 17 April 1846; and New-Orleans Bee, 17 April 1846).

[45]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 7 May 1846.

[46]The postponement announcement stated: "Not wishing to make the slightest interruption to the warlike and patriotic manifestations now exhibited with so much energy in our city, Mr. Leopold De Meyer has postponed his next concert to another evening not far off" (Le Courrier de la Louisiane, 4 May 1846).

[47]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 9 May 1846.

[48]New-Orleans Bee, 11 May 1846.

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concert netted only $230 because of the excitement caused by the embarkation of the troops and public meetings concerning the war.[49]

With this one exception, De Meyer's tour seems to have been uniformly successful according to reviews: in Richmond "a large and brilliant audience" heard the pianist; in Mobile "an immense throng" attended one of his concerts; in St. Louis a "large and fashionable assemblage" turned out; a Cincinnati concert was "full to overflowing"; his two concerts in Pittsburgh "were attended by the largest and most fashionable audiences ever drawn by any artist"; and his concert in Saratoga Springs was "crowded to suffocation."[50] One of the best measures of success is the number of concerts given in any one city, for a second or third concert would have been given only if attendance had been good at the first. In this regard De Meyer made a respectable showing: of the nineteen cities he performed in on this tour outside the East, he gave two concerts in five of them, three concerts in Mobile, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and five in New Orleans.

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[49] New Orleans Daily Picayune, 10 May 1846.

[50] Richmond Enquirer, 27 March 1845; New Orleans Daily Picayune, 3 May 1846; St. Louis New Era, 28 May 1846, quoted in New York Herald, 7 June 1846; Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 17 June 1846; Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 9 July 1846; and Saratoga Whig, 17 August 1846, quoted in New York Herald, 19 August 1846.

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Besides his two benefit concerts--in New Orleans for the war effort and in Cincinnati for the Knoops--De Meyer performed at only one other concert not solely for his own profit. His second appearance in Toronto was as a guest artist at a promenade concert of the Philharmonic Society. But the concert

> was almost "promenade" only in name; the principal part of both the large room and verandah being filled with chairs and benches, occupied by those who hesitated to leave their places, lest they should lose the opportunity of seeing, as well as hearing, the wonderful execution of De Meyer.[51]

De Meyer treated his Canadian audience to variations on "God Save the Queen" in addition to his usual repertoire. His reception there was typical of his entire tour:

> At the close of each of his pieces, M. De Meyer was greeted with a perfect storm of applause. Never before have we witnessed such enthusiastic demonstrations of feeling on the part of any audience.[52]

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[51] Toronto Patriot, 4 August 1846.

[52] Ibid.

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CHAPTER IV

THE LION TAMED (1846-47)

During his second season in the United States, De Meyer succeeded in maintaining the public's interest even though he was no longer a novelty.[1] He accomplished this despite (or perhaps by) becoming embroiled in a number of scandals regarding his publicity techniques, his endorsement of an American piano, and his purported antagonistic actions toward other performers. One of his rivals was the next virtuoso to charm America, the Parisian pianist Henri Herz, whose unexpected arrival in the United States sent De Meyer scurrying to the South in advance of his new competition. De Meyer was able, however, to forge a successful partnership with the violinist Joseph Burke, with whom he toured in the South and Midwest, before returning to Europe.

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[1]A London journal believed De Meyer had been popular in that city because he was not only the equal of Thalberg and Liszt but was "something new . . . a point of great importance to a public hungry for fresh lions" (The Musical World 20/22 [29 May 1845], 259).

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Scandals in New York

On the day of De Meyer's first New York concert of his second season, an extended newspaper article "furnished by a musical connoisseur" appeared that detailed the preparations the pianist had gone through before his arrival in America:

> He begins the game at least two years before we have the felicity of seeing him on our shores. No expense is spared in puffing. The London press, which is just as venal as any other London commodity, is glutted with "puffs." These "puffs" are carefully "cut out" and reprinted (in most cases without consideration) by American newspapers precisely in the same manner as a quack doctor puffs himself in the advertising columns of one paper, cuts out the paragraph, publishes it in another, giving credit to the first, as if the article had been editorial opinion. The artist, moreover, publishes extensive biographies of himself, adventures with kings, emperors, sultans and women, illustrated with engravings, in some of which he is the fine and accomplished gentleman, as well as artist, while in others he is made to figure in rather a ludicrous light; by this means removing from the minds of the envious all ideas of his personal vanity.
>
> In short, biographies and pictures, paragraphs to suit all palates, both grave and gay, do the work.--Who is there among us that can tell fine music from very fine? Not one in a thousand; and should this one lift his warning voice who would attend to it? When all was "fixed" for his advent the man himself comes over--opens his huge Paris piano--closes one eye in a knowing

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> wink, and leeches us to perfection. Well, we are willing to bleed once for the curiosity of the thing, but we don't want to be bled dry.[2]

The charges were true, and if they came as a shock to the general public, they were certainly no surprise to the musical community. Publicity was an essential element in a successful tour, and De Meyer was not the first performer to use it cleverly in the United States. It was generally believed that the daily newspapers held the key to success and that their support--in the form of rave reviews and lavish editorials (that is, "puffs")--had to be bought. By the time De Meyer arrived in America, the publicity machinery of the newspapers was already in place and well oiled. A New York correspondent to The Musical World in London held that Ole Bull's outstanding success was due to the "skillful manner in which he made the American press serve his purpose," which "must have cost him a mint of money." On the other hand, Vieuxtemps, who was in America at the same time as Bull, "did comparatively nothing in the

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[2]New York Evening Post, 2 October 1846. The article also complained about "a series of anecdotes, appearing in some of our city papers, of which the 'lion pianist,' and sometimes his 'moustache' and sometimes his 'grand pianos' were the heroes." A typical example of such an article had appeared recently in the New York Herald (22 September 1846): "A few evenings ago, we saw [De Meyer] in the midst of a bevy of ladies walking up Broadway completely surrounded, two hanging on his arms, two or three out before him, one or two having hold of his skirts, and all evidently delighted with having caged the lion. He was so completely surrounded and encompassed, that we could see nothing of his nether man nor its so much admired encasement. We did see his moustache, and we wanted no other identification."

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United States" because he failed to pay for publicity. The correspondent continued:

> You would imagine that a man of De Meyer's unquestionable talent stood in no need of such charlatanic aid; but I can assure you it is absolutely necessary in America. Without it, nothing can be done; the finest talent, for want of it, will be neglected. Nothing, indeed, can surpass the despicable corruptibility of the American press. For one line of truth there are a dozen lines of falsehood, in almost every paper.[3]

The Musical Gazette of Boston, which reprinted the above report, confirmed its assertions:

> The corruption of the city daily press is almost past belief. With regard to musical matters, not the slightest confidence can be placed in the statements of any of the prominent papers in the great Atlantic cities. They are entirely bought up by interested persons, and no falsehood is too great for them to publish, provided they are well paid for the service. The statements in the correspondence are true to the letter, as every one versed in city musical operations well knows.[4]

A Philadelphia newspaper also agreed: before De Meyer performed in that city, it was wary of the reports of the pianist's talent because the "praise bestowed in the newspapers of New York is always received with caution, for it is well known how they make reputations, and what is the consideration."[5] In particular, the New York Herald, an unfailing supporter of De Meyer, was often criticized for

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[3]21/48 (28 November 1846), 601-2; quoted in The Musical Gazette 1/25 (4 January 1847), 194.

[4]1/25 (4 January 1847), 196.

[5]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 17 February 1846.

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its alleged policy of demanding a fee before giving its backing to artists. The Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, for example, decried the "ridiculous and fulsome puffs of [De Meyer] which have appeared continually in the Herald, since his arrival in this city," and condemned "the shameless venality of this notorious sheet."[6] The rival paper held that it was "well understood to be prima facie evidence that an artist is a humbug if he be puffed by the Herald." The paper went on to demonstrate that an extravagant article on De Meyer that had appeared in the Herald on 10 February 1846 plagiarized a review of Holmes's Life of Mozart that had been published in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine of November 1845.

Of course, one newspaper's criticism of another is dubious evidence. The pianist Henri Herz, who was in New York sporadically from 1846 to 1849, ascribed the charges against the Herald, the paper "most vigorously accused of

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[6]14 February 1846.

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blackmail," to the jealousy of the smaller papers.[7] Nevertheless, De Meyer appears to have had a special relationship with the Herald, its publisher, James Gordon Bennett, and, more importantly, with Bennett's wife, the paper's music and drama critic.[8] Indeed, the printed version of the pianist's Airs nationaux américains bears a dedication to "Madame James Gordon Bennett" (see figure 6).[9]

De Meyer's involvement in the publicity process was not so injurious to his reputation because such methods were commonplace. One segment of his related business dealings was exposed, however, that revealed him to be less than honest. He was brought to trial by C. B. Burkhardt in consequence of nonpayment for translating a series of articles to be used as puffs. Burkhardt sued only for the

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[7]Mes Voyages en Amérique (Paris: Achille Faure, 1866), p. 199; English translation by Henry Bertram Hill as My Travels in America (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963), p. 61; hereinafter, page numbers for the translation will be given first, followed in parentheses by page numbers for the original French. Herz believed the accusations against the American press were greatly exaggerated: "I can declare that as far as I was concerned I was never the victim of blackmail, even in the slightest degree. On the contrary, the American journalists I saw were completely independent, and while they were ready to pass kindly judgment on the talent of artists, they had the greatest of respect for persons."

[8]Herz wrote of Mrs. Bennett: "Into her work she often put much feeling, sometimes ingenious perception, always vivacity, and occasionally opinions which bordered on violence. For her you were either a demigod or you were less than nothing" (Travels, p. 63 [p. 203]).

[9]The work was advertised as "just published" by Scharfenberg & Luis on 6 October 1846 (New York Herald).

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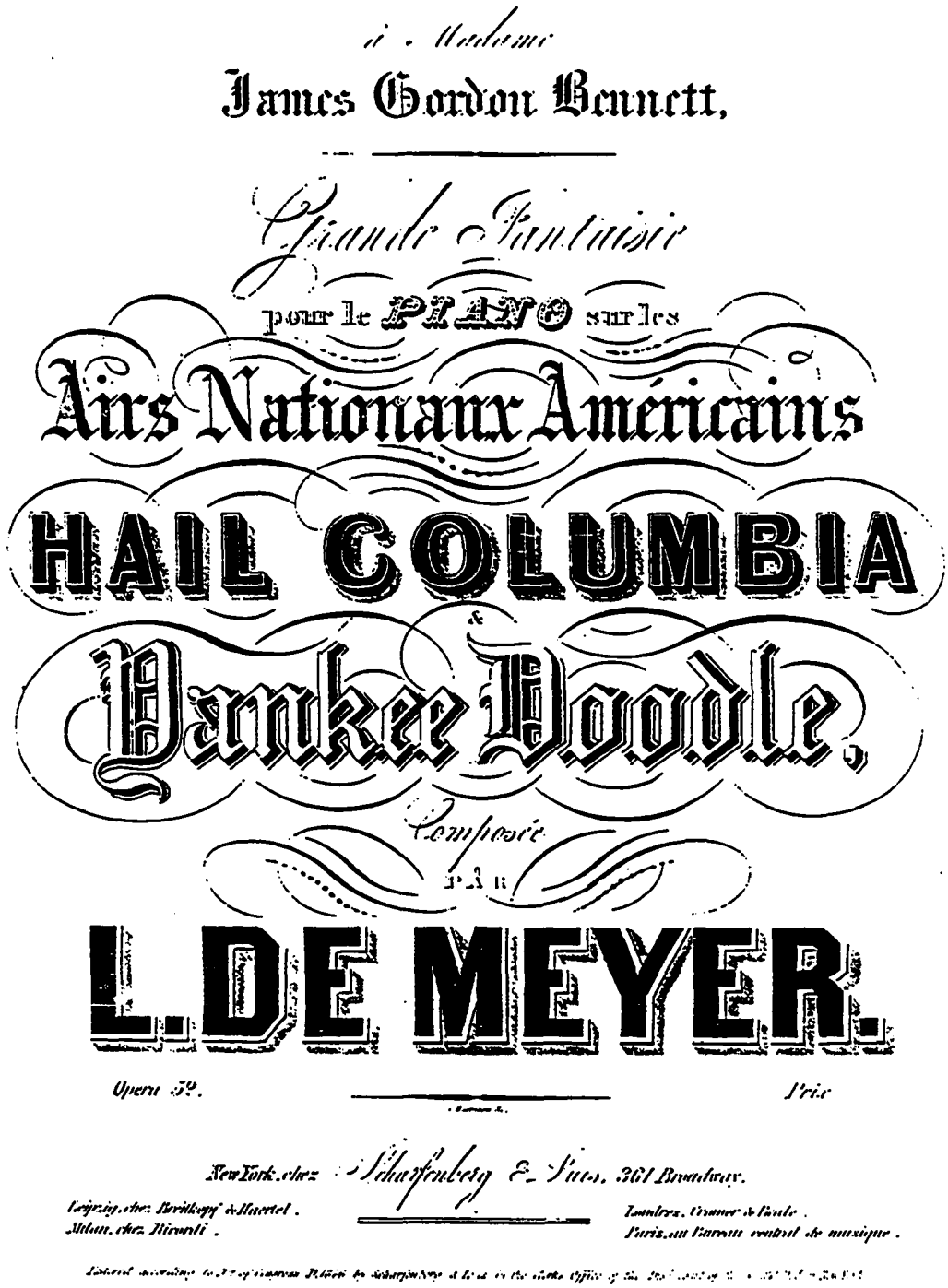


Fig. 6. De Meyer, Airs nationaux américains (New York: Scharfenberg & Luis, 1846), cover. (Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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payment of one fee--the sole transaction among many with witnesses--and won in a jury trial.[10] Luckily for De Meyer, the trial occurred a full week after his final New York appearance; therefore, it had no effect on his concert attendance.

Other, more serious accusations were made against De Meyer that were not necessarily valid. The truth is difficult to ascertain with stories varying from newspaper to newspaper--the Herald steadfastly backing De Meyer, the Morning Telegraph lecturing him on his moral shortcomings, and others wavering between the two positions. Among other charges, De Meyer allegedly attempted to sabotage the concerts of Charles Perabeau and Camillo Sivori.[11] During the previous season Perabeau had served as piano accompanist for two of De Meyer's concerts (14 November 1845 and 5 February 1846) and at the latter had performed with De Meyer his two-piano arrangement of Le Désert. More significantly,

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[10]Burkhardt claimed he should have been paid $25 for a translation, but Reitheimer paid him only $10; he was awarded the remaining $15. The most detailed summary of the case appeared in the New York Evening Mirror, 12 November 1846; Burkhardt's account of his association with De Meyer is in the New York Morning Telegraph, 11 November 1846. De Meyer had published earlier a "Notice To My Brother Artists," which warned of "an obscure individual," who claimed to have influence with the press and forced his services on artists (New York Herald, 14 October 1846); according to Burkhardt's account, De Meyer was referring to him.

[11]New York Evening Post, 2 October 1846.

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he had written a laudatory article about De Meyer soon after his arrival in the United States[12] and later claimed to be the "source and originator" of the article in the Herald that plagiarized Blackwood's.[13] Apparently De Meyer had had a falling out with Perabeau, most likely when he engaged George Loder to perform with him his arrangement of Le Désert a week after Perabeau had done the same.[14] A few months later Perabeau admitted his plagiarism in a letter to the Herald; the paper reported: "Perabeau mingles with his confessions a great deal of impertinence and impudence, and some remarks against De Meyer, not worthy of attention."[15] Ultimately Perabeau testified in Burkhardt's behalf in his trial against De Meyer, for it was an article on Le Désert by Perabeau that Burkhardt had translated.[16]

Sivori, the other performer whose concerts De Meyer was said to have sabotaged, was a virtuoso Italian violinist who

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[12]The article was written for the New York German-language newspaper Schnellpost; an English translation appeared in the New York Evening Post, 28 October 1845.

[13]New York Herald, 8 May 1846.

[14]During his second season De Meyer engaged Loder and his orchestra for his three New York concerts.

[15]New York Herald, 8 May 1846.

[16]Perabeau testified that the translation was worth $50 (New York Evening Mirror, 12 November 1846). Evidently some of De Meyer's supporters had earlier accused Perabeau of trying to injure one of De Meyer's pianos (New York Evening Post, 3 October 1846).

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arrived in New York on 30 September 1846.[17] The Musical World's correspondent explained how the press dealt with the competition the violinist posed for De Meyer:

> The arrival of Sivori has been the cause of much disquietude in certain quarters. The "lion" loves to roar in solitude, and cannot abide even a growl from a brother lion. Accordingly certain of the venal press in his lionship's interest have commenced a regular warfare against the late comer. Sivori, however, is not without advisers, and De Meyer, owing to some personal peculiarities, has a considerable number of enemies. The consequence has been a counter attack upon De Meyer from that portion of the press that has not benefitted by his largesses, or at least not enough to satisfy them. Doubtless they expect to be most liberally rewarded by Sivori, who on the other hand, is shut out from the giant journals which have been bought wholesale by De Meyer at extravagant terms. Only when De Meyer has gone will these journals be open to a treaty with Sivori. . . . In the meanwhile, the American public believe the criticisms of these men, and is influenced by them!!![18]

The Morning Telegraph claimed that in return for the kindness the violinist had shown De Meyer in London, the pianist demonstrated his gratitude

> by circulating reports and hints derogatory to his character as an artist and as a man; by prejudicing certain persons connected with influential public journals against him; and finally, by taking advantage of Sivori's temporary illness, and getting up two monstre concerts,--aided by puffs, claquers [sic], and bouquets,--to injure the forthcoming concerts of his brother artist--of his former patron![19]

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[17]For information on Sivori, who toured the United States with Herz in 1847, see chapter VII.

[18]21/48 (28 November 1846), 601-2; quoted in The Musical Gazette 1/25 (4 January 1847), 194.

[19]New York Morning Telegraph, 22 October 1846.

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It seems unlikely that the "monstre concerts" of De Meyer were consciously designed to ruin Sivori, for the first one was announced on the day of the violinist's arrival.[20] Perabeau's concert took place the night after De Meyer's first concert and therefore may have suffered, but De Meyer was in attendance showing his support.[21] As the above article suggests, however, Reitheimer had apparently mastered not only newspaper publicity as a means to produce successful concerts, or at least those that appeared to be successful. The Herald reported that over thirty bouquets were thrown to De Meyer in his first concert.[22] One newspaper believed that a "great number of free tickets [were] given to clacqeurs [sic]," [23] and the Evening Post, a supporter of Perabeau, complained about De Meyer's "friends":

> The club of Germans in the gallery did not applaud in the proper places, and consequently spoiled all the music, and made themselves supremely ridiculous.[24]

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[20]The Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer (2 October 1846) claimed on De Meyer's behalf that the pianist had previously held back his posters until a concert by the Apolloneons had taken place.

[21]New York Evening Post, 5 October 1846.

[22]New York Herald, 3 October 1846.

[23]Unidentified New York newspaper, quoted in The Musical World 21/48 (28 November 1846), 603.

[24]New York Evening Post, 3 October 1846.

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The pianist William Mason described another technique used for De Meyer's concerts at the Tabernacle:

> The piano-lovers were not so numerous then as they are now, and it was difficult to fill the hall, even with the help of deadheads. De Meyer's agent, acting on the principle that "a crowd draws a crowd," hired a lot of carriages to make their appearance a little before the concert-hour, and to stand in front of the doors and then advance in turn, so that passers-by might receive the impression of activity on the part of the concert-goers.[25]

De Meyer's concerts were indeed of grander proportions than his previous ones and were in a style "worthy of his reputation as one of the first artists of the age."[26] The pianist billed his three New York concerts (2 and 8 October and 3 November 1846) of the season as "Grand Musical Festivals," and in addition to the usual array of vocal soloists, he was assisted in each of them by George Loder and his orchestra of forty-two members. De Meyer had not engaged an orchestra before,[27] and even now he did not perform on the piano with it since he had written no works for piano and orchestra. Instead, the orchestra performed his Marche marocaine and also gave the world premiere of

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[25]Memories of a Musical Life, pp. 21-22.

[26]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 7 October 1846.

[27]His only two previous appearances at orchestral concerts were at Ureli Corelli Hill's Festival Concert (10 November 1845) and at a Musical Fund Society Concert in Philadelphia (17 March 1846).

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Berlioz's orchestration of De Meyer's Marche d'Isly.[28]

If some of the press ridiculed De Meyer, the audiences still apparently flocked to his concerts and appreciated his talents. Either the public did not know which scandalous reports to believe, or perhaps it did not care about such matters. Certainly De Meyer received more attention than he ever had before. At the first concert, the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer claimed:

> The Tabernacle has rarely seen a larger, and never a more brilliant audience. . . . M. de Meyer was greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. . . . We heard it generally remarked among the musicians and amateurs, that great as he always is, on this night he was greater than ever.[29]

At his second concert A. N. Johnson stated that "the house was crowded" and believed "there could not have been less than three thousand present."[30]

Temporarily escaping the wrath of the New York press, De Meyer returned to Boston, the scene of his earlier

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[28]See Lott, "A Berlioz Premiere in America."

[29]7 October 1846. The same paper had reported that De Meyer's reappearance was anxiously awaited: "The Jupiter Tonans of the musical Olympus has been long away from his largest, most devoted and enthusiastic circle of worshippers, and they are eager to welcome him back" (2 October 1846). For the first concert The Albion (3 October 1846, p. 480) also stated that the Tabernacle was "filled to overflowing," but the New York Evening Post (3 October 1846), as a backer of Perabeau, held that De Meyer had "only an average audience."

[30]The Musical Gazette 1/21 (9 November 1846), 165. One of the audience members was former President John Tyler.

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failure. Attendance for his concert at the Melodeon (15 October) was sufficient for him to give another a few days later. He still charged one dollar admission (but at the second concert three people could be admitted on two tickets), and the price was still controversial: when De Meyer announced yet a third concert with orchestra, which was eventually canceled, one newspaper suggested "to him the policy of putting his tickets at fifty cents, when he will see the great Hall of the [Tremont] Temple filled."[31]

For De Meyer's second Boston appearance, Reitheimer supplied a cunning but typical announcement designed to convince people of the urgency of attending the pianist's concert:

> Leopold De Meyer takes pleasure in informing the citizens of Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, and their vicinities, that he has succeeded in postponing other engagements, and that he is enabled to give another, and positively his Last Grand Musical Entertainment in this city, (in compliance with the desire of his friends and connoisseurs,) before leaving for South America, This Evening, October 19th.[32]

This notice suggested that De Meyer had a multitude of previous engagements, that he was extremely popular in other cities and should also be in Boston, and that he was giving another concert only to indulge his many admirers in the city. The constant threat that a concert was to be the

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[31]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 20 October 1846.

[32]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 19 October 1846.

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"only one" or "positively the last" was a standard feature in concert announcements.[33]

On returning to New York De Meyer appeared at a concert given by Joseph Burke, the violinist who had previously appeared on a Philadelphia Musical Fund Society concert with De Meyer (17 March 1846) and at the pianist's second New York concert of this season. By now De Meyer had become notorious for the bouquets of flowers he received at his concerts. When he was the only artist to be presented with them as a guest at Burke's concert, the press took notice:

> We were surprised to see [Rosina Pico and Julia Northall] leave the platform without receiving a present of flowers. The bouquet givers in thus neglecting them not only committed a breach of politeness but also of good taste. And what aggravated this unhandsome conduct was the fact that Mr. De Meyer's pathway was actually strown with flowers.[34]

It was generally understood that De Meyer himself orchestrated the presentation of the bouquets. The Morning Telegraph wondered sarcastically:

> What in the world was the audience tittering and chaffing about, when he received those bouquets?

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[33]A decade later in January 1857, Gottschalk's long series of "farewell concerts" before leaving for the West Indies exasperated one music journal: "Really, this 'farewell' dodge has become a little too strong; we would recommend now the giving of a concert, 'positively the last prior to remaining in New-York and giving a series of concerts, if they will pay'" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/2 [24 January 1857], 17).

[34]New York Evening Post, 23 October 1846.

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> Surely a man has a right to receive his own bouquets, if he is fond of flowers.[35]

The Morning Telegraph was the harshest in its criticisms of De Meyer. It published a series of articles summarizing his devious activities and dubbed him the "Lyin' Pianist."[36] Therefore, it took much of the credit when De Meyer began to cooperate openly with his fellow musicians:

> The effect of our moral lessons to the "Lyin' Pianist" is beginning to be plainly perceptible. . . . We have already heard of his anxiety to wash his character clean. . . .[37]

De Meyer lent one of his Erards for a concert of Sivori to be used in the violinist's performance of Beethoven's "Kreutzer" Sonata with Julian Fontana, and showed

> his kindness by introducing his brother and rival pianist, [Henri] Herz, to all his influential friends with hearty commendation and requests for their good offices for him.[38]

In addition, De Meyer's final concert in New York (3 November 1846) was given "in aid of the charitable fund of the German Society of New York."[39] De Meyer continued his campaign of goodwill in Philadelphia, where he "kindly volunteered his services" for a Philharmonic Society concert

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[35]New York Morning Telegraph, 24 October 1846.

[36]New York Morning Telegraph, 22 October 1846.

[37]New York Morning Telegraph, 28 October 1846.

[38]New York Evening Gazette, undated clipping, Timm Scrapbook.

[39]New York Herald, 3 November 1846.

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(10 November).[40] He performed one set of his Airs russes, his two-piano arrangement of Le Désert with Herman Thorbecke,[41] and conducted the orchestra in Berlioz's arrangement of the Marche d'Isly.

American Piano Makers Court the Lion

If De Meyer had been tamed to some extent by the New York press, he immediately became involved in another controversy in Philadelphia by endorsing the pianos of Emilius N. Scherr of that city.[42] The advertisement and the program (see figure 7) for the Philharmonic Society concert contained the endorsement:

> The Lion Pianist will use on this occasion two Grand Pianos, from the celebrated factories of E. N. Scherr, of Philadelphia, and Erard, of Paris.
>
> The public attention is particularly directed to the former magnificent new Instrument, which is fully

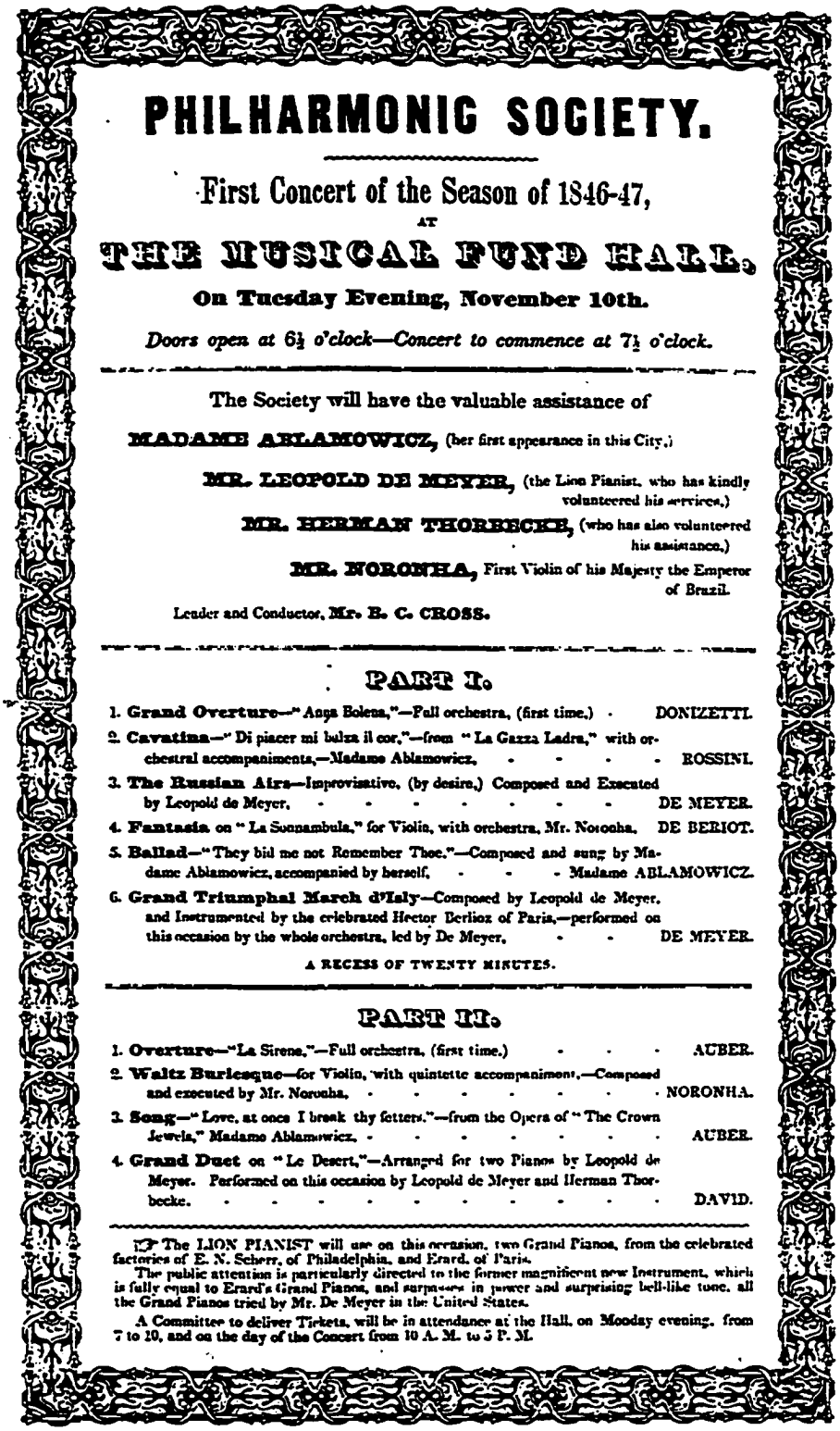
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[40]United States Gazette, 10 November 1846. This concert, held in the Musical Fund Hall, was "overflowing as usual" according to the superintendent of the hall, Thomas J. Beckett (Musical Fund Society, Memorandum Book: Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1837 - September 30, 1847).

[41]Thorbecke also performed Le Désert with De Meyer on two other occasions in Philadelphia that season.

[42]For information on the Danish-born Scherr (1794-1874), who immigrated in 1822 to Philadelphia, see Laurence Libin, "Scherr, Emilius Nicolai," The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, ed. Stanley Sadie, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1984), 3:324.

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PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.

First Concert of the Season of 1846-47,

AT

THE MUSICAL FUND HALL,

On Tuesday Evening, November 10th.

Doors open at 6½ o'clock—Concert to commence at 7½ o'clock.

The Society will have the valuable assistance of

MADAME ABLAMOWICZ, (her first appearance in this City,)

MR. LEOPOLD DE MEYER, (the Lion Pianist, who has kindly volunteered his services,)

MR. HERMAN THORBECKE, (who has also volunteered his assistance,)

MR. NORONHA, First Violin of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil.

Leader and Conductor, **Mr. B. C. CROSS.**

PART I.

1. **Grand Overture**—"Anna Bolena,"—Full orchestra, (first time.) · DONIZETTI.
2. **Cavatina**—"Di piacer mi balza il cor,"—from "La Gazza Ladra," with orchestral accompaniments,—Madame Ablamowicz, - - - - - ROSSINI.
3. **The Russian Airs**—Improvisatire, (by desire,) Composed and Executed by Leopold de Meyer, - - - - - - - - DE MEYER.
4. **Fantasia** on "La Sonnambula," for Violin, with orchestra, Mr. Noronha, DE BERIOT.
5. **Ballad**—"They bid me not Remember Thee."—Composed and sung by Madame Ablamowicz, accompanied by herself, - - - Madame ABLAMOWICZ.
6. **Grand Triumphal March d'Italy**—Composed by Leopold de Meyer, and Instrumented by the celebrated Hector Berlioz of Paris,—performed on this occasion by the whole orchestra, led by De Meyer, - - DE MEYER.

A RECESS OF TWENTY MINUTES.

PART II.

1. **Overture**—"La Sirene,"—Full orchestra, (first time.) - - - AUBER.
2. **Waltz Burlesque**—for Violin, with quintette accompaniment,—Composed and executed by Mr. Noronha, - - - - - - - NORONHA.
3. **Song**—"Love, at once I break thy fetters."—from the Opera of "The Crown Jewels," Madame Ablamowicz, - - - - - - - AUBER.
4. **Grand Duet** on "Le Desert,"—Arranged for two Pianos by Leopold de Meyer. Performed on this occasion by Leopold de Meyer and Herman Thorbecke. - - - - - - - - - - DAVID.

☞ The LION PIANIST will use on this occasion, two Grand Pianos, from the celebrated factories of E. N. Scherr, of Philadelphia, and Erard, of Paris.

The public attention is particularly directed to the former magnificent new Instrument, which is fully equal to Erard's Grand Pianos, and surpasses in power and surprising bell-like tone, all the Grand Pianos tried by Mr. De Meyer in the United States.

A Committee to deliver Tickets, will be in attendance at the Hall, on Monday evening, from 7 to 10, and on the day of the Concert from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Fig. 7. Program, Concert of Philharmonic Society, Philadelphia, 10 November 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia)

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equal to Erard's Grand Pianos, and surpasses in power and surprising bell-like tone, all the Grand Pianos tried by Mr. De Meyer in the United States.[43]

A week later De Meyer gave a fuller account of his endorsement of Scherr's pianos in the Philadelphia papers:

Leopold De Meyer's
Testimonial in Favor of E. N. Scherr's Pianos

> Having had opportunities during my travels through the United States, of testing the merits of the various Piano Fortes, from the most noted manufactories of this country, it is with pleasure, and the most impartial judgment, that I express my unqualified preference of E. N. Scherr's Pianos, of late manufacture, to any I have met with.
>
> . . . I must be permitted to refer to his Grand Pianos, as surpassing any thing of the kind I had conceived this country could produce, <u>being equal, in my estimation, to those from the celebrated manufactory of Erard, of Paris.</u>--Whilst they are constructed on the same principle as Erard's, they contain little iron, much of which operates as a check to the vibratory powers of the instrument.--To Mr. Scherr, I conceive, belongs the distinguished merit of manufacturing the Best Pianos made in the United States.[44]

Although De Meyer had consistently performed on Erard pianos throughout his tour, American instruments had been used at least a few times in his concerts. According to a Boston paper, when he performed his variations on American airs at his first concert in Boston (21 November 1845), he

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[43]<u>United States Gazette</u>, 10 November 1846. A similar announcement appeared in the advertisement of De Meyer's fourth Philadelphia appearance (13 November 1846); he had also performed on Scherr's pianos at his second appearance there (5 November).

[44]<u>United States Gazette</u>, 18 November 1846. De Meyer also included a lengthy tribute to Scherr's square pianos.

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"sat down to a Yankee instrument, the make of our townsman, Mr. Chickering."[45] On several other occasions American pianos, most likely square pianos, were used to perform accompaniments for vocal selections: C. & F. Zogbaum furnished a piano probably manufactured by Stodart & Dunham for his Charleston concert (30 March 1846),[46] and a piano from Conrad Meyer's factory in Philadelphia was used in some of his Philadelphia concerts the previous season and in his second New Orleans concert (20 April 1846).[47]

The same Conrad Meyer took exception to De Meyer's endorsement of Scherr's pianos and submitted his own letter to the papers:[48]

> . . . De Meyer has had no opportunity of judging of the merits of other pianos. He has never called at my store to try my fine pianos, and when repeatedly requested to call, has refused. He expressly confines his opinion to those pianos of Mr. Scherr, which are of late construction, and to those grand action pianos which are made in imitation and "on the same principle as Erard's." Thus he gives no merit of originality to

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[45]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 22 November 1845. A few days before this concert, the New York Herald (18 November 1845) had reported: "It is rumored that Chickering, of Boston, is manufacturing a grand piano, which he intends presenting to De Meyer, and which he means shall rival the famous Erard."

[46]Charleston Courier, 30 March and 2 April 1846.

[47]Philadelphia Daily Chronicle, 28 February 1846; and New Orleans Daily Picayune, 19 April 1846.

[48]For information on Conrad Meyer, see Margaret Cranmer, "Meyer, Conrad," The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, 2:653.

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> Mr. Scherr, but that of being a good copyist. He passes a sweeping censure on all other pianos without mentioning one defect in them, or one superiority in Scherr's over others, except to say they are perfect.
>
> . . . [De Meyer's] judgment of the quality and durability of instruments is to be taken with much mistrust. In Europe, his opinion was forestalled by large compensation from Erard, and why may he not have been biased in his decision here? . . . When he was in Charleston, he gave a recommendation to Zogbaum, similar to that of Mr. Scherr, after he had tried Mr. S[cherr]'s pianos, and for which [De Meyer] told me he was paid. In New Orleans, De Meyer preferred my piano to any other, when, if he desired, he could have had one of Mr. Scherr's, although his opinion was only verbal and expressed before witnesses. Perhaps had I been willing to have gone to the expense I might now have a certificate equal to Mr. Scherr's. But I disdain such methods of obtaining a reputation for my pianos. To me it seems more honorable and fair to submit my instrument to the calm and impartial judgment of the Committees of our national and scientific Institutes. . . .[49]

Another Philadelphia piano maker, John H. Schomacker, also issued a rejoinder to De Meyer. Echoing Conrad Meyer's assertion that the judgment of pianos should be made by such institutions as the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia and the American Institute of New York, which had apparently not honored Scherr's pianos, Schomacker scolded Scherr, not De Meyer:

> . . . We feel sorry that Mr. Scherr should so far forget himself as to accept or court a certificate for publishing to an American public, which is full of arrogance and self-assuming authority. . . . We cannot but call upon the public to use their own judgment,

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[49]United States Gazette, 21 November 1846.

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instead of depending on a biased and wholesale recommendation of an interested self-constituted judge.[50]

De Meyer's reply reveals much about Conrad Meyer's desperate but futile attempts to obtain the pianist's endorsement:

> . . . Mr. Conrad Meyer depreciates my opinion with a good deal of boldness. Why, he has been imploring and begging me for my certificate in behalf of his Pianos ever since I have been in this country! I have been repeatedly solicited for this certificate by him and his friends, and have invariably evaded the request; and while in New Orleans, last May, when called upon by Mr. Charles Horst, music dealer in that city,[51] who had a letter from Conrad Meyer, supplicating my favorable opinion of his Pianos, I said that his Pianos were good enough as accompaniments to songs, &c., and appeared very well--alluding more to the cabinet work, than to their power and strength of tone. This verbal opinion was given frankly; and yet, to my infinite amazement, I found that Mr. Conrad Meyer had published circulars at the National Fair, in Washington, in which he claimed to have had an opinion from me, placing his instruments beyond and above all others. When I reached Philadelphia, he called upon me, conscious of the injustice he had done to me, and hoped I was not offended at what he had published, and that I would not expose him. . . .
>
> . . . [Conrad Meyer and Schomacker] together could not make one Piano, which comes near to the clear and brilliant tones, and to the strength of mechanism, which distinguish those of Scherr's and Erard's. This opinion I form from a trial of the Pianos of Conrad Meyer and Schomacker, in private families, in different cities; and as they profess such an indifference to my opinion, I presume they will not find fault with me for being so frank at present.
>
> . . . I feel it to be unnecessary to defend myself against the silly imputation of Mr. Conrad Meyer, that my opinion has been paid for. The merit of Mr.

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[50]United States Gazette, 21 November 1846.

[51]Charles Horst was the dealer who purchased the Erard piano De Meyer sold in New Orleans.

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Scherr's Pianos deserves the opinion I give of them, fully, and I am glad to commend them to the American public. The high character of Mr. Scherr, as a gentleman and a scientific manufacturer, which has been established during a residence of twenty-four years in Philadelphia, needs no defence at my hands against the assertions of Conrad Meyer and Schomacker & Company. . . .

In order to show, if any more proofs are necessary to show, how much envy and jealousy against his brother countryman, of the same profession, and his approved merits, have changed the feelings and opinions of Mr. Conrad Meyer, I have deemed it but just to close this card with the following letter, received from him at New York, as recently as the 1st of last October. His sycophancy and flattery in this letter contrast strangely with his present abuse and ill humor:

Philadelphia, Oct. 1st, 1846

To the great Pianiste, Leopold De Meyer:

My Dear Sir--With pleasure I perceive by the New York papers, your arrival again in New York, and your concert announced for to-morrow night. I wish you a crowded house. . . .

I should like to be there myself. I hope you will soon come to our city of brotherly love, that we may have the gratification of hearing you again. I think you will do as well here as in the Crescent City. I am obliged to you for New Orleans; your programme, published there, hung in my warerooms for the last two or three months, of which I am very proud. During the great storm, some three or four weeks since, I met with a very great misfortune--nothing less than the loss of the picture of the great De Meyer playing the Piano with his knees. The Northwest wind was so strong during the night that he was drowned, and the loss cannot be replaced here. Can you advise me where I can procure one? as it is an excellent notice for me. Can I be of any service to you here, in any little matters not to be trusted to

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every one? I will do any thing cheerfully, and as well as your own brother. My compliments, if you please, to Mr. Reitheimer.

I remain, very respectfully yours to command,

C. Meyer[52]

Responding once more, Conrad Meyer verified De Meyer's statements but still accused him of fickleness in his choice of pianos:

> . . . He professes to convict me of many falsehoods, but merely shows to the public that I have several times asked his opinion on my Pianos, and that I treated him as I was in duty bound to treat one of my countrymen in a foreign land.
>
> My letter, as published by him, is true, every word of it, and merely shows that I entertained a much higher opinion of him once than I do now. . . . I never asked him for a Certificate; but I have asked him to try my piano, and he has refused. He was never in my store, though often invited. . . . I have then only Mr. Horst's written record of Mr. Horst's opinion, as contained in a letter to me of the 3d of May, who says--"De Meyer told me he was really more pleased with it, than any other American make; adding, that if he had not judged them to be the best American pianos, he would not have asked to have them in his concert, for he could easily have obtained other ones."
>
> . . . I again repeat my desire for any opinion of my Pianos that is fair and unbiased--any opinion which a community can rely upon; they cannot rely upon that of a man who in Charleston says one thing, and in Philadelphia says an entirely different one--for read his certificate given to Zogbaum, and then that given to Scherr.
>
> Charleston Hotel, 31st March, 1846.
>
> C. & F. Zogbaum. Gentlemen,--I hereby take pleasure to testify that Messrs. Stodart & Dunham's Pianos, (of New York,) are of a superior quality; and that they are of soft and brilliant

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[52]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 26 November 1846.

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> tone. And that they are, not only through softness and brilliancy, but also, through durability in workmanship, superior to any other manufactory.
>
> Leopold De Meyer
>
> Note.--It will be remembered that De Meyer had previously tried Scherr's.[53]

Conrad Meyer also corrected De Meyer's belief that iron was a poor conductor of sound and falsely claimed he "invented the iron frame in 1833 and exhibited it at the Franklin Institute."[54]

Despite all the turmoil and lengthy epistles, Meyer essentially had no case against the pianist. De Meyer had issued a certificate of endorsement in Charleston and had apparently voiced approval to Conrad Meyer's agent in New Orleans, but his endorsement of Scherr specifically stated pianos of late manufacture. Certainly he had a right to change his mind if a better piano came along.

Piano manufacturers have always sought the endorsement of famous pianists, and for an American instrument to

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[53]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 28 November 1846. The letter from De Meyer to C. & F. Zogbaum had appeared, with a few variations, in the Charleston Courier, 2 April 1846.

[54]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 28 November 1846. Daniel Spillane was the first to show that Alpheus Babcock was the inventor of the single cast-iron frame patented in 1825 (History of the American Pianoforte: Its Technical Development, and the Trade [New York: D. Spillane, 1890; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1969], pp. 118-23). For more information on Babcock, see Keith Gerhart Grafing, Alpheus Babcock: American Pianoforte Maker (1785-1842), His Life, Instruments, and Patents (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Missouri, Kansas City, 1972); and "Alpheus Babcock's Cast-Iron Piano Frames," Galpin Society Journal 27 (May 1974), 118-24.

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receive the approval of a European pianist was indeed prestigious. If Conrad Meyer was typical in his constant request for De Meyer's trial of his pianos, then De Meyer and other pianists could have been, and most likely were, besieged with such requests. In fact, a letter of 15 February 1846 from De Meyer to Scherr suggests that Scherr approached De Meyer--over eight months before he achieved any results--much in the same manner as Conrad Meyer had (see figure 8).[55]

Some performers handed out endorsements gladly with little thought or concern.[56] De Meyer, however, was selective, and his endorsement of Scherr's pianos appears to have been sincere, for they were the only American grands he used for solo pieces at more than one concert and in more than one city; he performed on them in Baltimore immediately

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[55]The letter, written within a few days of De Meyer's arrival in Philadelphia during his first season, reads: "In reply to your polite note of today I beg to acknowledge my sincere thanks for your kind attention, and shall be most happy to see you any day convenient to you after eleven o'clock in the morning" (Letters of Musicians and Composers Collected by Ferdinand J. Dreer, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

[56]The opera impresario James Henry Mapleson, for example, recalled how a group of his singers blithely endorsed three different piano manufacturers (The Mapleson Memoirs [London: Remington & Co., 1888; edited and annotated by Harold Rosenthal, London: Putnam, 1966], p. 126).

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Washington [illegible]
Tuesday 15 February.

Sir. ... reply to your polite note
of to-day I beg to acknowledge my
sincere thanks for your kind
attention, & should be most
happy to see you any day convenient
to you after eleven o'clock in the
morning. I remain Sir your
most obedient servant
Geo. de Meyer

E. N. Scherr Esquire

Fig. 8. De Meyer, Letter to Emilius N. Scherr, [Philadelphia], 15 February [1846]. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

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following his Philadelphia appearances.[57] That De Meyer played on his Erards and Scherr's pianos in the same concerts also speaks well of the latter. As the first American piano to be endorsed by a European performer, Scherr's instruments symbolized the rapidly increasing craftsmanship of American piano manufacturers. But another decade had to pass before a similar and more far-reaching endorsement was made--when Thalberg began to perform regularly on the Chickering.

Joseph Burke

In his other Philadelphia concerts of the 1846-47 season, De Meyer continued his association begun in New York with the violinist Joseph Burke. The pairing of the artists must have proven congenial, for after the pianist's final New York performance Burke appeared in all of De Meyer's

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[57]An unusual departure from De Meyer's endorsement of pianos occurred several months later at his single Louisville concert of the season (13 April 1847) in which he used one of his Erards and a piano by the Viennese maker Schott. This was apparently the only occasion when De Meyer performed on a European instrument other than an Erard. Evidently a local dealer had struck a deal with him. The pianist did try to remain loyal to Scherr by stating in the concert advertisement that the Schott piano was "equal in bell-like tone and durability, to the instruments of the celebrated manufacturer, E. N. Scherr, in Philadelphia, and Nunns & Clark, in New York" (Louisville Daily Democrat, 13 April 1847), rather than comparing the Schott to an Erard. (The reference to Nunns & Clark is a mystery, for no evidence has been discovered that De Meyer ever endorsed that piano.)

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remaining concerts in the United States. Born in Ireland in 1817, Burke had had a sensational career as a child actor, appearing with equal facility in comedy and tragedy, and as a violinist and singer.[58] He made his stage debut in 1824 in Dublin and his American debut on 22 November 1830 at the Park Theatre in New York. After a decade of touring the United States, he abandoned the stage to study and practice law in Albany. In 1844 he went to Europe to study the violin with Charles-Auguste de Bériot and returned to America in the fall of the following year as a polished violinist.[59]

Ignoring Burke's Irish birth, advertisements occasionally billed him as "the great American Violinist" or

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[58]The theatrical manager Noah M. Ludlow wrote that, at age twelve, Burke "was the greatest dramatic and musical phenomenon that [he] ever beheld" (Dramatic Life as I Found It [St. Louis: G. I. Jones, 1880; reprint ed., Bronx, NY: Benjamin Blom, 1966], p. 393).

[59]Burke also later toured the United States with the pianist Richard Hoffman (1847-48) and Jenny Lind (1850-52) and appeared in New York with Gottschalk (1855-56) and Thalberg (1857). He performed several times with the New York Philharmonic Society, with which he gave the American premiere of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto (24 November 1849); he also served as the society's president. He soon withdrew from performing but continued to teach (chiefly piano) in New York until about 1880, when he retired to his farm in Alexander, New York, near Batavia. He died in New York City on 19 January 1902. For more information on Burke, see the obituary, "Jenny Lind's Old Friend," Batavia Daily News, 20 January 1902, pp. 1 and 4; and the publicity pamphlet Biography of Master Burke, the Irish Roscius; the Wonder of the World; and the Paragon of Actors (Philadelphia: Shakspeare [sic] Press, 1831).

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the "American Paganini."[60] Thus it was with patriotic fervor that the critic for the New Orleans Daily Tropic, who had gone to concerts by Artôt, Bull, and Vieuxtemps among others, boasted that Burke was the greatest violinist he had heard. But he expressed one reservation about him:

> When we speak of [Burke's] brilliant talents, we must not let our pride, as Americans, get the better of our judgment. We are cognizant of his faults, or rather fault, for he has only one, and that is too much modesty. A little more assurance, or impudence, to call it by its true name, would be more apt to catch the vulgar gaze, and consequently stretch the purse a little longer. Ole Bull knew this well, and indeed, the 'Lion' is no novice in the art.[61]

Burke's unostentatious platform manner was corroborated indirectly by the Saint Louis Reveille, which believed he and De Meyer were "as opposite, yet as kindred in spirit, as the two electrical poles."[62] Their performing temperaments complemented each other, for as another St. Louis critic observed, "they relieve each other by their dissimilarity."[63] Burke's modest demeanor was not all that the critics were referring to; more importantly, it was "the spirituality and

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[60]Publicizing Burke as an American would not necessarily draw a larger audience. The New-Orleans Bee (2 February 1847) was compelled to come to his defense: "Though he has not an Italian name we can assure the public he possesses musical qualities of a very high order."

[61]13 February 1847.

[62]17 March 1847.

[63]Saint Louis Daily Union, 17 March 1847.

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sweetness" of his playing that "form[ed] a striking contrast" to that of De Meyer's.[64] A Cincinnati critic contended: "Mr. Burke plays rapturously on the violin--not with his fingers and arm alone like ordinary violinists, but with heart and soul."[65] And a St. Louis writer concurred: Burke "gives expression and force to all the emotions of the human heart which can find utterance in sweet sounds."[66]

This reaction to Burke's playing was directly related to his repertory. To be sure, he performed some of the standard showpieces for violin: Artôt's Souvenir de Bellini, Bériot's Tremolo, Ernst's The Carnival of Venice, Vieuxtemps's Fantaisie-Caprice, and, with De Meyer, Osborne and Bériot's Duo on William Tell.[67] But he also played music dear to the American heart: "Home, Sweet Home," "The Last Rose of Summer," "Long, Long Ago," and "Lucy Neal." His Le Retour en Amérique, for example, contained "several of the sweetest American melodies, with variations, in imitation of the Flageolet, Guitar, Flute, &c."[68] This was

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[64]Saint Louis Daily Union, 17 March 1847.

[65]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 23 April 1847.

[66]Saint Louis Daily Union, 8 March 1847.

[67]Their performance of the last piece at De Meyer's second New York concert was believed by the New York Herald (9 October 1846) to be the first performance of the work in New York.

[68]Saint Louis Reveille, 9 March 1847.

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music understood and enjoyed by audiences. For many, it was a welcome relief from complex virtuosic literature.[69]

Uniting with Burke was a successful move for De Meyer. Indeed, the Reveille claimed that there had never been "such an apt and brilliant combination."[70] The two became the first of a number of successful pianist-violinist teams to tour America: Herz and Sivori, Thalberg and Vieuxtemps, and Rubinstein and Wieniawski. Most important for De Meyer, Burke was a novelty who helped him attract audiences in his second season.

As in New York, De Meyer and Burke alternated in receiving top billing: their first appearance together in Philadelphia (30 October 1846) was advertised as De Meyer's concert with Burke assisting;[71] the reverse billing was used for the second concert held in the Upper Saloon of the Museum (5 November). With ticket prices lowered to fifty cents for the second concert, it was "estimated that three thousand persons were in attendance, and as many who desired

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[69]See the discussion on American taste in chapter IX.

[70]Saint Louis Reveille, 17 March 1847.

[71]This concert, held in the Musical Fund Hall, was described by the hall's superintendent, Thomas J. Beckett, as "brilliant" (Musical Fund Society, Memorandum Book: Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1837 - September 30, 1847).

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were unable to obtain admission."[72] Their third concert (13 November) was a joint "Grand Farewell Musical Festival." Once in the South, however, De Meyer no longer shared credit so equally: as a star performer returning to recently conquered territory, De Meyer consistently took top billing.

Return to the South

After giving two concerts in Baltimore (18 and 20 November), De Meyer and Burke began their southern tour by leaving for Cuba.[73] This cut short their season in the East, which ordinarily would have lasted until early spring. Their sudden departure was no doubt prompted by the threat of competition from Henri Herz, the more famous pianist who had arrived unheralded in the United States in late October. That De Meyer was agitated by Herz's unexpected arrival was suggested by a New York paper, which hinted that Herz's presence at Burke's New York concert at which De Meyer assisted caused the pianist to play "worse than we have ever

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[72]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 11 November 1846. The third concert (13 November 1846) was attended by "about seven hundred persons . . . notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather" ("Philadelphia Correspondence," New York Herald, 15 November 1846).

[73]New York Herald, 2 December 1846.

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heard him play before."[74] De Meyer had had no strong contender the previous season for the public's attention, and during the new season he had given two concerts with success in both New York and Boston before Herz appeared. After reporting that his first New York concert of the season "was filled to overflowing" and his second was "crowded to excess," The Albion believed that "Mr. De Meyer will surely not be in haste to leave the United States while he continues to attract such audiences."[75]

Upon the arrival of Herz, however, De Meyer's prospects were no longer so promising. As a newcomer, Herz undoubtedly would have a distinct advantage in attracting audiences. A New York correspondent to The Musical World in London reported on the threat Herz presented to De Meyer:

> Herz has already given a concert at the Tabernacle with great success, and the friends of De Meyer are in dismay. What is to be done? Herz is a novelty; De Meyer is no longer new. Herz has a name celebrated all over Europe; De Meyer is comparatively little known. All the amateurs play Herz's music; few professors, even, can play De Meyer's. Nothing is left, on dit, for De Meyer, but to pack up his portraits, his caricatures, his Erards, and his chargé d'affaires, and quit America ere the sun of his glory shall begin to set before the rising sun of his rival.[76]

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[74]New York Morning Telegraph, 24 October 1846. Another possible reason given by the paper for De Meyer's nervousness was his conscience troubled by the presence of Sivori.

[75]3 October 1846, p. 480, and 10 October 1846, p. 491.

[76]21/48 (28 November 1846), 601-2; quoted in The Musical Gazette 1/25 (4 January 1847), 195.

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De Meyer did not leave the United States, but he tried to avoid any confrontation with his rival by staying one step ahead of him. Only in Baltimore, where Herz suddenly appeared after postponing his Philadelphia concerts, did the two pianists engage in a conflict (over the storage of their pianos in the concert hall).[77] De Meyer wasted no time in giving himself a headstart in the rest of the country to prevent any further encounters with Herz: within a week of their Baltimore appearances, De Meyer and Burke left on their southern tour.

In his second tour of the South and Midwest, De Meyer concentrated his efforts on cities where he had been particularly successful the previous year (New Orleans, St. Louis, Louisville, and Cincinnati), bypassing smaller towns or those where he perhaps had had no great triumphs (Richmond, Charleston, Natchez, and Vicksburg),[78] and making new stops in Cuba, Memphis, and Nashville (see table 2 and map 2). On 26 November 1846 De Meyer and Burke sailed from Philadelphia directly to Cuba,[79] which enjoyed a lively musical life and was a regular stop for many touring

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[77]The dispute is discussed in chapter VI in the following section on Herz because Herz's agent, Bernard Ullman, was the central figure in it.

[78]De Meyer had given only one concert in each of these.

[79]New York Herald, 2 December 1846.

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TABLE 2

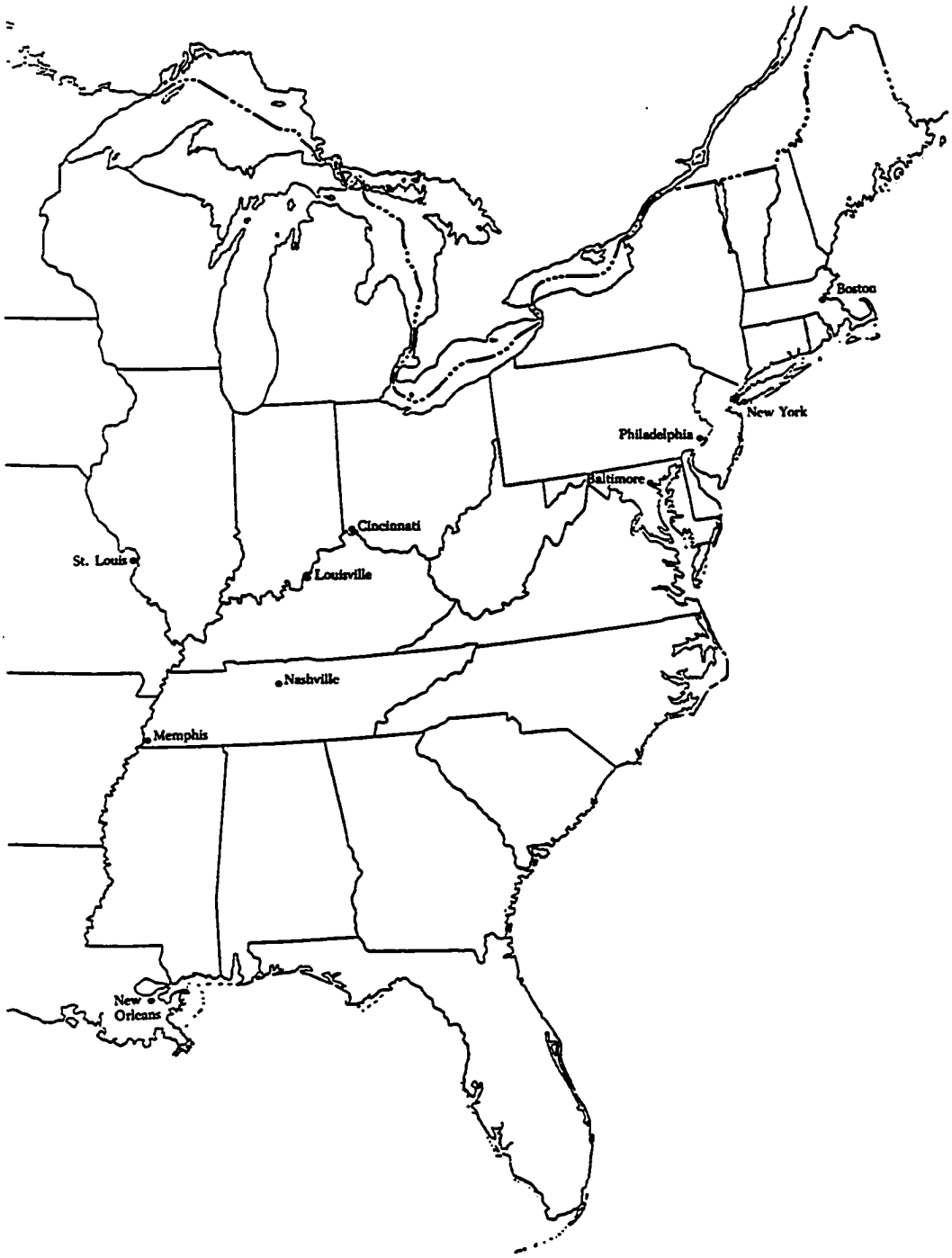
ITINERARY OF DE MEYER'S SECOND SEASON (1846-47)

2 Oct	New York, NY
8 Oct	New York, NY
15 Oct	Boston, MA
19 Oct	Boston, MA
22 Oct	New York, NY
30 Oct	Philadelphia, PA
3 Nov	New York, NY
5 Nov	Philadelphia, PA
10 Nov	Philadelphia, PA
13 Nov	Philadelphia, PA
18 Nov	Baltimore, MD
20 Nov	Baltimore, MD
Dec-Jan	Havana, Cuba
Dec-Jan	Matanzas, Cuba
3 Feb	New Orleans, LA
6 Feb	New Orleans, LA
14 Feb	New Orleans, LA
23 Feb	Memphis, TN
5 Mar	St. Louis, MO
16 Mar	St. Louis, MO
19 Mar	St. Louis, MO
23 Mar	St. Louis, MO
26 Mar	St. Louis, MO
5 Apr	Nashville, TN
7 Apr	Nashville, TN
13 Apr	Louisville, KY
21 Apr	Cincinnati, OH
24 Apr	Cincinnati, OH
27 Apr	Cincinnati, OH
30 Apr	Cincinnati, OH
29 May	Philadelphia, PA

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MAP 2

ITINERARY OF DE MEYER'S SECOND SEASON (1846-47)



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performers. They gave concerts in Havana and Matanzas,[80] where "the success they obtained was colossal,"[81] before leaving for New Orleans.

De Meyer's previous success in New Orleans should have guaranteed the two performers large audiences,[82] but foul weather plagued their first two appearances. At Armory Hall (3 February 1847) De Meyer "did not fail to excite the same admiration and obtain the same applause as heretofore,"[83] and Burke was judged as having "no superior as a violinist."[84] Nevertheless, the cold weather was "severe enough to chill the most enthusiastic,"[85] and the expected crowd evidently did not materialize.[86]

Perhaps because the Armory audience was so small, De

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[80]New York Herald, 7 January, 29 January, and 5 February 1847.

[81]Serafín Ramírez, La Habana artística: apuntes históricos (Havana: E. M. de la Capitanía General, 1891), p. 477.

[82]The New-Orleans Bee (2 February 1847) stated that "of De Meyer, it is unnecessary to say aught. The peculiarities of his extraordinary execution are well known to the public."

[83]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 4 February 1847.

[84]New Orleans Daily Tropic, 4 February 1847.

[85]Ibid.

[86]The audience was described as "select and most fashionable" (New Orleans Daily Picayune, 4 February 1847), and the New Orleans correspondent to the New York Herald (15 February 1847) predicted that for their second concert they would "have a full house--if it isn't too cold."

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Meyer and Burke appeared next at the St. Charles Theatre (6 February) on a bill with the comedy A Roland for an Oliver and the farce Nipped in the Bud.[87] A combination of music and theater was not unusual, but De Meyer had not been forced to resort to such measures since his first appearances in America at the Park Theatre. A heavy rain this time spoiled the attendance, and one newspaper scolded the local citizens for permitting the weather to keep them from a rare musical treat:

> [We] wonder that our citizens, always characterized for possessing good taste and a just appreciation of the highest order of talent, should not have crowded to overflowing the concert last week at Armory Hall, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather. We are aware that it is asking a good deal of our fair ladies, to leave their comfortable firesides at night when the thermometer is at the freezing point, or to run the risk of wetting their dear little feet, in trudging through the rain, last Saturday evening, when De Meyer and Burke performed at the St. Charles. But, then, they must consider the occasion, the artists, the talent, the combination of attraction. They must consider that there is only one De Meyer in the world. . . .[88]

De Meyer and Burke made a final appearance at the St. Charles Theatre (14 February), again on a bill with plays, before leaving New Orleans with what must have been great disappointment. Next they made a brief stop in Memphis, giving a concert on 23 February, before arriving in St.

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[87] New Orleans Daily Picayune, 6 February 1847.

[88] New Orleans Daily Tropic, 13 February 1847.

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Louis.[89] There, in contrast to New Orleans, they enjoyed five triumphant appearances. The high musical level of St. Louis certainly contributed to their success, but a reduction of ticket prices to seventy-five cents (with a lady and gentleman admitted together for only a dollar)[90] must have helped substantially. This reduction was not made quietly; on the contrary, the advertisements credited it to De Meyer's noble desire of "affording every facility to families, schools and students of the Piano-forte and violin."[91]

Their first concert (5 March 1847) was held in the Odd Fellows' Hall, which "was filled to its utmost capacity."[92] The hall was so crowded, in fact, that a special announcement appeared in the advertisement for the next concert (16 March), which had been postponed twice because of bad weather:

> To prevent confusion and to avoid the possibility of a great number of ladies being unable to obtain seats, as was the case at the last Concert, they are respectfully

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[89]Memphis Weekly Appeal, 26 February 1847.

[90]This bargain prompted one paper to write: "We hope, for the sake of economy and the sex, that there may be no single gentlemen this evening" (Saint Louis Reveille, 5 March 1847).

[91]Saint Louis Daily Union, 5 March 1847.

[92]Saint Louis Daily Union, 6 March 1847.

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requested to come early. An ample supply of seats has been provided.[93]

For their fifth and final concert, they assured the public that "the number of tickets will be strictly limited to the capacity of the room."[94]

Amends were apparently made between De Meyer and the Polyhymnia Society, members of which had performed in his concerts the previous season without pay, for the "Gentlemen Members of the Polyhymnia Society" assisted him again at his first concert.[95] They had also been scheduled for the second concert, but bowed out after it was postponed twice, probably to prepare for their own concert on 22 March. Manifesting a continued cooperation with local musicians, De Meyer and Burke volunteered their services--perhaps at Burke's urging, given the cause--for a "Grand Concert for the Relief of Suffering Humanity in Ireland."[96] Although the second and third concerts of De Meyer and Burke had been highly successful,[97] only about three hundred people attended

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[93]Saint Louis Reveille, 16 March 1847. For this second concert "the Hall was crowded to suffocation, and every piece was received with enthusiasm" (Saint Louis Reveille, 17 March 1847).

[94]Saint Louis Reveille, 26 March 1847.

[95]Saint Louis Daily Union, 5 March 1847.

[96]Saint Louis Reveille, 23 March 1847.

[97]The second concert had been "a perfect jam," and at the third there had been "an overflowing assemblage" (Saint Louis Daily Union, 17 and 20 March 1847).

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the relief concert.[98] The organizers had foolishly raised the ticket price to a dollar, and not many people were willing to pay twice as much for performances they had already heard several times.

During his visit to St. Louis, De Meyer composed and had published Vive la dance [sic], one of the few pieces he wrote while in America (see figure 9).[99] The work was clearly designed for amateurs, since it is comprised of two short, easy waltzes in C major and G major and is "Respectfully Dedicated to the Ladies of St. Louis." There is evidence, too, that a considerable number of amateurs were active in St. Louis. When the Polyhymnia Society announced that Osborne and Bériot's Duo on William Tell was to be performed at their next concert by "A Lady and Gentleman,"[100] the Reveille stated with pride:

> Some of the great compositions which have exercised the genius and skill of De Meyer and Burke, during their present visit, are to be given, as an evidence of the cultivation existing among ourselves. Many of our resident musicians--amateurs as well as professors--stand prominently, from their ability.[101]

Nonprofessional musicians were also occasionally enlisted to round out concerts of touring artists.

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[98]Saint Louis Daily Union, 25 March 1847.

[99]It was published by Nathaniel Phillips of St. Louis.

[100]Amateur musicians often were not named in advertisements and programs.

[101]Saint Louis Reveille, 21 March 1847.

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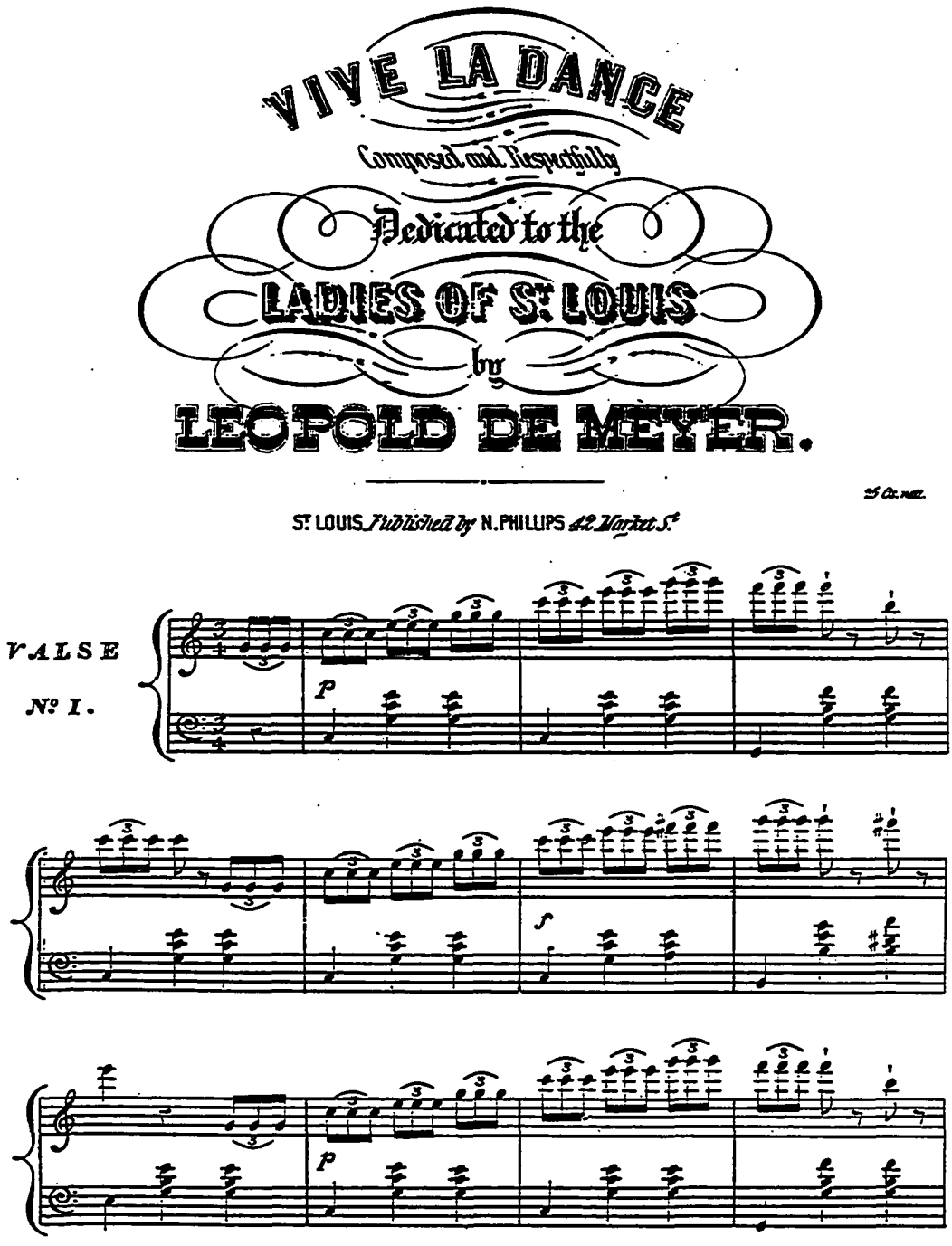


Fig. 9. De Meyer, Vive la dance (St. Louis: Nathaniel Phillips, 1847), page 1. (Louisiana State Museum)

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Assisting at De Meyer and Burke's second St. Louis concert (16 March) were "gentlemen amateurs, forming a fine Glee Party,"[102] and at the third (19 March), "twenty-four Gentlemen Amateurs, forming a Grand Chorus."[103] At their last St. Louis concert (26 March), an unnamed gentleman sang two vocal solos, and a few weeks later in Louisville (13 April), a "Gentleman Amateur" assisted in their only concert in that city.[104]

After two performances in Nashville (5 and 7 April),[105] De Meyer and Burke gave their last series of concerts together in Cincinnati. De Meyer avoided offending any local musicians or the press, and by lowering the prices as in St. Louis they attracted good audiences to their three concerts (21, 24, and 27 April). The violoncellist George Knoop, who had appeared with De Meyer in Cincinnati and Pittsburgh the previous season, was among the assisting artists at the second and third concerts. At the latter, Knoop joined the two artists in performing a trio based on

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[102]Saint Louis Reveille, 16 March 1847.

[103]Saint Louis Reveille, 19 March 1847.

[104]Saint Louis Reveille, 26 March 1847; and Louisville Daily Democrat, 13 April 1847.

[105]At the first concert "the hall was crowded, so much so that a large part of the audience were forced to remain standing during the entire performance" (Nashville Daily Union, 7 April 1847).

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William Tell; the work was repeated at a "Grand Musical Festival" given by Knoop, for which De Meyer and Burke "volunteered their valuable aid."[106]

De Meyer did not go on to Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Rochester, Toronto, and Montreal as in the previous season. In most of these cities he had given only one concert, and perhaps he thought it not worth the effort to return. Curiously, however, he ignored Pittsburgh, which had been successful for him, especially when he was clearly not in any hurry to leave the country. His activities for the three weeks following his last Cincinnati appearance are unknown, but he arrived in Philadelphia on 24 May 1847; Burke returned to Albany about the same time.[107] Five days later De Meyer gave his final performance in the United States at a concert of the Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia, where he performed two solo piano pieces on an instrument made by Scherr.[108]

Within a few days De Meyer was in New York making arrangements for his departure--especially trying to sell at least some of his pianos. By 7 June 1847 he had already

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[106]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 30 April 1847.

[107]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 25 May 1847; and New York Herald, 2 June 1847.

[108]United States Gazette, 29 May 1847. A few weeks later De Meyer made a final pitch for Scherr, but this time only for his square pianos, which he was soon to be exhibiting in New York (New York Herald, 17 June 1847).

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disposed of one, and on that day he placed an advertisement for another:

> Leopold De Meyer will sell one of his Grand Pianos, seven Octaves, from the celebrated Manufactory of Erard, Paris. It has been used only in his Concerts in this City. This magnificent instrument would cost $1200, imported, but in consequence of Mr. De Meyer's speedy departure for Europe, it will be sold at a comparatively low price.[109]

De Meyer's two-season tour of the United States and Canada was leisurely in planning and execution. Lacking a professional manager, the pianist did not realize the full potential of an American tour in the number of concerts given (85) or cities visited (26). Yet his success was considerable.[110] Prosperous tours were still possible without professional guidance, for the business of concert management in America was only beginning. Conditions were changing rapidly, however, and within a few years, a similar tour was unlikely to be so successful.

Although De Meyer occasionally antagonized people--a few local musicians, several piano manufacturers, and some members of the press--he achieved a rapport with others. In Cincinnati his relationship with Knoop was obviously amicable, for Knoop appeared in both Cincinnati and

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[109]New York Herald, 7 June 1847.

[110]See chapter XV for an estimate of De Meyer's earnings in the United States.

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Pittsburgh with De Meyer and De Meyer played in two benefits for Knoop. Moreover, De Meyer's partnership with Burke must have been harmonious, for the two performed together for six months.[111] In Philadelphia De Meyer was particularly successful in finding acceptance. During his second season, he made two guest appearances with the Philharmonic Society, and at both he was honored by the musicians. At the first concert, the society gave him a "superbly wrought silver cup . . . ornamented with musical emblems and a design of a Lyon [sic] playing on the Piano";[112] at the second he was presented with a crown.[113] Apparently De Meyer also engaged in social activities. In his reply to Conrad Meyer, he mentioned trying pianos "in private families, in different cities."[114] After returning to Europe, De Meyer published a work titled Niagara-Fall, on the cover of which he is

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[111]That neither musician continued to give concerts without the other suggests that they mutually agreed upon the dissolution of their partnership.

[112]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 17 November 1846. De Meyer's letter of thanks to the society is reprinted in the New York Herald, 20 November 1846. The presentation was also reported in the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 49/8 (24 February 1847), col. 134.

[113]United States Gazette, 29 May 1847; New York Evening Mirror, 4 June 1847; and La France musicale 10/29 (18 July 1847), 242.

[114]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 26 November 1846.

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identified as "master of the Pennsylvania Freemason Lodge" (see figure 10).[115]

De Meyer's original compositions captivated the musical world surfeited with fashionable operatic fantasias. His flamboyant performance style excited a public without experience in hearing virtuoso piano playing. His outlandish publicity measures brought him much attention and undoubtedly created interest in his concerts among a wide range of people,[116] although the publicity eventually lost him support in some quarters. Today, the caricatures of him and the accounts of his eccentric mannerisms have too often obscured the evidence that he was, above all, a virtuoso pianist.

When De Meyer left the United States from Philadelphia on 25 June 1847,[117] the New York correspondent to La France musicale reported that the pianist promised "his numerous

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[115]This caption might explain some of De Meyer's activities during his last few idle weeks in Philadelphia. Another dedication hints at a different pastime: during his final weeks in the United States he composed Valses d'adieux, a series of three brief waltzes similiar in their simplicity to Vive la dance. The sheet music, published by A. Fiot of Philadelphia, states that the work was written "in Philad[elphila on the eve of his departure for Europe" and that it was "dedicated to Miss Mary Jane Smith." (A copy of the sheet music survives in the American Antiquarian Society.)

[116]See the following chapter for a discussion of the audiences at his concerts.

[117]New York Evening Mirror, 23 June 1847.

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Fig. 10. De Meyer, Niagara-Fall (Vienna: Carl Haslinger, late 1840s), cover. (Music Division, Library of Congress)

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admirers" to return in October 1868.[118] He was to make good on that promise, returning exactly two decades later in 1867. But by that time, the musical taste of Americans had outgrown the Lion Pianist.

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[118]La France musicale 10/29 (18 July 1847), 242. An earlier report from the New York correspondent had claimed that "since Fanny Elssler and Ole Bull, no artist has gathered in a more glorious harvest in America than Leopold de Meyer" (10/27 [4 July 1847], 228).

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CHAPTER V

INTERLUDE:

AUDIENCES

> Thalberg's first concert was largely attended, and fashionably, of course. Brilliant belles and their gallants, wives and husbands, matrons and musicians, critics and amateurs, and gentlemen of varied professions, from curiosity, vanity, art, fondness, or desire to be in the mode, assembled at Smith & Nixon's hall last evening.[1]

The above, from a review of Thalberg's first concert in Cincinnati, is a virtual checklist of the types of people attending the concerts of traveling virtuosos and their reasons for being there. As this Cincinnati writer and many others make clear, not everyone went solely to hear the music. Dwight once wrote that "concert-going has as many motives as church-going."[2] A Toledo critic, surprised and pleased to see at a Thalberg concert "so large and fashionable an audience" because there had been complaints

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[1]Cincinnati Times, 5 May 1857, quoted in Chicago Daily Democratic Press, 22 May 1857.

[2]Dwight's Journal of Music 4/10 (10 December 1853), 76. Among other observations, Dwight held that "to some, music is a matter of earnest Art, to others but a rhythmical pretext and accompaniment for idle dalliance and superficial social gossip."

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about the high price of tickets, expressed his doubts about what prompted the sizeable turnout:

> If we could construe the attendance as an exponent of the genuine love of "high art" in music, for itself alone, we should have been still more pleasantly impressed.[3]

A brief look at the more important categories of concertgoer and why they attended the concerts of these pianists is in order.

The Amateur

Amateur performers comprised a substantial part of the audience. Their number increased dramatically in the middle of the nineteenth century, and many of them indulged their musical passions at the piano. When De Meyer arrived in Baltimore, a correspondent there stated, with perhaps only slight exaggeration, that "all our musical gentry, with the fifty thousand persons who can finger a piano, are on the qui vive for his first entertainment."[4] As will be seen, both Herz and Thalberg, if not De Meyer, were well known in the United States before their American tours, and their music was widely circulated and frequently played. What amateur pianist who had struggled through Herz's La Violette

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[3]Daily Toledo Blade, 17 May 1858.

[4]New York Herald, 6 March 1846.

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or Thalberg's Fantasia on Moses would have denied himself or, more likely, herself the revelation of hearing a favorite piece performed by its creator? As a San Francisco newspaper reported while Herz was performing in that city:

> There is scarcely an amateur musician who is not familiar with the name of the composer, and fond of the productions of his rare genius--scarcely a piano that has not given a feeble echo of his Heaven-inspired thoughts. To hear this musical celebrity, then, perform his own melodies and give them all their force and character of which his soul is capable, was a treat which but few could resist the temptation of enjoying.[5]

Newspapers proudly describe the reception of these pianists and boast that their citizens were highly appreciative of the music. Before Herz's first concert in New Orleans, the Daily Picayune claimed:

> The event has been eagerly anticipated by musical amateurs ever since his arrival in this section of the country, and he will have a fair opportunity of displaying his rare musical talent before a numerous audience capable of appreciating it.[6]

Reviews of Thalberg's first Philadelphia concert stated that "in a city where most of the dwellings boast of a piano, the circle of appreciation is a very extensive one" and that "a very large portion of the audience was composed of amateurs of the piano."[7] Another paper reported in greater detail:

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[5]Alta California, 3 April 1850.

[6]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 21 February 1847.

[7]North American and United States Gazette, 2 December 1856; and Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper, 3 December 1856.

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> Every one with a piano talent or a piano ambition was there, from the miss who had labored over the simplest one of Thalberg's specimens of "L'art du chant appliqué au piano," to the accomplished amateur or professor who, having mastered all the mechanical difficulties of the "Moise" or the "Sonnambula" fantasies, was eager to see and to hear how the great master himself would perform them.[8]

Some amateurs living in cities not on the pianists' itineraries made pilgrimages to the nearest concert: for Thalberg's concert in Columbus, Georgia, "twenty-two young Ladies, under their musical instructress landed that evening from Eufa[u]la," Alabama, a distance of almost fifty miles.[9]

The Curious

It was perhaps through their ability to attract concertgoers who attended for other than musical reasons that the world-famous European artists made a significant effect on the general American public. Gottschalk believed the foreign celebrities appealed to an audience that, "through curiosity and fashion rather than from taste, made

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[8]Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, 29 November 1856, quoted in New York Herald, 1 December 1856, p. 5.

[9]Columbus Tri-Weekly Enquirer, 9 February 1858.

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it a duty to go and see the lion."[10] When Gottschalk himself joined forces with Thalberg for the first time in New York, one review claimed that "curiosity unquestionably contributed to the general gathering."[11] The widespread fame of Herz made one writer believe that "his reputation as a Composer should alone induce great interest to see him."[12]

The substantial press coverage De Meyer received once he was in America more than compensated for his lack of advance reputation. As one paper predicted for his first concert in Nashville:

> Not only will the lovers of music flock in crowds to his concert, but those who cannot appreciate the "concord of sweet sounds" will wish to see the man whose praises have so long filled the air.[13]

The New Orleans critic who had at first been repelled by De Meyer's caricature on the program admitted that the "exaggerated criticisms" of De Meyer "made him to us an object of curiosity rather than of interest, and we went to

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[10]Notes of a Pianist, p. 239. Another animal was invoked when the Utica Daily Gazette (20 August 1847) tried to convince its readers that they should attend a concert of Herz and Sivori, arguing that "aside from 'seeing the elephant'" the concert would be a "rare musical entertainment."

[11]New-York Daily Times, 22 November 1856, p. 1.

[12]Springfield (MA) Daily Republican, 27 October 1847.

[13]Nashville Daily Union, 3 April 1847. The New Orleans Daily Picayune (16 April 1846) had previously reported of De Meyer that "public curiosity has been powerfully stimulated to hear him, such marvels have been related of his performances."

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his concert more for amusement than in anticipation of a festival of music."[14]

Much of this era's publicity, such as De Meyer's Biography and caricatures, was specifically designed to attract the inquisitive. Bernard Ullman, who managed both Herz's and Thalberg's American tours, was a master publicist. One of his more preposterous tactics to entice the public was employed in Mexico, where Herz was performing with the violinist Frans Coenen. According to Ullman's account, large posters advertising theater productions in Mexico contained scenes

> representing at least fifty persons being murdered, another twenty lying already dead upon the ground, and generally, scenes of all sorts of horror, outrage, and bloodshed. The peasants and townspeople gaze at these pictures with open mouths and flock in crowds to the theatre.

To compete with the theater posters, Ullman had a large poster of Coenen made, but

> what was a mere fiddler compared to the scenes of blood to which the people had been accustomed in the paintings sent forth from the theatre! How could a picture of this description exercise any power of attraction? Suddenly, a bright idea flashed across my mind. I took the picture and had it exhibited upside-down. I was right. It did not fail to produce the effect desired. The townspeople came and stared with eyes like saucers at the big thing.
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> "Santissima Madre!" they exclaimed. "What! does the fellow play the fiddle standing upon his head! Hombre! Hombre! We must go and see him!"

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[14]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 18 April 1846.

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> The whole town flocked to the concert. My plan was successful beyond all my expectations. Our receipts were enormous.[15]

Barnum's strategy for publicizing Jenny Lind relied on similar principles, Maretzek contended:

> It was purely a matter of the most perfect indifference to him, whether she produced any enthusiasm as a songstress, provided she excited curiosity, as angel, woman, or demon.[16]

Barnum was indeed more than successful in achieving his goal, according to Maretzek:

> Public curiosity had been so industriously stirred up by him, that out of every five persons one would have been glad to hear, but four were restlessly desirous to see her.[17]

And once a celebrity was able to attract large crowds, others began to wonder why so many were attending the concerts. One newspaper held that "thousands listened to Jenny because other thousands did the same."[18]

The publicity maneuvers of De Meyer, Ullman, Barnum, and others were frequently denounced as antithetical to the high artistic aims of music. A writer in 1854, criticizing the current method of concertgiving, believed

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[15]"Leaves from My Diary," Musical Pioneer 11/6 (March 1866), 42-43. Even if the anecdote is not true, it nevertheless illustrates Ullman's thinking.

[16]Crotchets and Quavers, p. 121.

[17]Ibid., p. 122.

[18]Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, quoted in New York Musical Pioneer 1/2 (1 November 1855), 19.

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one of the faults of the extravagant concerts then popular was that

> mere curiosity and love of wonder among the people are appealed to, and not a legitimate desire for musical gratification. Indeed, these mammoth concerts, with their show programmes, their crowds, excitement, and confusion, are poorly calculated to afford musical enjoyment, and those who attend them with this reasonable end in view, are disappointed. Of course, mere curiosity is easily cloyed, and those who go from this motive are soon satisfied. The desire for musical gratification, on the other hand, increases with indulgence, and thus is a permanent source upon which to draw.[19]

While curiosity may not have been the purest reason for attending a concert, it did lead many people to be exposed to music who might otherwise not have been. And it is just possible that some of them were affected by what they heard. Several writers expressed opinions contrary to the one voiced in the 1854 article just quoted. During De Meyer's first season in New Orleans, the Daily Picayune, for example, stated that "the first curiosity which was felt to listen to the great musical prodigy, has given place to a profound admiration of his science and skill."[20] In St. Louis, a musician wrote of Herz and his partner at the time, the violinist Camillo Sivori:

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[19]New-York Musical Review and Choral Advocate 5/17 (17 August 1854), 288.

[20]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 24 April 1846. Another New Orleans paper claimed: "One of our friends declare[d] that [De Meyer's] performance last night was sufficient to make him (our friend) a musical fanatic for life" (quoted in New York Herald, 27 April 1846).

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> I have assisted at every concert given by them in this city; the charm of mere novelty has therefore disappeared; curiosity is satisfied, but the wish to hear them is on the increase.[21]

Finally, a review of Thalberg's second concert in the United States predicted: "At present people go out of mere curiosity; in a week they will go out of genuine love."[22]

The Fashionable

Gottschalk linked curiosity and fashion as reasons people attended concerts. Reviews of these pianists consistently describe the "brilliant and fashionable" audiences.[23] Concerts of European celebrities certainly attracted a more fashionable clientele than those of local performers or native musicians. The New Orleans Daily Picayune, reporting on the excellent attendance at De Meyer's concerts, explained that "such an array of beauty

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[21]St. Louis Daily Reveille, 27 May 1847; also quoted in Tri-Weekly Nashville Union, 10 June 1847, and Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 29 June 1847.

[22]New-York Daily Times, 12 November 1856, p. 4.

[23]A few typical examples will suffice: De Meyer's second concert in New Orleans attracted "all the brilliance and fashion of the city" (New Orleans Daily Tropic, 21 April 1846); "a brilliant and fashionable audience attended the [first] concert given by Herz and Sivori" in Mobile (Mobile Register and Journal, 3 April 1847); and at Thalberg's fourth concert in Cincinnati, "despite the unfavorable weather there was a fair, and extremely fashionable audience" (Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 14 May 1857).

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and fashion can only be drawn together by a master."[24] In addition, the high price of tickets for these concerts made them more attractive to members of the upper economic class: the prices were well within their means but probably high enough to discourage some of the poorer classes from attending. In Wilmington, Delaware, Thalberg's concert

> was largely attended by the fashionable portion of our citizens, who hesitated not to pay $1 each, to hear so distinguished an artist, whose fame as a pianist is world-wide.[25]

Indeed, what were at first called the "dollar concerts"--the higher-priced concerts of visiting performers[26]--were soon redubbed the "fashionable concerts." After a poorly attended concert given by the Hartford Liederkranz (with the assistance of the New York Arion Society and directed by Carl Bergmann), one critic complained:

> The concert was not as well patronized by our citizens as it should have been. The house was only tolerably filled, but those who did not attend, lost an opportunity to hear such music as the "fashionable concerts" that so often come along and are so well patronized, never afford.[27]

Sacramento was a new city when Herz performed there in 1850, but already it was understood that "the fashion of our place

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[24]25 April 1846.

[25]Delaware Republican, 9 February 1857.

[26]See the discussion of "dollar concerts" in chapter II.

[27]Hartford Daily Times, 25 June 1856.

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will of course attend" his concerts.[28]

Many people went to concerts as much to be seen as to "see the lion," and what better way to do so than to arrive late and make a grand entrance? The new practice of reserving seats, first used extensively during Jenny Lind's tour and later employed at Thalberg's concerts, made it much easier for the well-heeled, who could afford the usual fifty-cent surcharge for reserved seats, to arrive late, while others had to stake their claim for seats as much as an hour or more before the concert.[29] Before Thalberg's first Nashville concert, one writer tried to discourage the custom of the ceremonious arrival:

> It is to be hoped that our fashionable people will strain a point this evening, and try to be seated before the commencement of the concert, as parties arriving after that time mar the pleasures of those who have taken the trouble to come before that hour, also discompose the artist.[30]

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[28]Sacramento Transcript, 8 April 1850.

[29]When A. N. Johnson attended one of De Meyer's concerts in New York, which began at 8:00, he "went a little before seven, to secure a good seat. We found, however, that even at this early hour all of the good seats were occupied" (The Musical Gazette 1/21 [9 November 1846], 165). For a concert of Herz and Sivori given in Philadelphia on 26 November 1847, which began at 7:30 with the doors opening at 6:00, Breiter's Band was engaged to perform "favorite Waltzes, Polkas and Marches" between 6:30 and 7:30 "to enliven the tedium . . . between the opening of the doors and the beginning of the Concert" (Philadelphia Public Ledger, 26 November 1847). In some cities all seats were reserved for Thalberg's concerts.

[30]Nashville Republican Banner, 2 June 1858.

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An even stronger complaint against the habit had been made after Thalberg's first concert in Cincinnati, where one critic had stated as a matter of fact that "there will always be a large crowd of late comers especially at what is termed 'fashionable soirees.'"[31] A letter to the editor signed "Old Bachelor" decried the

> very vulgar practice in vogue with many, of entering our public concerts after the performance has commenced. If those who are in the habit of indulging themselves in this peculiar practice could only see themselves as others see them, and hear the observations their appearance provokes, they would certainly shun the position they now so readily thrust themselves into. Their dress and appearance may secure to them a few compliments from some sympathetic admirer of the fashionable arts, (dress-making and painting,) but their display of bad taste and ill breeding leaves upon the mind of the cultivated observer a lasting impression of their vulgarity. . . .
>
> Nothing is more annoying than to be compelled to get up out of your seat in the midst of a performance to let some come-to-be-looked-at concert-goer pass.[32]

---

[31] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 6 May 1857.

[32] Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 6 May 1857. There were also complaints about people causing disturbances by leaving before the end of the concert. Even during the grand finale of two of Herz's concerts in New York--no less than an arrangement of the Overture to Semiramide for sixteen pianists on eight pianos--people had the audacity to leave early (New York Herald, 13 and 14 November 1846). After Thalberg's first Cincinnati concert one newspaper stated: "We were pained to observe that the vile custom so prevalent in theaters, of leaving prior to the close of the performance, prevailed to some extent with the otherwise refined audience of Monday night" (Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 6 May 1857).

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A Norfolk writer, reporting on a concert there of Thalberg, captured in an elaborate satire the foibles of the fashionable concertgoer:

> We went to the 'show' Friday night--went to be seen there. Didn't care a rip for Thalberg nor his agent. . . .
>
> . . . We went because we could go and because poor folks couldn't. Who'd be poor. What's the use. . . .
>
> . . . Rich girls with poor but honest beaux came in. Poor girls with rich but wild beaux followed suit. Then came the bon tons, none of your "poor truck." . . .
>
> Mr. Skurmuggins came in with his wife and four daughters. Six all told. Nine dollars out--carriage hire not included. Rich man, but has no carriage of his own. Too bad. Next came Mr. Skirmiggins and wife, and daughter.--Dressed off nice. . . .
>
> Dick, who took Miss so-- and so-- and who paid his money, is now uneasy as to whether Tom over the way, and who is in company with Miss somebody-- else knows that he is actually at this great show. Feels more comfortable. Recognizes each other. Smile. Intermission.
>
> John, a man in moderate circumstances goes because Tom, his rich neighbor and nodding friend goes, and would it pay John not to be seen by Tom? Certainly not. John's business is to be seen by Tom. What cares he for music! Nary red! . . .[33]

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[33]Norfolk Day Book, 18 January 1858.

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The Music Lover

Music lovers constituted an essential part of an audience.[34] Their earnest participation can almost be assumed but should not be taken for granted, for without their existence there surely would have been no concerts and certainly no valid reason for them. Concert reports of the period, such as one of a Thalberg concert in Augusta, Georgia, make a special point of acknowledging their presence:

> The admirers of artistic music in Augusta, were out in full force. . . . Not only the refined tastes of our immediate community were there represented, but from adjoining counties, and other cities in our State, were numbers present.[35]

Music lovers overcame obstacles to attend these concerts, whether traveling many miles or scrimping to afford tickets. A remedy to the latter problem was facetiously proposed in Mobile when Herz and Sivori were performing there:

> The performance last Thursday night threw several staid old gentlemen into raptures. One of them tells us that the "duet on Rossini's Wm. Tell," was most wonderfully executed by Sivori. His peroration was: "if they give fifty concerts, I will attend them all if I have to steal the dollar required at each admission." This shows that the gentleman (who, by the way, is no mean musician,) is a good lover of music, if he have a small stock of morals.[36]

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[34]For these purposes, a music lover is distinguished from an amateur in that the latter has the ability to perform music.

[35]Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, 5 February 1858. For examples of concertgoers traveling considerable distances to concerts, see also chapter XIII.

[36]Alabama Planter, 5 April 1847, p. 144.

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Music lovers did not necessarily have any technical knowledge of music but most of them were probably able to discern the difference between a good and bad performance. The fashionable concertgoer might effusively praise a performance, good or bad, to appear to be cultivated:

> We know that there is a good deal of the "mock heroic" in the admiration which is often expressed for the performances of great musicians. Some people think that it is very unfashionable not to put an extra tint of extravagance upon their admiration of those whom all the world acknowledges to be celebrities.[37]

But music lovers knew when to give praise and when to withhold it. In Maysville, Kentucky, Herz and Sivori gave a concert where "the judges of good music were thrilled with admiration, while the unskilled and unitiated in 'sweet sounds' looked on and listened and wondered."[38] The Norfolk satirist also made a careful distinction between the knowledgeable concertgoer (sitting upstairs in the cheaper seats) and the unknowledgeable (downstairs with the fashionable people):

> Enter an u__y--very h__y girl with a screeching voice. Sings a tune--song--in some unheard of language, not easily mastered by herself; the 'know nothings' down stairs applaud--the 'know somethings' up stairs grin and swallow it--saying nothing. Go on with your 'show.'[39]

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[37]Dayton Daily Journal, 30 April 1857.

[38]Maysville Eagle, 1 July 1847.

[39]Norfolk Day Book, 18 January 1858.

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One self-proclaimed music lover, the writer and abolitionist Lydia Maria Child, was surprised, however, at her enjoyment of a performance by Herz:

> I was enchanted, perfectly enchanted, with Herz's playing; the more so, probably, because I did not expect to be excited. Of course, I could not be otherwise than familiar with his long established reputation as artist and composer; but I supposed that his merits were of a kind to be more readily appreciated by professional musicians than by a simple lover of music like myself. Moreover, I had often heard his music executed; and though it is not always true of criminals, it is of music, that it is dead when it is executed. But when I heard Herz play his own compositions, I was carried away with unqualified delight.[40]

The Professional Musician

As Child points out, the concertgoers most capable of appreciating performances were, of course, professional musicians. Their professional status made them the most critical but apparently no less enthusiastic. According to many reports, they were far from blasé. Soon after De Meyer's arrival in the United States, for example, the New York Evening Post stated: "We are not surprised that our best musicians are almost frantic, as we are told, in their expressions of admiration of him."[41] In Toronto his performances

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[40]Unidentified newspaper clipping, Timm Scrapbook.

[41]8 November 1845.

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> drew forth the most unbounded applause from the audience generally, while of our resident professors,--some sat in mute astonishment, others gave expression to their surprise in unbounded exclamations.[42]

Some of the professional musicians probably experienced ambivalent feelings toward the visitors. While admiring their talent, they must have envied their immense success and must have been concerned that they would usurp concert revenues that would have otherwise gone to locals. Generally, however, it appears that local musicians, who gained prestige by appearing as assisting artists at their concerts, cooperated warmly with the virtuosos. The most distinguished musicians took part in their programs, whether it was fifteen pianists helping Herz perform an arrangement of the Overture to William Tell or whether it was Gottschalk, William Mason, or the young Theodore Thomas appearing with Thalberg. Local musicians also occasionally honored their more famous colleagues, as did the Philadelphia Philharmonic Society by presenting De Meyer with a trophy, and the New York Philharmonic Society by electing all three pianists honorary members.[43] The Philadelphians were showing their gratitude for De Meyer's performance at their concert, and the New York Philharmonic

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[42]British Colonist, 4 August 1846.

[43]Henry Edward Krehbiel, The Philharmonic Society of New York: A Memorial (New York: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1892), p. 174; reprinted in Early Histories of the New York Philharmonic (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979).

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had probably hoped to win a guest appearance from the pianists (none complied).[44]

In addition to assisting at concerts, professional musicians appear to have been faithful concertgoers. At his only Boston concert during his first season, De Meyer drew "an intelligent audience, amongst which were a large number of the professors and amateurs of the art."[45] For a Louisville concert of Thalberg's, "nearly all the amateurs and professors in the city" were present,[46] and for Thalberg's first concerts in New York:

> The audiences attending Thalberg's concerts have been the most distinguished in a musical sense, amateur and professional, that we ever saw assembled in a concert salon. With scarcely an exception, every pianist and musician of any note was present, and all seemed eager and anxious to listen to the great master of the piano.[47]

The opportunity of witnessing first-hand the greatest performers in the world was not to be missed by either the small-town piano teacher or the seasoned big-city professional. Attending Thalberg's concert in Columbus, Georgia, for example, was "the accomplished teacher of music

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[44]See Shanet, Philharmonic, pp. 103n. and 126.

[45]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 22 November 1845.

[46]Daily Louisville Democrat, 21 March 1858.

[47]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 22 November 1856, p. 370.

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from Talbotton."[48] William Mason's careful observation of De Meyer's performances in the United States, to which he credits a significant revelation on piano technique, has already been cited.[49] And the distinguished pianist Richard Hoffman, who performed frequently with the New York Philharmonic for over fifty years, wrote of Thalberg:

> I think I heard him every time he played in New York, as [his manager] Ullmann sent me an entrée to the concerts for the season. I had always been an ardent apostle of his methods, and the more I heard him the more I felt his claim on my admiration.[50]

This is strong testimony, indeed, when one considers that during his first season alone Thalberg performed in New York twenty-seven times in addition to giving eleven matinees.

The Ladies

Women comprised a special class of concertgoer, one that overlaps with the above categories and is by far the largest and most important.[51] As Maretzek unhesitatingly declared:

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[48]Columbus Tri-Weekly Enquirer, 9 February 1858.

[49]Memories of a Musical Life, pp. 19-20 and 69; see p. 58 of this dissertation.

[50]Some Musical Recollections, p. 130.

[51]A description of Herz's first concert in New Orleans stated: "The concert hall had a magical look: the ladies were in a large majority" (New-Orleans Bee, 24 Feburary 1847).

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> . . . The artistic thought of the United States is at the present moment engaged in developing itself through the female half of the population. Nor am I by any means suggesting a new idea in stating that it is so. The ladies in this country are the real amateurs and patrons of our own Art. . . .
>
> Indeed, beyond the principal cities, it is the ladies alone that patronize and love the Arts. These, alone, know anything about them.[52]

Judith Tick has extensively documented the important role that music played in the lives of nineteenth-century American women.[53] Women surely made up the majority of the amateurs and music lovers in these audiences, for in the mid-nineteenth century it was essential for a young woman to learn at least the fundamentals of piano playing as one of the "accomplishments" (like dancing, drawing and needlework), and the study of piano and other instruments was consistently offered in female seminaries. Not without reason did De Meyer dedicate his Vive la dance to the "Ladies of St. Louis" (see figure 9). A greater knowledge of music by women was generally conceded by many, especially

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[52]Crotchets and Quavers, pp. 318 and 71. During the period before 1870, Charles and Mary Beard believe that "women constituted the major portion of the audiences at concerts and the opera, furnished most of the students who in turn sustained the teachers, bought the printed music and the literature on the subject, subscribed to the trade journals, themselves became teachers of music, and talked the art in season and out" (The Rise of American Civilization [New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930], 2:457; quoted in Tick, American Women Composers, p. 2).

[53]See especially chapters 1 through 4 in American Women Composers.

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the average newspaper writer in small towns. After a concert in Nashville by De Meyer, a critic who confessed he had "no ear for music" could only report the impressions he observed on those more knowledgeable: "We could read in the faces of the ladies--the best judges of such matters--unmistakable evidence of delight."[54]

Writers also acknowledged how strongly women responded to music. De Meyer was especially successful in charming the New Orleans women:

> Our Creole ladies never looked more lovely than on this occasion, and testified by their continued tokens of approbation, how successful the great pianist had been in affording them pleasure.[55]

> The ladies, (and a great many of the most fashionable, from every part of the city, were present, and some on the stage,) seemed entirely carried away at moments.[56]

Special groups of women attending concerts were occasionally recognized as traveling considerable distances. For Thalberg's Charlottesville concert "several of the fair daughters of Augusta and Orange counties" were present, and for his Atlanta concert, "many of the fair ladies of

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[54]Nashville Daily Union, 7 April 1847.

[55]New Orleans Daily Delta, 21 April 1846.

[56]New Orleans Commercial Times, quoted in New York Herald, 16 May 1846.

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Marietta, Decatur, Newman, and Lagrange" were expected.[57]

Although groups of women managed to conquer great distances to attend a concert, they were restricted by a social barrier that was not as easily overcome: a woman could not venture out at night without an escort. A semi-autobiographical comic song by Faustina Hasse Hodges (1822-95), published in 1867 and titled "The Indignant Spinster," gives one woman's reaction:

> They say I am free with no one to teaze,
> Where's the use of being free? I can't do as I please;
> I make up my mind to a concert to go--
> And I can't stir a peg! all for want of a Beau![58]

The assumption that more women than men would want to attend concerts and the knowledge that women could not attend alone influenced the pricing of tickets. A practice begun for a few of De Meyer's concerts and continued by Herz allowed two tickets to "admit two ladies and a gentleman." This bargain relieved to some extent the difficulty of finding a male companion. In addition, many considered it almost a moral obligation for a man to volunteer his services. An article complaining about the high price of tickets for Thalberg's concerts in Richmond stated that "should a young gentleman

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[57]Charlottesville Advocate, 8 January 1858, quoted in Lynchburg Virginian, 13 January 1858; and Atlanta Daily Examiner, 4 February 1858.

[58]For a reproduction of the entire song and a discussion of Hodges's career, see Tick, American Women Composers, pp. 162-88.

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take a young lady, (as he certainly should do if he go himself,) he must pay $3."[59] The need for an evening escort was a major reason that Thalberg's matinee performances were so successful with women, since they could attend alone.[60]

In summary, the mid-nineteenth-century audience comprised concertgoers with a variety of reasons for attending.[61] Some, like the amateurs, music lovers, and professional musicians, went for purely musical reasons and were not disappointed. Others, like the curious and fashionable, had less noble motives for attending, but they nevertheless experienced music which they otherwise would not have heard and may eventually have grown to appreciate it. Luring people from all categories, the European virtuosos affected a wider range of Americans than their native counterparts.

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[59] Richmond Daily Whig, 8 January 1858.

[60] See chapter XI for a discussion of Thalberg's matinees.

[61] These same categories of concertgoer are of course still present today, but their relative numbers and importance have shifted.

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PART II

HENRI HERZ

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CHAPTER VI

A REFINED PARISIAN PIANIST (1846)

Perhaps no pianist could have contrasted more with De Meyer than Henri Herz (1803-88). While De Meyer was an obscure newcomer, Herz, a decade older, had a well-established reputation as pianist, composer, teacher, and piano manufacturer. De Meyer was flamboyant on stage; Herz was reserved. De Meyer was coarse, impetuous, and often bumbling in controversial matters; Herz was the perfect embodiment of an elegant, self-composed, and refined gentleman. Herz quickly surpassed De Meyer in the American public's esteem during his three-season sojourn in the United States, where he gave approximately 200 concerts in 50 cities.[1] The two men did share an adventurous spirit--which took Herz to Mexico, California, and South America--and a willingness to adapt themselves to the life of a traveling musician in the New World.

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[1]The common claim that Herz gave over 400 concerts in America is apparently based on the article on him in François-Joseph Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens, 2nd ed., 8 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866-70), 4:316-17. That number probably includes all of his concerts in the Western Hemisphere, and even then it appears to be inflated.

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In the Old World Herz had already achieved great success as a pianist and composer. Born Heinrich Herz in Vienna on 6 January 1803, he began studying piano at the age of four with his father and continued in Coblenz with Daniel Hünten, father of the pianist Franz Hünten. As a child prodigy, he entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1816, where he studied piano with Louis Pradher, theory with Victor Dourlen, and composition with Anton Reicha. He was also strongly influenced by the playing of Moscheles, who visited Paris in 1821. After years of intensive practice, he emerged as one of the most celebrated pianists of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[2] He was one of the reigning virtuoso pianists in Paris until Liszt and Thalberg partially eclipsed him in the mid-1830s. With the French capital as his base, he made numerous concert tours (several of which were with the violinist Charles Philippe Lafont) to Belgium, England, Germany, Spain, Poland, and Russia.

In addition to his career as a performer, Herz was a manufacturer of pianos, the builder and owner of an important concert hall in Paris, and an extremely popular teacher. He was professor of piano at the Conservatoire

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[2]Horst Leuchtmann, "Herz, Henri," The New Grove, 8:527; and Reinhold Sietz, "Herz, Henri," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 16 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-79), 6: cols. 293-96. For more background information on Herz, see Donald Garvelmann's introduction in Herz, Variations on Non più mesta, Op. 60 (Bronx, NY: Music Treasure Publications, 1970), pp. 2-16.

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from 1842 to 1874,[3] and also taught privately at a pace so strenuous that it became legendary. The magazine Le Corsaire satirized his incessant teaching schedule as well as his indifference toward his pupils:

> He rises at five o'clock in the morning, and goes to bed at midnight, and as long as the day lasts he gives lessons on the piano. He gives them at midnight, just as well as six o'clock in the morning--while drinking, while walking, while reposing, while, in fact, doing anything. It sometimes happens that he wakes in the night and asks his valet de chambre if there is a pupil in the anteroom.[4]

This account was probably as exaggerated as it seems. But Charles Salaman, a former pupil, corroborated it in part by claiming that the pianist's schedule was often so full that his lessons indeed had to be squeezed in at five o'clock in the morning.[5]

The Music and Performance Style of Herz

Herz was even better known as a composer than a performer or teacher. He was notoriously successful in the sales of his compositions. According to Loesser:

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[3]Constant Pierre, Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et administratifs recueillis ou reconstitués par Constant Pierre (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), p. 446.

[4]Quoted in Schonberg, The Great Pianists, p. 180.

[5]"Pianists of the Past: Personal Recollections by the late Charles Salaman," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 170 (September 1901), 310.

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> For a dozen years, until the later thirties, Herz's compositions sold more than those of any other composer whatsoever and publishers reputedly paid him four times as much per page as they did almost anyone else.[6]

Testimony abounds that his music was widely disseminated throughout America before his arrival. The New York Tribune claimed:

> Not only every artist but every lady who plays the piano is familiar with his delicate, graceful and brilliant compositions.[7]

A Philadelphia newspaper stated that "long has his music--from the instruction book to the concerto--been on every piano";[8] a Charleston paper offered similar evidence:

> There is not a house, in which there are refined inmates, who play the Piano, in which his music will not be heard![9]

The strongest declaration of his fame appeared in Savannah, Georgia:

> Herz is perhaps better known by his compositions, in America, than any other musical composer.[10]

Today, Herz's music is remembered primarily through the pungent invective of Robert Schumann. The overwhelming popularity of the virtuoso's works enraged the younger, idealistic composer and inspired him to help found

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[6]Men, Women and Pianos, p. 350.

[7]Quoted in New York Evening Post, 24 October 1846.

[8]Quoted in Mississippi Free Trader (Natchez), 28 April 1847.

[9]Charleston Courier, 23 January 1847.

[10]Savannah Daily Republican, 23 January 1847.

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in 1834 the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik. Writing twenty years later, Schumann remembered:

> The state of music in Germany was at that time hardly gratifying. Rossini still ruled the stage; Herz and Hünten, almost by themselves, held the field in piano music. And yet only a few years had passed since Beethoven, C. M. von Weber, and Franz Schubert had lived among us.[11]

Although Schumann was not sympathetic to the music of the virtuosos, he believed it had its place, however small and insignificant. Plantinga summarized Schumann's attitude toward virtuosos like Herz:

> [Schumann] concludes that they have--or ought to have--little to do with [the contemporary musical scene]. They are popular entertainers who (like Chaucer's physician) have a special love for gold; there is nothing particularly wrong about what they do, but it should not be confused with music.[12]

As this suggests, Herz consciously cultivated the lucrative market created by the growing number of parlor pianists. According to Loesser, his works were "well adapted to the capacities of the young ladies who were expected to buy them: his pieces were plausibly brilliant

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[11]Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker, ed. Martin Kreisig, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1914), 1:1; English translation in Leon Plantinga, Schumann as Critic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), p. 3.

[12]Schumann as Critic, p. 205; based on a review in Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 4/26 (29 March 1836), 111.

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but not discouragingly difficult."[13] Much of his music that was known in America (and can still be found in abundance in libraries) consisted of easier pieces he wrote specifically for the amateur performer: polkas, waltzes, rondos, and arrangements of popular tunes. The last group included, for example, his Récréations musicales (Op. 71), relatively simple settings of twenty-four famous melodies like "The Last Rose of Summer" and "The Blue Bells of Scotland."

On the other hand, Herz's music by no means appealed only to amateurs, nor were performances of it limited to the parlor, for it was standard fare for many concert pianists during the 1830s and 1840s.[14] Many of the more technically challenging works Herz performed on his tour had already been heard in America. In his compositions Herz exploited the technical improvements in piano construction that facilitated rapid passagework. As Dwight noted in a review of music by Herz and Czerny: "Piano-fortes and fingers, grown so capable, so craving of fresh difficulties, actually employ a corps of talent of no mean order to compose for them."[15] Like Schumann, Dwight had his reservations about

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[13]Men, Women and Pianos, p. 350.

[14]See chapter IX for a discussion of the role Herz's music played in the repertory of American and European pianists.

[15]"Musical Review," The Harbinger 3/9 (8 August 1846), 140.

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the music of virtuosos but at the same time acknowledged it had a function. He believed such music

> is to the real music of the soul, only what rail-roads and steam-engines and our so-called "improvements" are to the real improvement of man.
>
> We do not speak to find fault or condemn. On the contrary we shall sincerely recommend the works . . . as highly useful to those who will consider what use should be made of them.
>
> . . . [Such music] may be very useful as an exercise, by which to acquire rapidity, versatility and ease in performance. And it may be useful in the way of pleasure, such as one can very properly afford himself sometimes in going to see fire-works.[16]

Herz's large-scale works are mostly variations and fantasias, and they comprise a catalogue of virtuosic challenges. He frequently relies, however, from work to work on the same stock figurations. Instead of developing each piece organically out of the original theme, he grafts onto it a ready supply of pre-existent passagework. Dwight often complained that his works lacked unity and referred to them as "a succession of curious feats";[17] he wrote "in general of the Herzian manufactures":

> We have often been struck, while perusing his compositions, (and they are very common currency,) with the beauty of his introductory Andantes or Adagios; the theme, too, usually is given with masterly expressiveness, often with great breadth and symmetry of arrangement; and one or two good variations follow; but then immediately, as if his inspiration or his patience were exhausted, he seems to quit his hold,

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[16]"Musical Review," The Harbinger 3/9 (8 August 1846), 140-41.

[17]"Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 (30 October 1847), 327.

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> loses all unity and all connexion, beats the air with random strokes, which prove the motive irritability of the wings to have survived the over-ruling purpose of the mind, mere flights of manual execution, which dissipate the listener and come to nothing.[18]

A look at Herz's version of The Last Rose of Summer (Op. 159), composed in America, will provide a good example of his variation technique.[19] A dramatic and grandiose introduction, approximately the same length as a variation, develops the opening motive of the theme more interestingly and with greater harmonic imagination than the variations proper: it begins in C major, moves by the third measure to E major, and by the fifth to A-flat major (by way of an enharmonic G-sharp). After a central cantabile section, the introduction ends with a brilliant cadenza for the right hand (example 12). Herz presents the theme simply, with just enough ornamentation to add interest, in a way that recalls Dwight's opinion of "masterly expressiveness" (example 13). Three variations ensue that rigidly follow the harmonic structure of the theme. The first variation includes sixteenth-note passagework for the right hand with suggestions of the theme (example 14). The second retains the theme but transforms it into a march (although the meter is still 3/4) with staccato accompaniment (example 15).
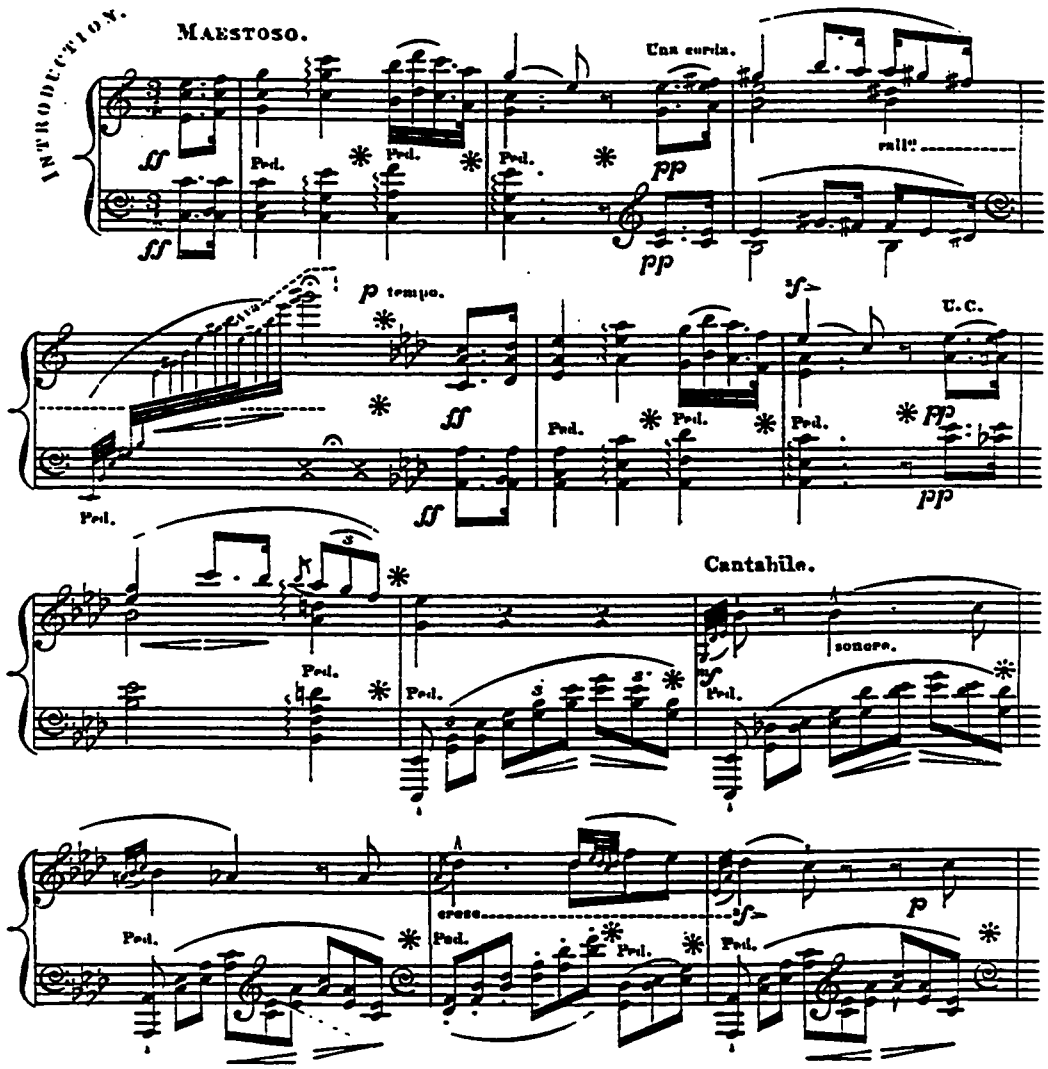
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[18]"Art Review: Music in Boston," The Harbinger 6/4 (27 November 1847), 29.

[19]This is a more difficult version than his earlier setting of the tune as part of his Récréations musicales.

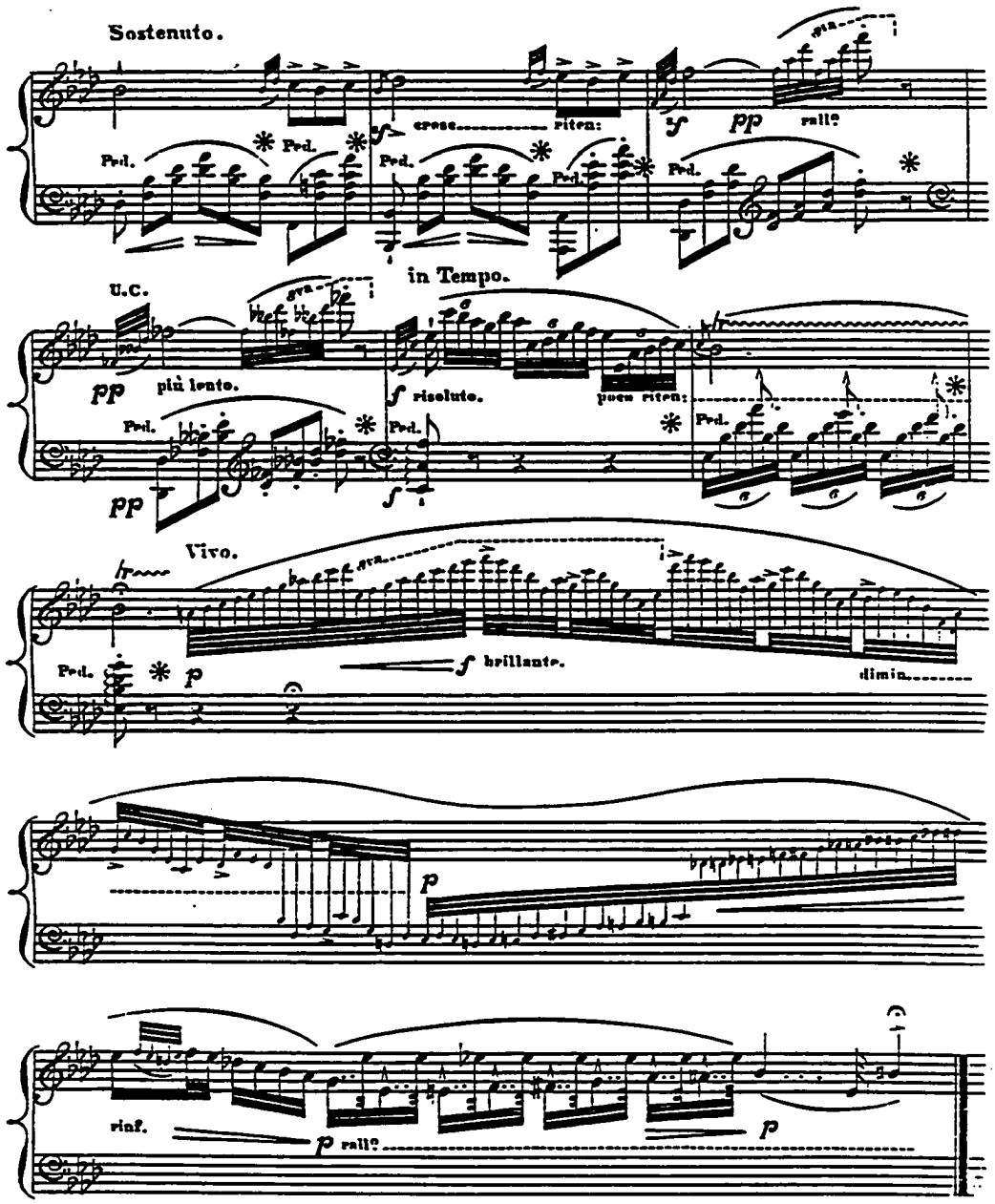
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Example 12. Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, Introduction (continued on following page).



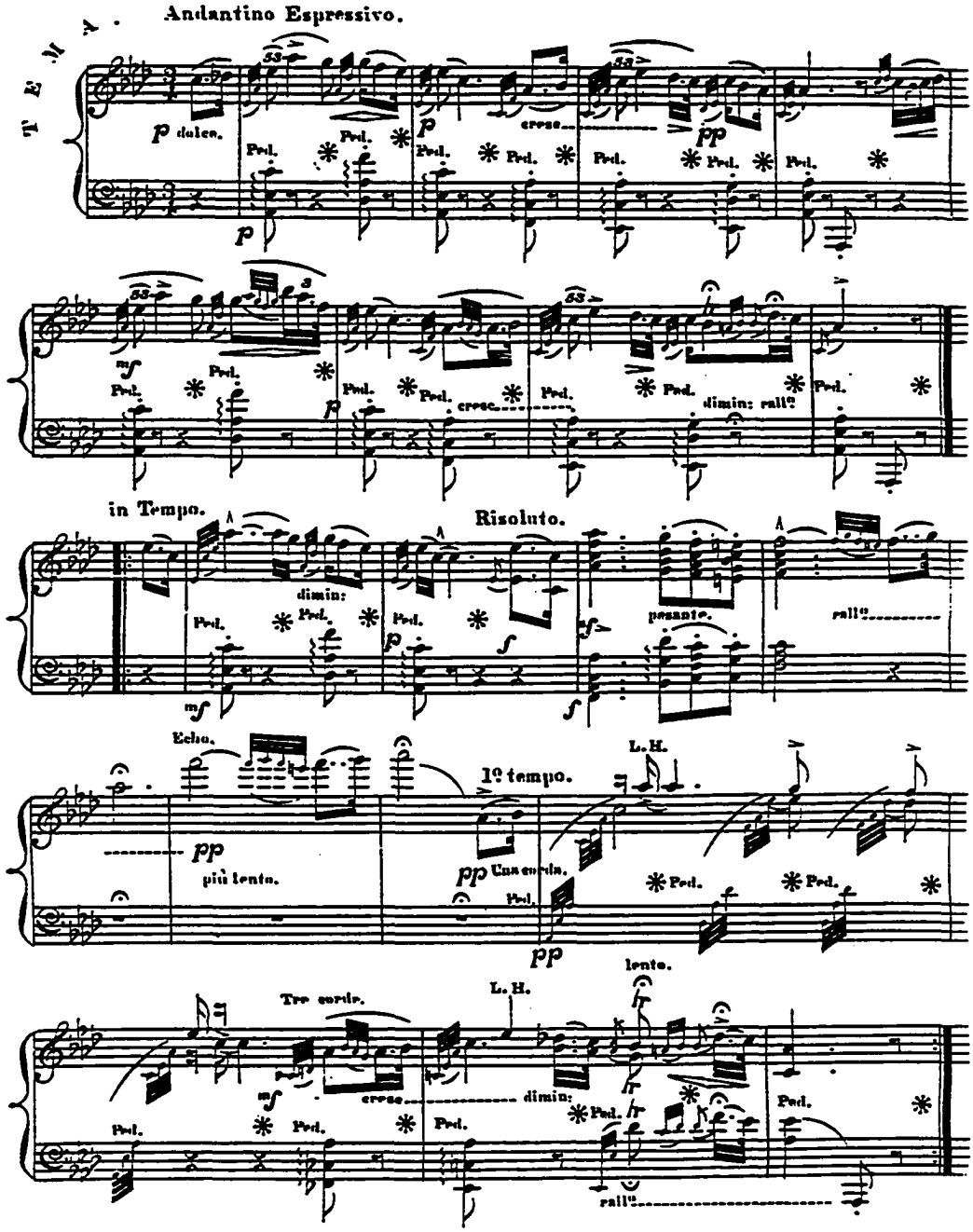
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Example 12 (continued). Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, Introduction (continued).
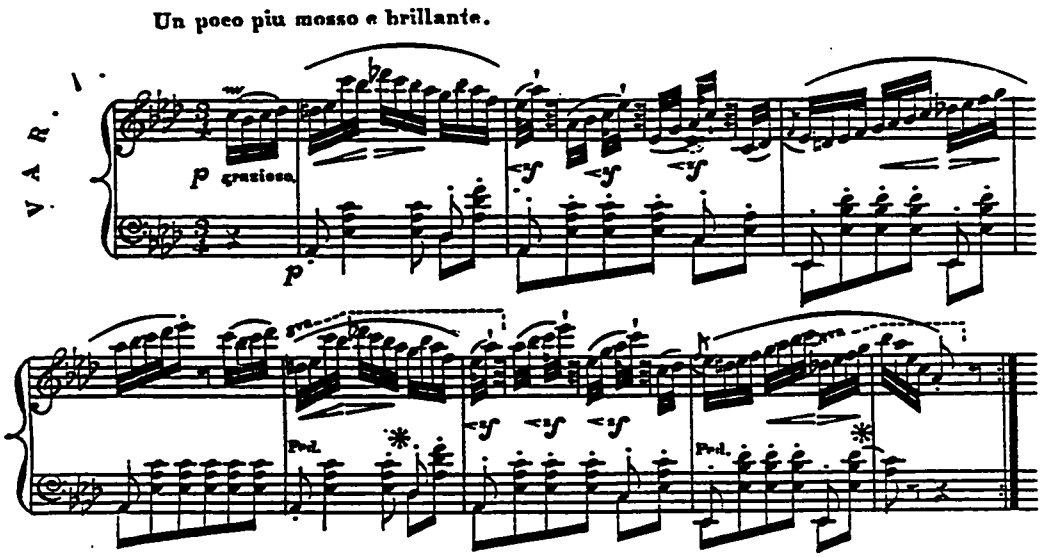


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Example 13. Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, Theme.

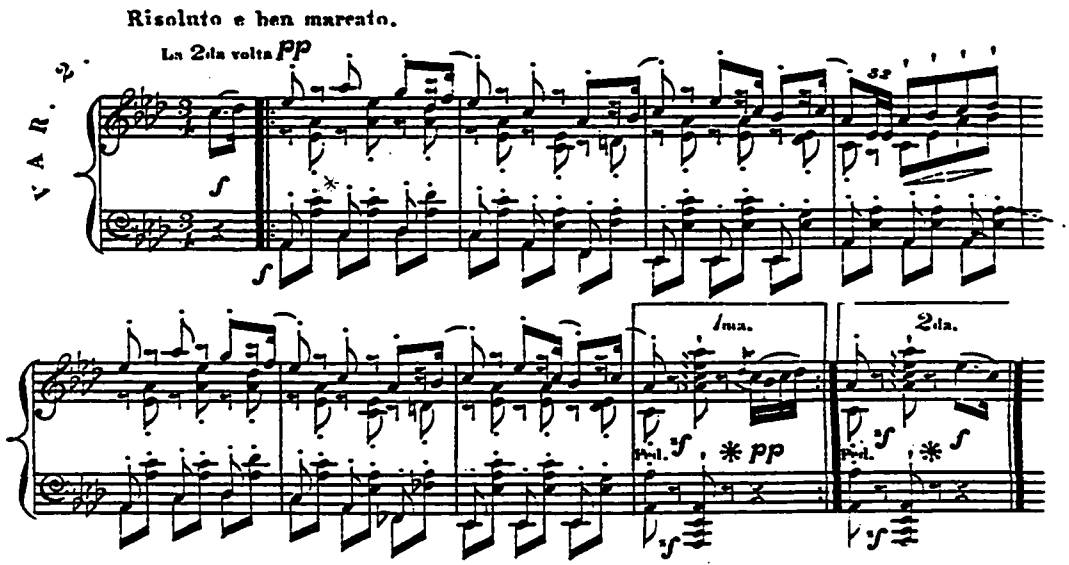


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Example 14. Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, Variation 1, measures 1-8.



Example 15. Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, Variation 2, measures 1-9.



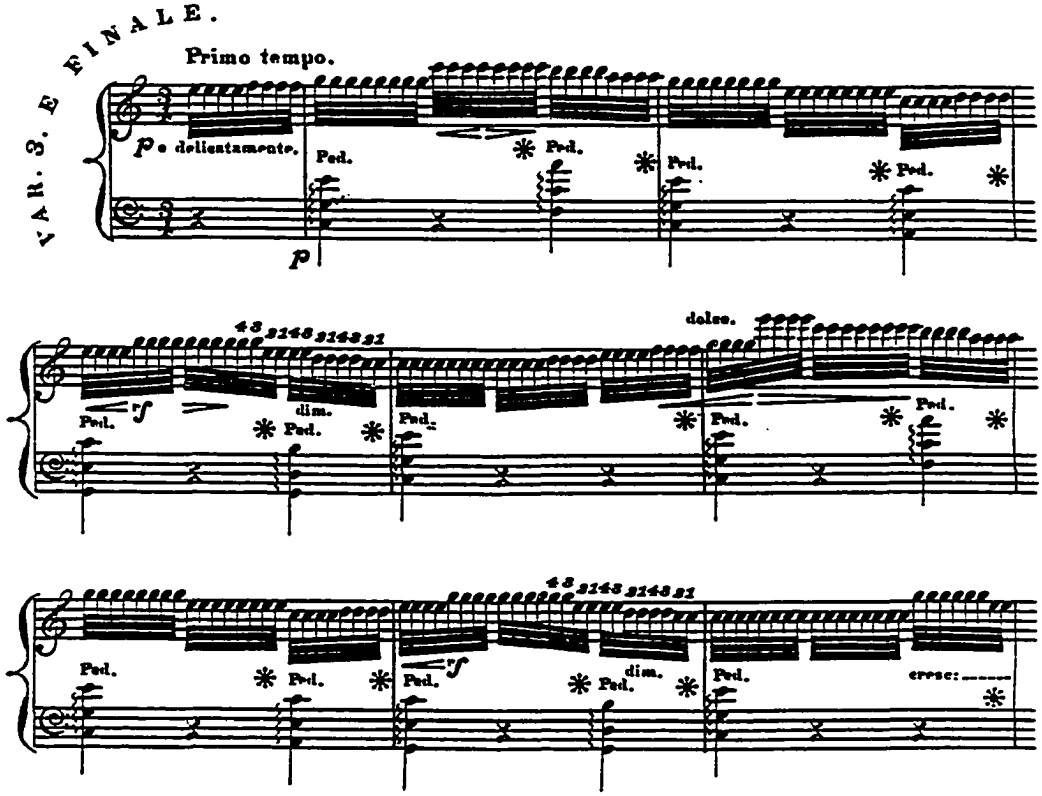
After a brief interlude, the third variation employs a favorite device of Herz: the theme presented in rapidly, but delicately, repeated notes with the barest of accompaniments

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(example 16). This last figuration, generally referred to as a tremolo effect, was possible only with the recent perfection of the double-escapement action.[20] Perhaps jarred by the marchlike second variation, Dwight found

> the wealth of beauty in which he clothed the "Last Rose of Summer," performed with all that inimitable grace and finish, which mark everything that comes from his fingers, was not much heightened by some of the grotesque, incongruous variations by which he attempted to prolong its impression.[21]

Example 16. Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, Variation 3, measures 1-8.



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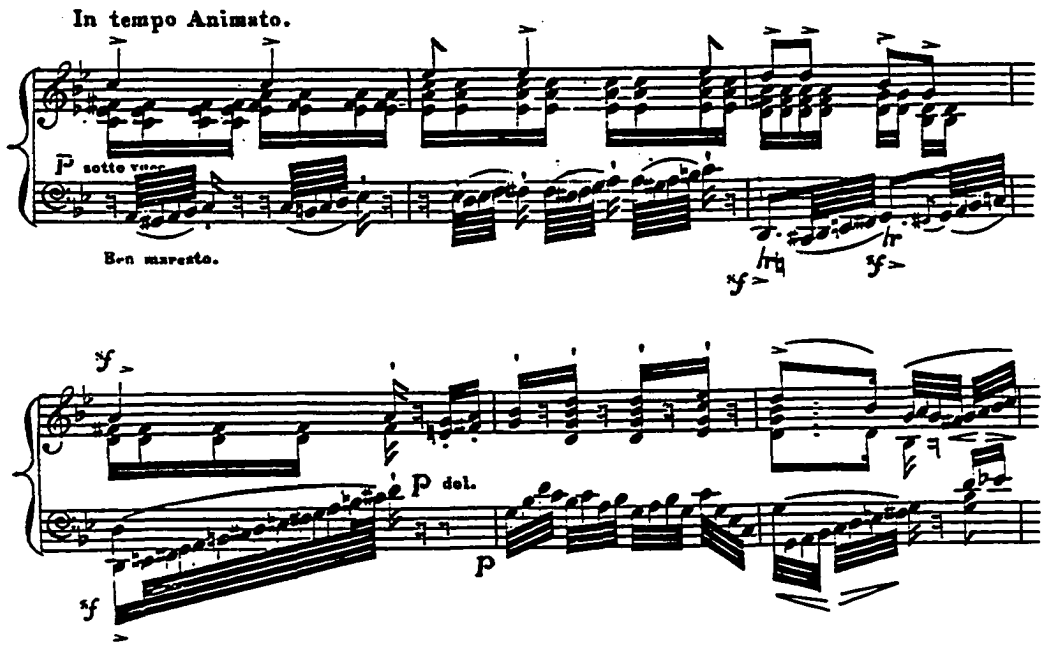
[20]A Buffalo critic described this as a "tromolo [sic] variation with exquisite sweetness, and an effect which was entirely new to us" (quoted in Rochester Daily American, 16 August 1847).

[21]"Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 (30 October 1847), 327.

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Herz's two other sets of variations composed in America are similar to those on The Last Rose of Summer in their variation technique and moderate difficulty. His Impromptu burlesque sur des mélodies populaires des Christy's Ménestrels (Op. 162) consists of variations on Stephen Foster's "Oh! Susanna" and E. P. Christy's "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia."[22] Motives from both themes appear in the introduction, which, given the nature of the tunes, has a mock-dramatic effect. The chorus of "Oh! Susanna," for example, appears in G minor with diminished-seventh chords and rumblings in the bass (example 17). After the

Example 17. Herz, Impromptu burlesque sur des mélodies populaires des Christy's Ménestrels, Introduction, measures 13-18.



[22]The latter song is not to be confused with another minstrel song with a similar title, James Bland's "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," written in the 1870s.

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introduction, "Oh! Susanna" is presented simply, then followed by two variations; an interlude leads into a statement of "Carry Me Back" (as the song's title is given on the sheet music) and one variation; and the two themes join in a flashy coda, with the 6/8 meter of "Carry Me Back" changed into a marchlike duple meter. A similar combination of related tunes occurs in Herz's Variations brillantes et grande fantaisie sur des airs nationaux américains. "Jackson's March," "Hail Columbia," and "Yankee Doodle" are each varied individually before the three are united in a rousing finale (examples 18 and 19).[23] Loesser described the work as "a rather good piece of its meretricious kind, but much too hard for most girls."[24]

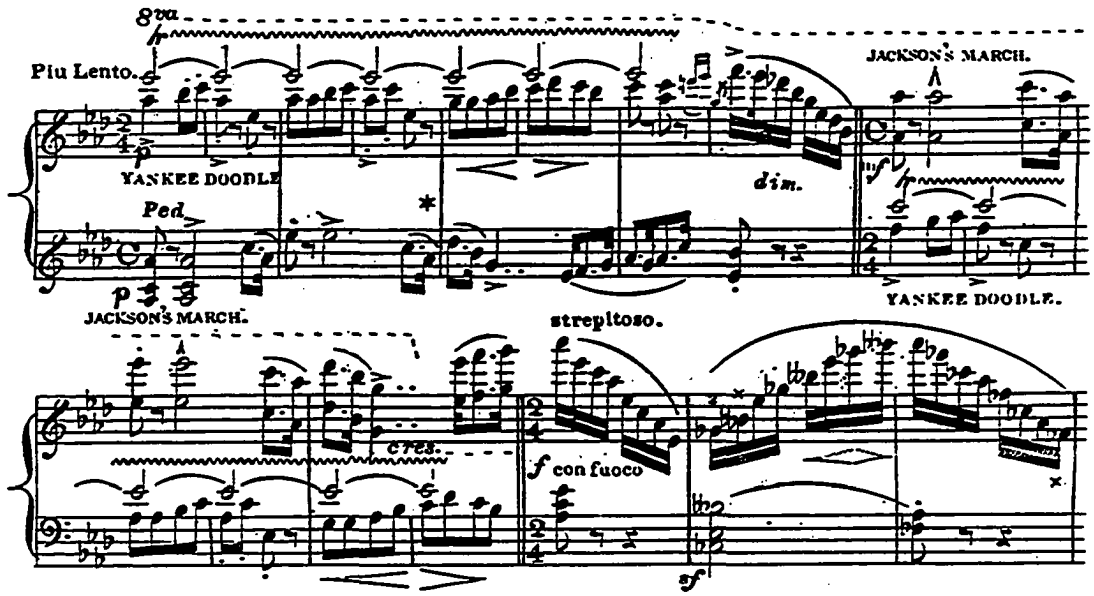
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[23]Through this work Herz exploited the even greater than usual amount of American patriotism, aroused by the War with Mexico. The successful American campaigns and imminent conclusion of the war can be followed in concert advertisements of what was almost surely the same work. Less than two weeks after the Battle of Buena Vista and two weeks before the Battle of Vera Cruz, Herz announced the work's first performance at a concert in Mobile on 5 April 1847, for which it was "expressly composed and executed for the first time in America"; he made a similar claim a few days later for a New Orleans concert (9 April). A month later in Vicksburg (4 May), the piece became the "Victory of Vera Cruz . . . expressly composed on that occasion"; yet another month later in St. Louis (1 June), it was "The Battle of Buena Vista . . . expressly composed in honor of that event"; two weeks later in Nashville (15 June) it became "The Return of the Volunteers . . . dedicated to the hospitable Citizens of Nashville," and which Herz was to "execute for the First Time In This Country" (Mobile Register and Journal, 5 April 1847; New Orleans Daily Picayune, 9 April 1847; Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig, 4 May 1847; Saint Louis Daily Union, 1 June 1847; and Nashville Daily Union, 14 June 1847). Only the Vicksburg announcement lists the three tunes used in the piece, but each time the piece was identified as a "national fantasia."

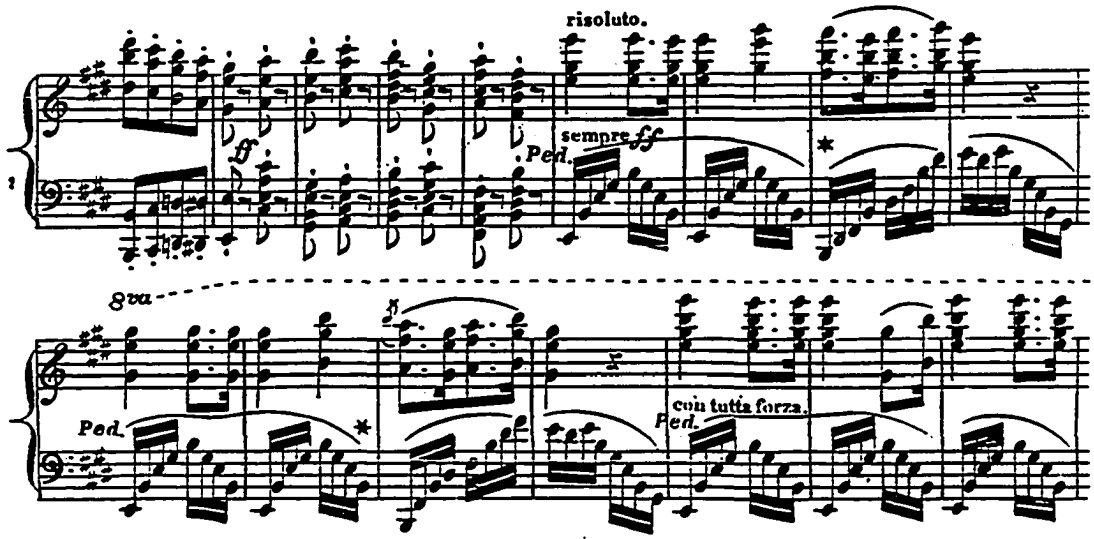
[24]Men, Women and Pianos, pp. 488-89.

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Example 18. Herz, Variations brillantes et grande fantaisie sur des airs nationaux américains, measures 229-45.



Example 19. Herz, Variations brillantes et grande fantaisie sur des airs nationaux américains, measures 278-93.



The other works Herz composed in America were more specifically designed for amateurs with their less strenuous technical demands. These include his Mélodies de Christy, a

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simpler setting of several minstrel tunes,[25] a group of Three New American Polkas (Op. 160),[26] a moderately difficult Tribut à l'Amérique (Op. 161), comprising a nocturne and polka, and another polka, La Californienne (Op. 167).

Herz also composed a number of works for piano and orchestra, including eight piano concertos, which generally enjoyed a better critical reception than his other works. A recent discovery has shown that Schumann studied carefully the first movement of Herz's First Piano Concerto in A major while working on an early, unfinished concerto in 1830-31.[27] The New York Evening Mirror considered his Second Concerto a "composition of rare merit,"[28] and Richard Grant White, the critic for the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, praised it highly:

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[25]The minstrel tunes used include "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia," "Oh! Susanna," and "Stop Dat Knocking."

[26]The polkas are titled The Comic Polka, The Silver Bell Polka, and The Military Polka.

[27]Claudia Macdonald, "Schumann's F-Major Piano Concerto of 1831," Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, 26 October 1984. In his sketchbook, for example, Schumann made a table comparing the structure of his movement with the first movement of Herz's concerto. Moreover, Schumann's development section is similar in form and general content to that of Herz. For more information, see Macdonald, Robert Schumann's F-Major Piano Concerto of 1831 as Reconstructed from his First Sketchbook: A History of its Composition and Study of its Musical Background (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, in preparation). Schumann later glibly reviewed his Second Concerto: "Herz's Second Concerto is in C minor, and is recommended to those who liked his first" (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 4/26 [29 March 1836], 111; English translation in Plantinga, Schumann as Critic, p. 205).

[28]12 November 1846.

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> His second Concerto . . . gives him a high place as a composer for the piano forte. It is a beautifully chaste, simple, and symmetrical composition, and gives evidence of a capacity for orchestral writing, not always found or to be expected in pianists. . . . The piano forte passages are brilliant and highly effective, and the orchestra is admirably handled. Indeed throughout, this composition shows thought, and is not one of those flimsy combinations,--called concertos by some modern performers,--composed of rapid airs with humdrum accompaniments and unmeaning cadenzas, and which might as well be played commencing at the middle or the end, as at the beginning.[29]

While in the United States, Herz also performed his Fourth Piano Concerto and three of his other works for piano and orchestra, one based on the march from Rossini's Otello, another on the march from William Tell, and one on the trio from Hérold's Le Pré aux clercs. The latter are less successful as orchestral works, for the accompaniment is of little importance, and Herz often performed them in solo versions. Nevertheless, Dwight thought Le Pré aux clercs as a solo piece was "a spirited and graceful composition, with more unity, more systematic and significant development than we sometimes find in his too ingenious and unnaturally elaborated strings of variations."[30] Suttoni, in his study of opera fantasias, discusses this work and finds that "Herz, as a writer of variations, never loses sight of the thematic outline or thread thus allowing the variation to degenerate

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[29]31 October 1846.

[30]"Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 (30 October 1847), 327. Dwight wrote a disparaging review, however, of the Otello work in "Musical Review," The Harbinger 3/9 (8 August 1846), 140-41.

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into mere passagework as Kalkbrenner sometimes does."[31]
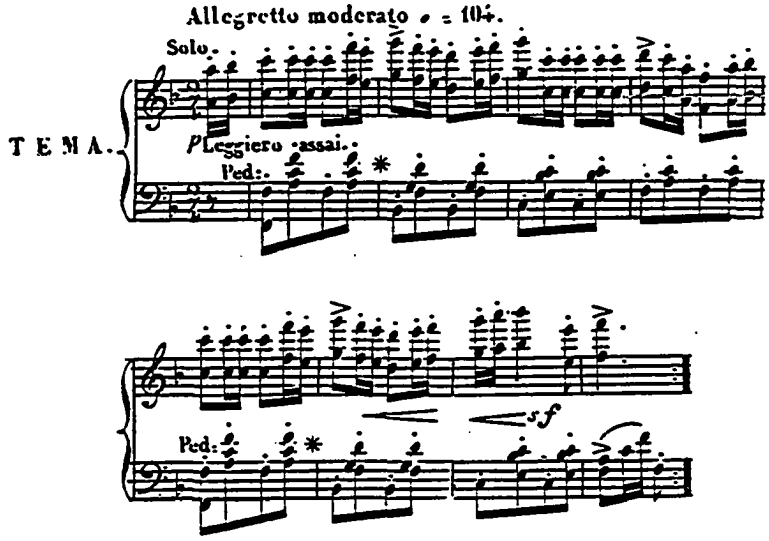
Herz's variations on the trio ("C'en est fait le ciel même") from Le Pré aux Clercs consists of an introduction, a theme, four variations, and a finale, each separated by an orchestral tutti. Following a slow introduction, the piano presents the spirited theme in staccato octaves with a perfunctory accompaniment (example 20). The first variation consists of rapid scalar passages for the right hand, not unlike the first variation of The Last Rose of Summer. The second and third variations are more inventive in their figuration and in their relationship to the theme. The second concentrates on the ascending three-note motive of the theme's opening and its inversion (example 21). The third variation also begins with the ascending motive, but the variation is soon lost in an intricate web of crossing hands and interlocking chromatic chords (example 22). After a slow fourth variation, the finale includes essentially another variation of the theme and a restatement of the first variation before a bouncy version of the theme appears, melodically intact but rhythmically varied (example 23).
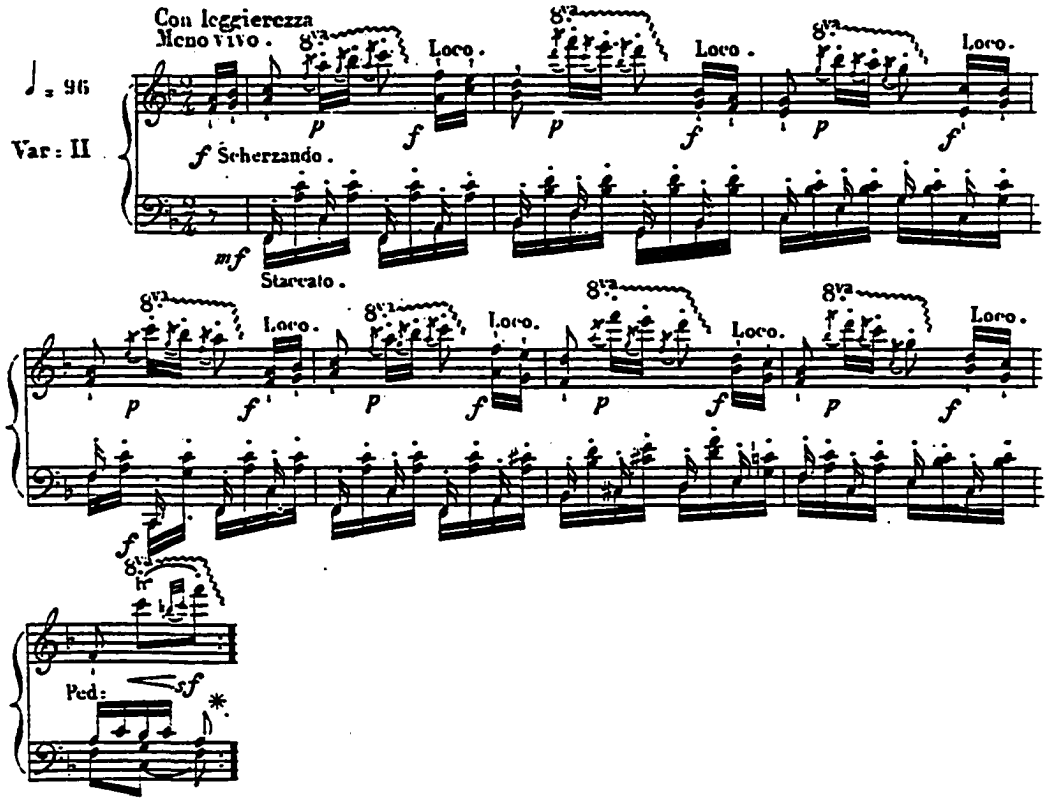
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[31]Charles R. Suttoni, Piano and Opera: A Study of the Piano Fantasies Written on Opera Themes in the Romantic Era (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 136. This study provides an excellent background on the function of the opera fantasia and contains analyses of many works.

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Example 20. Herz, Variations brillantes . . . sur le trio favori du Pré aux clercs, Theme, measures 1-8.

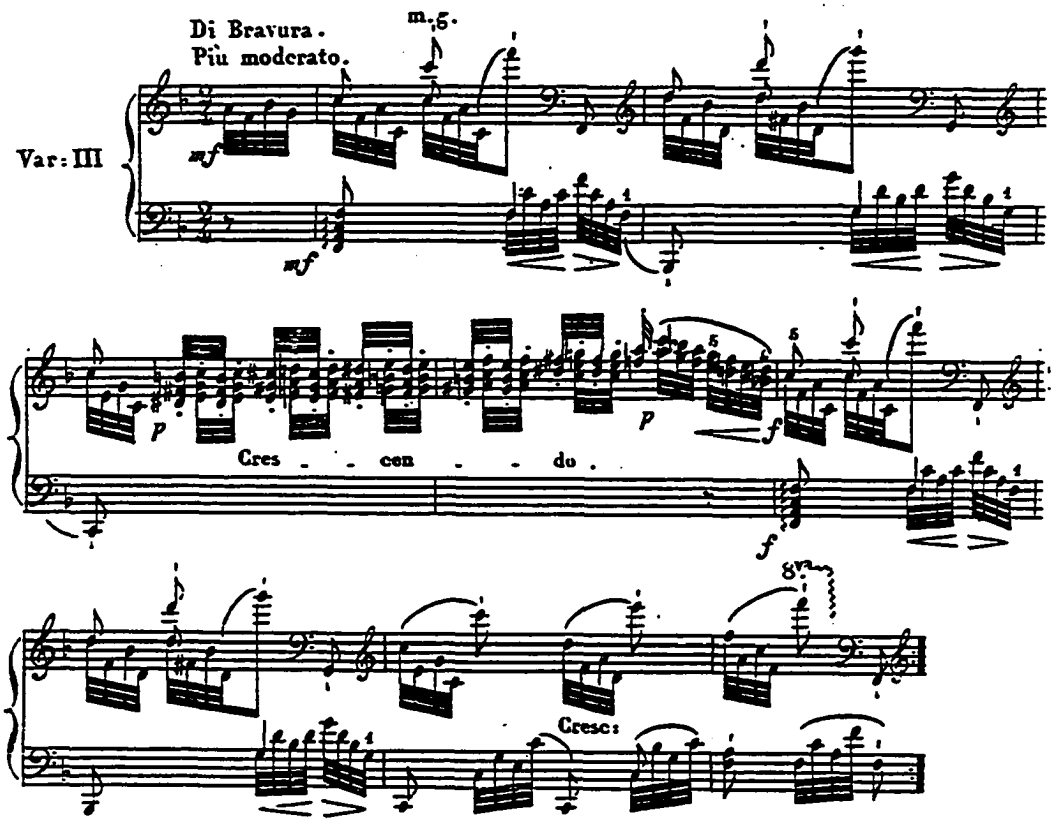


Example 21. Herz, Variations brillantes . . . sur le trio favori du Pré aux clercs, Variation 2, measures 1-8.
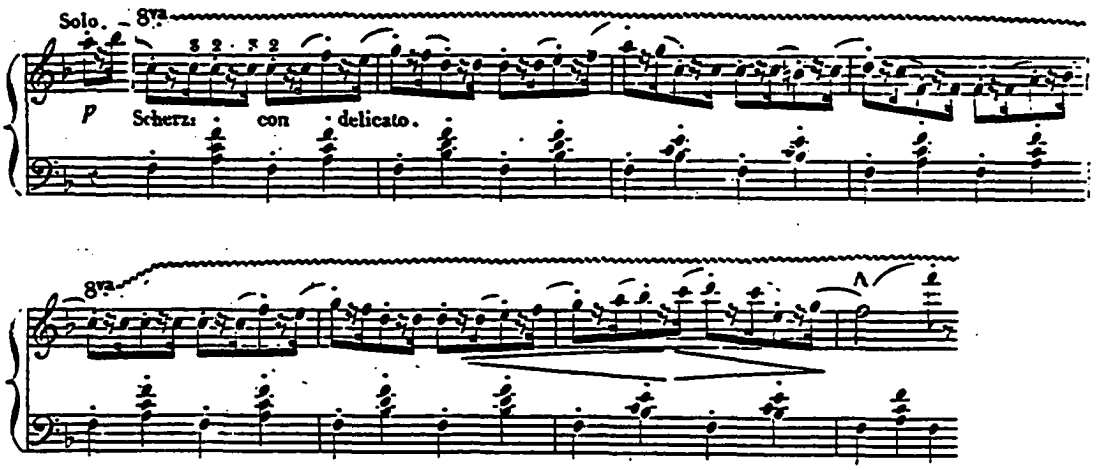


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Example 22. Herz, Variations brillantes . . . sur le trio favori du Pré aux clercs, Variation 3, measures 1-8.



Example 23. Herz, Variations brillantes . . . sur le trio favori du Pré aux clercs, Finale, measures 115-22.



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Other works that Herz performed while in America include his fantasias on Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia and Lucia di Lammermoor, Bellini's Norma and I Puritani, Auber's L'Ambassadrice, and Méhul's Joseph.[32] With guest artists he presented several of his own works for two pianos based on Rossini's La Donna del lago and William Tell, Meyerbeer's Il Crociato in Egitto, and Auber's Le Philtre.

In addition to performing his own compositions, Herz also improvised. By the 1840s improvisation was a dying art, and Herz was one of the few pianists to continue the tradition while in America. Thalberg evidently did not improvise, and De Meyer generally seems only to have woven together excerpts from his own works with improvised

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[32]Dwight considered Herz's Fantasia on Lucrezia Borgia "one of the most forcible and exciting, as well as chaste, compositions which have come from his hand" ("Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 [30 October 1847], 328).

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transitions while playing encores.[33] On only three occasions, however, did Herz specifically advertise improvisation: at his last Louisville concert (26 June 1847), he gave an "extemporaneous performance . . . on any popular airs presented to [him]," and at his first concerts in San Francisco (2 April 1850) and Sacramento (16 April 1850), he gave an "extemporaneous performance on several American, French, Italian and German popular songs."[34] These three appearances differed from most of his others, for in gold-rush California he had to attract a more diverse clientele than usual;[35] and in Louisville, where the last three of his five appearances took place in a theater, he

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[33]When De Meyer's Carnival of Venice was encored in New Orleans, "he re-appeared on the platform, and just after commencing its repetition, most gracefully and happily made it glide into our national airs" (unidentified New Orleans newspaper quoted in New York Herald, 30 April 1846). At Burke's concert in New York, "his Semiramis was encored, and he commenced the introduction to the national airs; but he only treated us to Yankee Doodle, which he quickly left and burst into his magnificent Russian airs" (New York Evening Mirror, 23 October 1846). Occasionally the encores were more complex, as in Boston: "Being encored, he gave a medley, commencing with some very sweet and sentimental air, then passing to the Poeme d'Amour, we believe, of Henselt, thence through the Star Spangled Banner, back into the Carnival again" (Boston Chronotype, quoted in Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 17 October 1846; also in Dwight, "De Meyer Again in Boston," The Harbinger 3/20 [24 October 1846], 318).

[34]Louisville Daily Democrat, 26 June 1847; Alta California, 2 April 1850; and Sacramento Transcript, 16 April 1850.

[35]See chapter VIII for a discussion of Herz in California.

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was trying to appeal to a nonmusical audience.[36]

Elsewhere Herz limited his improvising to encores. At his third New York concert, for example, he gave as an encore "variations on two of our familiar Southern melodies," and at his fourth a "series of variations on 'Yankee Doodle.'"[37] In Boston during his second season, he gave an encore that Dwight described as "a fantastic improvisation leading into some delicious variations of 'Sweet Home,'" and for another he "exquisitely rendered" a "pot pourri of popular airs" that included "Home, Sweet Home" and "Lucy Neal."[38]

In his memoir Herz implies he improvised regularly. He complains he was "condemned . . . to improvising" because the manager of his tour, Bernard Ullman, believed the

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[36]Another unusual feature of his appearances at the theater in Louisville was his interpolation of popular tunes within his opera fantasias: in his performance of Lucia di Lammermoor, he "introduced the favorite Scotch air, 'The Blue Bells of Scotland'"; in I Puritani, he introduced "Lucy Neal," and in Pré aux clercs "Home, Sweet Home" (Louisville Daily Democrat, 24, 25, and 26 June 1847).

[37]New York Herald, 11 and 14 November 1846. By "Southern melodies" the writer no doubt meant minstrel tunes. "Oh! Susanna" could not have been one of them, however, for it did not receive its first performance until a year later.

[38]Dwight, "Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 (30 October 1847), 328; and Boston Post, 27 October 1847. Herz gave the encores at the concerts of 21 and 23 October 1847.

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American public wanted it.[39] His initial reaction to the suggestion that he comply with their desire was anything but favorable:

> "Improvise in public! That is very dangerous. One's imagination can suddenly fail, and it is painful to reveal oneself before the world in such pretentious impotence."[40]

Ullman was not solely responsible for the decision to improvise, however, for Herz had already improvised before engaging Ullman and he was under no one's management while in California.

The extent to which Herz truly improvised is impossible to tell, however, for his encores could easily have been rehearsed. He had indeed proposed to Ullman that he memorize his improvisations, although Ullman rejected the idea.[41] That Herz later published variations on several of the themes he used for his apparent improvisations suggests that at some point they reached definitive states which he hoped the public would believe were spontaneous creations.

The music of Herz was quintessentially Parisian in its superficial brilliance. As a typical example of the period, Mendelssohn viewed Herz charitably:

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[39]Travels, p. 54 (p. 181).

[40]Ibid., p. 51 (p. 170).

[41]Ibid.

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> After all, I like him; he certainly is a characteristic figure of these times, of the year 1834; and as Art should be a mirror reflecting the character of the times,--as Hegel or some one else probably says somewhere,--he certainly does reflect most truly all salons and vanities, and a little yearning, and a deal of yawning, and kid gloves, and musk, a scent I abhor.[42]

Although Herz's music frequently demanded virtuoso technique, it remained delicate and never became bombastic. As a Mobile critic wrote: "His music is charming for its sweetness, good taste, and a sort of finished, quiet execution that denotes the gentleman as well as artist."[43]

At the piano, Herz was like his music: suave and polished. A New Orleans critic characterized his style as "pure, clear, tasteful, and replete with elegance and grace."[44] His performance was effortless, his technique

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[42]Letter to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles, 26 June 1834, in Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles, ed. and trans. Felix Moscheles (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1888; reprint ed., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), p. 112. Just two years earlier (10 August 1832) Mendelssohn had written Moscheles: "But why should I hear those Variations by Herz for the thirtieth time? They give me as little pleasure as rope-dancers or acrobats: for with them at least there is the barbarous attraction that one is in constant dread of seeing them break their necks, though they do not do so, after all; but the piano-tumblers do not as much as risk their lives, only our ears; and that, I for one will not countenance. I only wish it were not my lot to be constantly told that the public demand that kind of thing. I, too, am one of the public, and demand the very reverse" (p. 30).

[43]Alabama Planter, 22 February 1847, p. 91.

[44]New-Orleans Bee, 1 March 1847.

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immaculate, and his tone crystalline, according to a Boston writer:

> Herz is emphatically a great performer; less dashing in manner than many of his predecessors but <u>great</u> because with apparently little effort, he executes the most difficult passages with rapidity and neatness, with strength and the most precision. His delicacy of touch is remarkable, and from beneath his facile fingers each note comes forth clear, liquid, harmonious.[45]

Whatever reservations Dwight may have had about Herz's compositions, he was positively rhapsodic about his performance:

> It seems almost impossible to conceive of anything more perfect than Herz's mastery of his instrument. His touch so delicate, precise, and forcible, individualizing every note, and economizing to the best purpose the material of beauty commanded by each key; his running passages so smooth and even, that a gentle breeze playing over the bending surface of a field of grain could not announce its presence by a more sure and uniform and quiet display of power; his admirable graduation of force and accent through the whole; his power of imparting life and lustre to every form of melody, till the whole thing gleamed like burnished steel as it passed by you; and the accomplishment of all this with less show of exertion than it costs an ordinary player to perform an easy piece:--all this made real the imagination we have always had of Herz.[46]

Herz's performance style contrasted sharply with that of De Meyer. This is obvious not only from written descriptions of their playing but from iconographic evidence as well. Although no depiction of Herz at the keyboard has been found, in all illustrative material the pianist is

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[45]<u>Boston Daily Evening Transcript</u>, 21 December 1846.

[46]"Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," <u>The Harbinger</u> 5/21 (30 October 1847), 327.

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portrayed as utterly composed (see figure 11), the antithesis of "The Lion Pianist."

The public who had been whipped into a frenzy by De Meyer's energetic performances now basked in the calm playing of Herz. According to a Cincinnati writer:

> In the piano performance of Herz, there is a tone--a sweetness--a chain of melody,--that enraptures--unlike the hail-storm clatter of De Meyer.[47]

Some perhaps were even a little embarrassed for having become so readily infatuated with the earlier pianist and now did not hesitate to criticize him in light of their new discovery:

> We were much pleased with the quiet and unassuming manner of Mr. Hertz [sic] while performing, so different from that of De Meyer, who by his disgusting buffoonery, materially marred his performance in the eyes of all persons of taste.[48]

A more precise--and perhaps fairer--contrast between the two pianists appeared in Pittsburgh:

> The difference between De Meyer and Herz, appears to us to be that the former astonishes, while the latter charms the ear. One marvels at the dexterous and wonderful execution of De Meyer, but he surrenders his heart to the delicious melody of Herz. Both are great--but to our perceptions Herz is by far the greater.[49]

The performance styles of the two pianists were

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[47]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 5 July 1847.

[48]Alta California, 3 April 1850.

[49]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 21 July 1847.

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Fig. 11. Lithograph of Herz (1840s).
(Music Division, New York Public Library,
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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inextricably wedded to their own music: while De Meyer's Marche marocaine provoked strong visceral responses, Herz's delicate variations appealed to the sentimental emotions so easily aroused in nineteenth-century Americans. His treatment of "The Last Rose of Summer"--a melody already beloved in the United States--spoke directly to the hearts of his listeners.[50] The Alabama Planter of Mobile reported one reaction to Herz's performance of this piece:

> It was like a performer sitting down to amuse himself--there was no apparent effort to make a display, but the delicacy and softness of the execution, united with its vigor and correctness, were positively enchanting. De Meyer may break a piano, but Herz can break a heart, which I hold to be a good evidence of the possession of the poetry of music, if not the power to astonish the scientific. If Moore had been there to hear the air of the "Last Rose of Summer," he would have shed tears.[51]

Herz's cool manner was not to everyone's taste. The New-York Daily Tribune, after extravagantly praising his technique, demurred:

> But we must confess that we were not excited by his playing; nor did it seem to be any part of the effect at which he aimed to rouse his hearers--rather to

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[50]For a discussion of the immense popularity of Thomas Moore's Irish Melodies, of which "'Tis the Last Rose of Summer" is "perhaps the most popular of all," see Charles Hamm, Yesterdays: Popular Song in America (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), pp. 44-59.

[51]15 February 1847, p. 88. In view of such a rapturous account, the editor felt obliged to note that the writer "is a good musician himself, but his friends think that occasionally he is a little crazed."

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> subdue, delight and soothe them with such fairy-like speech as would have stayed Shakespeare himself to hear.[52]

The Albion also had reservations:

> His andantes are given with much feeling and expression, but deep and thrilling passion is by no means a characteristic of his performance,--indeed it would not be in keeping with his compositions.[53]

But Herz's execution was so remarkable, especially when he was performing his own works, that few people were able to find fault.

First Concerts

Herz states that his decision to visit America was "partly to obey my natural inclination to travel and partly in answer to the frequent pleas that I allow myself to be heard in the United States."[54] His own account of his American travels is illuminating, though more so in describing social customs than musical matters. It is incomplete, misleading chronologically, and frequently untrustworthy, and therefore it must be used with care. For example, he conflates his three seasons in the United

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[52] 31 October 1847.

[53] 31 October 1846, p. 528.

[54] Travels, p. 1 (p. 3). An earlier, slightly different version of his account, titled "Mes Souvenirs de voyage en Amérique," appeared as a series in La France musicale 15/41 (12 October 1851) - 16/8 (22 February 1852); see the Bibliography for a complete listing of these articles and English translations of several of them.

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States into one and makes no mention of his tour of the Midwest.

Herz's substantial reputation allowed him to begin his American tour quietly. He arrived in Boston without advance notice on 21 October 1846 on board the steamship Caledonia.[55] Despite the urging of Boston citizens to give his first concerts there, he continued immediately to New York, where his surprise appearance the following evening in the audience at a concert by Joseph Burke caused a "great sensation."[56]

Such an unobtrusive arrival immediately distinguished Herz from De Meyer and endeared him to many critics who had grown weary of the publicity tactics of the Lion Pianist and others. The New York Tribune, for example, stated:

> An exception to those who have lately sought the United States for the purpose of reaping rich rewards for the exercise of their talents, Mr. Herz comes among us utterly unheralded, unpuffed, with no sounding of trumpets nor parade of great names.[57]

Also unlike De Meyer, Herz arrived in the United States without engagements or a manager, wanting "to be free to

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[55]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 22 October 1846. Herz's statement that he left Liverpool for Boston on 2 November 1846--four days after his American debut--is just one of his many lapses (Travels, p. 2 [p. 4]).

[56]New York Evening Post, 24 October 1846.

[57]Quoted in New York Evening Post, 24 October 1846.

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follow [his] own fancy."[58] Yet he wasted no time in scheduling his first concert, which took place in New York on 29 October 1846 at the Tabernacle; three more followed in quick succession on 5, 10, and 13 November.[59] Herz was consistently well received at these concerts. The Albion described the enthusiastic welcome at his first concert:

> The reception which greeted his appearance in the Orchestra, must indeed have been in the highest degree gratifying, for rarely has such continuous and universal applause been awarded to any Artist who has visited this country. . . . Mr. Herz was applauded to the very echo in every piece, and was twice called before the people. The Concerto [No. 2] was twenty five minutes long, and yet the public demanded its repetition, and we think it would have been well had Mr. Herz repeated the Rondo, but he merely acknowledged the call by a bow and then retired.[60]

An audience of between 2,600 to 2,800 attended his third concert,[61] and "if there was even a standing place vacant in the spacious building, there were many outside who would

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[58]Herz, Travels, p. 17 (p. 59).

[59]Herz claims to have given "six or eight musical performances . . . in New York before going to Philadelphia" rather than the four he actually gave (Travels, p. 29 [p. 96]).

[60]31 October 1846, p. 528.

[61]New York Evening Mirror, 12 November 1846. The Mirror stated authoritatively that "the Tabernacle when crammed will not hold over thirty-one or two hundred: it will not seat over twenty-two hundred."

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have been glad to have occupied it."[62] At his fourth concert "the audience was very large and brilliant, nearly equalling that of his third concert."[63]

In each of his first four New York concerts (and in many of his concerts in other large cities) Herz usually offered two works with orchestra and one solo piece.[64] In addition, he often performed a duo with a local violinist or pianist--in New York with violinist Michael (or Michele) Rapetti and pianists Henry C. Timm and eight-year-old Anne M. Cole. He made a special attempt to involve as many local performers as possible, a policy which almost immediately entangled him in a minor controvery with Rapetti. Rapetti was the orchestra conductor at the Astor Place Opera House and had led the orchestra at Herz's first two concerts in addition to performing a duo with Herz. When the pianist

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[62]New York Herald, 11 November 1846. The Herald believed "the assembly was the largest we ever saw collected at any public entertainment in the city." The New York Evening Post (11 November 1846) concurred that "the Tabernacle was so excessively crowded last evening that a large number of people had to go away" and claimed that "on only one occasion before have we seen so many persons in the building."

[63]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 14 November 1846.

[64]The orchestra was apparently not very large, at least for the first concert. It was billed as "a select orchestra"--a typical phrase--but one critic thought "it was small enough to have been more select" (Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 31 October 1846). The Albion agreed that "it was too few in numbers to make much effect in the overtures played" (31 October 1846, p. 528).

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engaged George Loder, who assisted at De Meyer's concerts during this season and occasionally conducted the New York Philharmonic Society, as the conductor for his third and fourth concerts, Rapetti issued a letter in the newspapers (such a paid communication was generally referred to as a "card") claiming that Herz chose Loder because a powerful faction with press connections had threatened to sabotage his concerts if he continued to use Rapetti. Rapetti feared that the sudden change in conductors would imply Herz was dissatisfied with his work.[65]

Both Herz and Loder rebutted these charges,[66] and the Herald and the Evening Mirror answered on Herz's behalf; the latter praised him for not succumbing to the monopoly held by some local musicians:

> In our judgment Mr. Herz has acted with admirable discretion--he has shown no favoritism, but has on the contrary distributed his favors equally among the resident artists. The system heretofore pursued in this city was a scandalous monopoly. . . . We know of instances where popular artists in this city have refused to sing, because certain great performers refused to engage them for every concert they gave. In some cases they have gained what they demanded, through the means of powerful friends upon the press. We are glad to see this scandalous monopoly broken down, for modest merit will now stand some chance of partaking of the loaves and fishes.[67]

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[65]New York Herald, 8 November 1846. A different but briefer card appeared on 10 November 1846.

[66]New York Herald, 9 November 1846.

[67]New York Evening Mirror, 11 November 1846.

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Herz escaped unscathed in the controversy, and Rapetti performed with the pianist less than two months later.

Works for Multiple Pianos

Herz carried his involvement of local musicians even further for his third and fourth New York concerts when he programmed the Overture to Rossini's Semiramide arranged for sixteen pianists on eight pianos. Such works for multiple pianos had been popular in Europe since the mid-1820s; Loesser suspects that the "craze was started when Kalkbrenner returned to Paris from London in 1823."[68] Herz appears to have been the first to introduce them to any great extent in the United States. The New York Herald believed it was the first time that an example of "concerted pieces of music for several pianos" had been presented in New York,[69] although four pianists had performed the Overture to Cherubini's Anacréon on two pianos in 1839 at a concert

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[68]Men, Women and Pianos, p. 363.

[69]7 November 1846.

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given there by Daniel Schlesinger.[70] Herz had been scooped at least the previous May, if not earlier, when a Mr. Maeder in Boston presented the Overture to Semiramide arranged by Czerny for sixteen pianists.[71]

Nevertheless, the concert advertisements and program for Herz's first presentation (10 November 1846) claimed that the Semiramide Overture arrangement, surely also the one by Czerny,[72] was performed for the first time in America (see figure 12). "Fifteen Professors of the Pianoforte" assisted Herz, including the leading pianists of New York: Denis G. Etienne, Julian Fontana, W. A. King, George Loder,

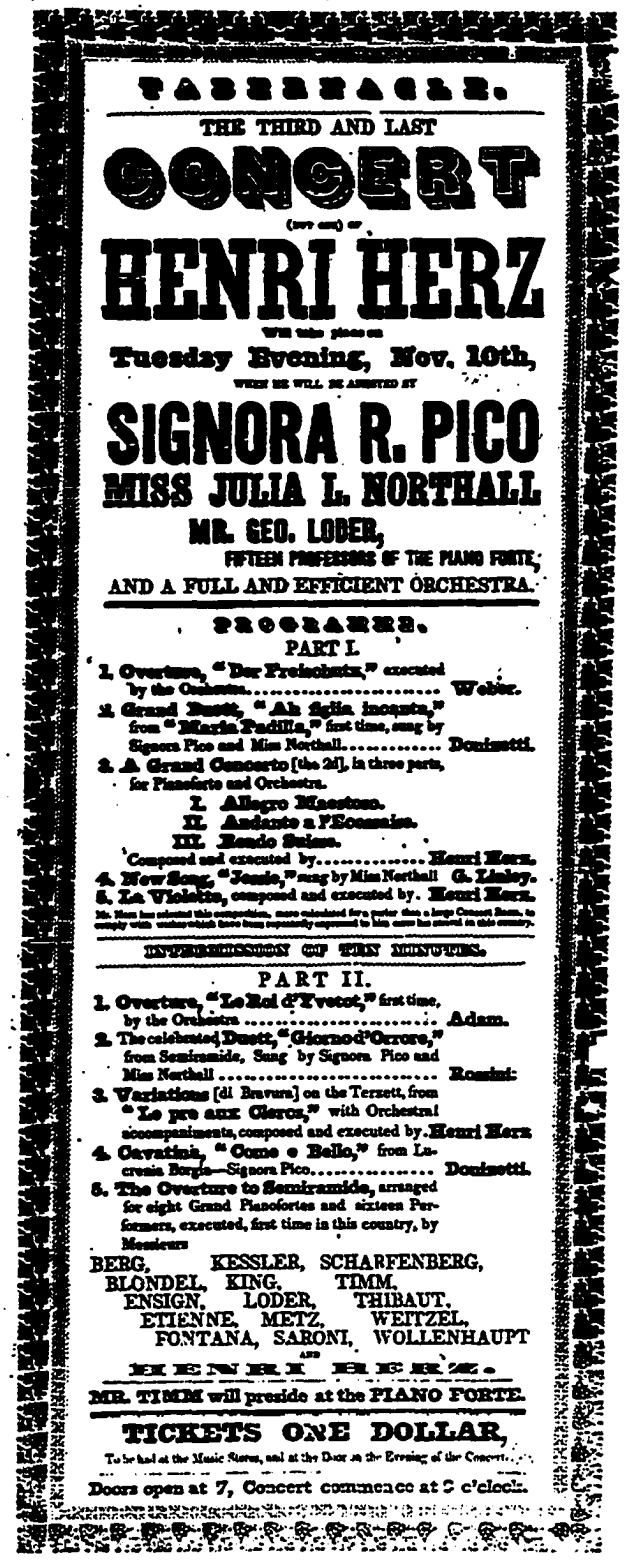
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[70]The concert was held at the City Hotel on 4 February 1839; Schlesinger was joined by Etienne, Scharfenberg, and Thibault (New York Evening Post, 4 February 1839; also cited in Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, p. 480). Just a year previously, a New York journal described a Paris concert involving multiple-piano works in a manner which indicates they were rare, if not completely unknown, in America: "Among the announcements lately contained in the programme of a concert given at Paris, by Stopel, . . . we find La Violette, brilliant variations, by Herz, played upon ten Piano-fortes at one time; and also grand variations on a theme from 'William Tell,' written by the same composer, and executed by twenty young ladies upon ten Piano-fortes.--What next?" (The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence 1/2 [16 May 1838], 24).

[71]The concert took place on 12 May 1846 (Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 12 May 1846).

[72]No advertisements, programs, or reviews identify the arrangement, but Henry Edward Krehbiel, who apparently heard first-hand accounts of these performances by two of its participants--William Scharfenberg and Henry C. Timm--claims it was the one made by Czerny (Philharmonic Society, p. 51). Czerny arranged the overture in 1838 for a performance by Austrian nobility in a benefit concert for victims of a flood along the Danube in Hungary.

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TABERNACLE.

THE THIRD AND LAST

CONCERT

(BUT ONE) OF

HENRI HERZ

WILL take place on

Tuesday Evening, Nov. 10th,

WHEN HE WILL BE ASSISTED BY

SIGNORA R. PICO

MISS JULIA L. NORTHALL

MR. GEO. LODER,

FIFTEEN PROFESSORS OF THE PIANO FORTE,

AND A FULL AND EFFICIENT ORCHESTRA.

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

1. Overture, "Der Freischutz," executed by the Orchestra..... Weber.
2. Grand Duett, "Ah figlia incauta," from "Maria Padilla," first time, sung by Signora Pico and Miss Northall..... Donizetti.
3. A Grand Concerto [the 2d], in three parts, for Pianoforte and Orchestra.
   I. Allegro Maestoso.
   II. Andante a l'Ecossaise.
   III. Rondo Suisse.
   Composed and executed by..... Henri Herz.
4. New Song, "Jessie," sung by Miss Northall G. Linley.
5. La Violette, composed and executed by. Henri Herz.

Mr. Herz has selected this composition, more calculated for a parlor than a large Concert Room, to comply with wishes which have been repeatedly expressed to him since his arrival in this country.

INTERMISSION OF TEN MINUTES.

PART II.

1. Overture, "Le Roi d'Yvetot," first time, by the Orchestra..... Adam.
2. The celebrated Duett, "Giornod'Orrore," from Semiramide, Sung by Signora Pico and Miss Northall..... Rossini.
3. Variations [di Bravura] on the Terzett, from "Le pre aux Clercs," with Orchestral accompaniments, composed and executed by. Henri Herz
4. Cavatina, "Come e Bello," from Lucrezia Borgia—Signora Pico..... Donizetti.
5. The Overture to Semiramide, arranged for eight Grand Pianofortes and sixteen Performers, executed, first time in this country, by Messieurs

BERG, KESSLER, SCHARFENBERG,
BLONDEL, KING, TIMM,
ENSIGN, LODER, THIBAUT,
ETIENNE, METZ, WEITZEL,
FONTANA, SARONI, WOLLENHAUPT

AND

[illegible]

MR. TIMM will preside at the PIANO FORTE.

TICKETS ONE DOLLAR,

To be had at the Music Stores, and at the Door on the Evening of the Concert.

Doors open at 7, Concert commence at 8 o'clock.

Fig. 12. Program, Concert of Herz, New York, 10 November 1846. (Music Division, Library of Congress)

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Hermann Saroni, William Scharfenberg, Henry C. Timm, and Hermann Wollenhaupt.[73] The first performance "produced prodigious enthusiasm" and was "long and loudly applauded,"[74] but was not well received by the critics. The Evening Mirror pronounced it "entirely ineffective" and thought it "only tolerably well performed."[75] The Morning Telegraph was also not pleased with the performance and hoped that a few of the performers "will mind the conductor's arm and baton a little better on the next occasion; and we would rather have the instruments a little better tuned together."[76] At Herz's farewell New York concert of the season (7 January 1847) the Overture to William Tell, "arranged expressly for [the] occasion by [Hermann] Saroni," met with a similar reaction from the press.[77] The Evening Post thought it was "perhaps the least satisfactory of the performances" and the Gazette and Times found it "much

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[73]New York Herald, 10 November 1846.

[74]New York Evening Post, 11 November 1846; and New York Herald, 11 November 1846.

[75]New York Evening Mirror, 12 November 1846. The Mirror explained that "the eight pianofortes produce a heavy monotony of sound--they give a body, but scarcely any additional power: each pianoforte weakens the power of the others and . . . the purity and brilliancy of the tone is quite destroyed."

[76]New York Morning Telegraph, 12 November 1846.

[77]New York Herald, 7 January 1847.

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better done than the former experiments with the Semiramide overture; it was, nevertheless, a failure."[78]

If not popular with critics--Dwight was also later disparaging[79]--such works found favor with audiences because they appealed to the Romantic fascination with the immense and they bridged the gulf between art and entertainment.[80] They also helped to draw audiences to the concerts, for the sight, if not the sound, of sixteen pianists at eight pianos must have attracted a substantial number of curiosity seekers. White, speaking of the large crowd at Herz's third New York concert, stated: "We fear that the sixteen pianists and the eight piano fortes, had quite as much to do with filling the room as all the other attractions together."[81]

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[78]New York Evening Post, 8 January 1847; and New York Gazette and Times, 8 January 1847.

[79]See especially "A Monster Concert by Young Ladies," Dwight's Journal of Music 3/18 (6 August 1853), 142 (partially quoted in Tick, American Women Composers, p. 51); and "Another Monster Programme," Dwight's Journal of Music 9/15 (12 July 1856), 119.

[80]As Tick points out, one of the concerts given in a female seminary featuring multiple-piano works was labeled a "musical entertainment" (American Women Composers, pp. 45-47); and Eugene List, who did much to revive the popularity of such works in the 1970s, cautions listeners that his recording of them "is meant as an Entertainment" (Liner notes, The Monster Concert in Celebration of Louis Moreau Gottschalk [Musical Heritage Society MHS-4924W, 1984]).

[81]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 14 November 1846. The New York Morning Telegraph (12 November 1846) also believed that "great curiosity seemed to exist among the auditory to hear the Semiramide overture." Before Maeder's Boston concert, the Boston Daily Evening Transcript (11 May 1846) stated that the fifty-cent tickets would be "more than the money's worth in dulcet harmony and comic humor!"

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In addition, involving local performers on such a grand scale was always good for public relations and attendance.

Herz must have considered these arrangements crowd pleasers for he programmed them whenever he could muster enough pianists. In relating performances of similar arrangements in New Orleans, he insinuates that it was the plan of his new manager, Bernard Ullman, to perform as often as possible such pieces, which the latter called "financial music":

> For Ulmann [sic], financial music was music arranged for eight or ten pianos, which everywhere in America had the gift of drawing crowds, especially when the theme of the concert consisted of national airs.[82] We had to give in to my intelligent secretary, and financial music, arranged for eight pianos and sixteen pianists recruited among the young ladies of Louisiana society, produced its customary results. There was a crowd to hear this harmonious squadron of fashionable ladies, all of them pretty and roundly applauded, as one would expect.[83]

Herz was surely not so innocent, for he had participated in

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[82]No reference has been found to performances of "national airs" on multiple pianos.

[83]Herz continues his story by claiming that at one concert, one of the pianists did not show up, and he had to enlist from the audience a young lady totally ignorant of music. In order to complete the symmetry on stage, she yielded to his pleas to feign playing without actually striking a note. This she accomplished with gusto and only slightly marred the performance by silently playing her way through a series of rests (Travels, pp. 90-93 [pp. 299-306]).

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such performances in Europe,[84] and he doubtless brought with him to America the music of at least the Semiramide arrangement.

For two performances of the Overture to William Tell in New Orleans (24 March and 9 April 1847), both "Ladies and Gentlemen" were called into action, and the participation of the violinist Camillo Sivori, then touring with Herz, was necessary to bring the total to sixteen. An unsuccessful attempt was made in Mobile, after a calculated, flattering announcement:

> The Concert will conclude with the Overture to Rossini's William Tell, Arranged for FOUR Pianofortes and EIGHT Performers. Executed by the most distinguished Pianists (Ladies) of Mobile, and C. SIVORI and H. HERZ.
>
> Messrs. HERZ and SIVORI avail themselves with much pleasure, of the opportunity to return their sincere thanks to the Ladies of Mobile who, in volunteering their valuable assistance, have enabled them to bring out this SPLENDID PIECE, which has been received with so much enthusiasm in New York, Philadelphia, and their Sixteenth Concert in New Orleans.[85]

If the Mobile ladies were not up to the demands of an eighty-finger William Tell Overture, fifteen capable

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[84]Herz's first appearance in London, for example, included a performance of Czerny's Concertstücke by eight pianos and twelve harps (Percy M. Young, The Concert Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965], p. 187). See also the anecdote of a joint London performance in 1840 by Herz, Liszt, Moscheles, and Thalberg in Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, pp. 364-65.

[85]Mobile Register and Journal, 3 April 1847. Herz and Sivori gave only fifteen concerts in New Orleans. The Overture to William Tell was performed at their twelfth and fourteenth concerts in that city; the latter had not taken place at the time of the Mobile advertisement.

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pianists were found to assist Herz in Philadelphia for the Semiramide Overture (4 and 9 December 1846) and for William Tell in St. Louis (1 and 3 June 1847, with both ladies and gentlemen) and Cincinnati (10 July 1847); eleven pianists helped him perform the Semiramide Overture in Baltimore (27 November 1846). In Nashville (15 June 1847), the audience had to settle for a performance on three pianos by Herz, Camillo Sivori, and a Mr. Taylor; in Wilmington, Delaware (7 December 1846), Herz performed the Overture to Zampa on two pianos with Charles Grobe and William Lemon.

The advertisement for the first New York performance claimed that the Semiramide Overture was "arranged for eight grand pianofortes."[86] Herz usually performed on instruments from his own factory, and at least some of them were used in the multiple-piano works. The critic Richard Grant White, who thought the arrangement pointless, gave a sarcastic description of the event:

> After Madame Pico's last song, quite a long funereal procession ascended the platform, marching two and two. We observed that it consisted of fifteen of our most esteemed professors of the piano forte, and M. Herz, who, preceded by Mr. Loder as chief mourner [i.e., conductor], appeared to bury the poor Semiramide in

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[86]New York Herald, 10 November 1846.

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> eight of M. Herz's queerly shaped piano fortes, which were scattered over the stage, making it look like a coffin-maker's exhibition at a National fair.[87]

At other times local instruments supplemented the usual two pianos of Herz. Six Chickering pianos were used, for example, in the fourth New York concert.[88] Square pianos were probably used more often than grands, as in Richmond, where eight pianists performed the Overture to William Tell on five pianos, among which were "square pianos . . . from Worcester's factory, New York."[89]

Once introduced to America, multiple-piano works quickly established themselves in the repertory, primarily as a staple in concerts at female seminaries.[90] When Gottschalk, the pianist today most associated with the performance of these works, brought their tradition with him from Europe[91] to America in 1853, he found it already

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[87]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 14 November 1846. In St. Louis, tickets had to be limited "in consequence of the large space taken up by the eight Piano Fortes" (Saint Louis Daily Union, 1 June 1847).

[88]New York Herald, 13 November 1846; and Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 16 November 1846.

[89]Richmond Daily Whig, 16 December 1847.

[90]For a discussion of the performance of such works in female seminaries and reproductions of several programs, see Tick, American Women Composers, pp. 44-51.

[91]Gottschalk, for example, composed El Sitio de Zaragoza for ten pianos, which was performed in Madrid on 13 June 1852 (John G. Doyle, Louis Moreau Gottschalk 1829-1869: A Bibliographical Study and Catalog of Works [Detroit: Information Coordinators for the College Music Society, 1983], pp. 232-33).

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flourishing. But he eventually surpassed Herz and others in the sheer size of his monster concerts and the dramatic flair with which he produced them, chiefly in Latin America.[92]

It perhaps should be noted that the term "monster concert," generally used today to refer to concerts featuring works for multiple pianos, was not originally used in that sense. The term was common in at least London and Paris in the 1830s and 1840s and did not necessarily imply large combined forces, for a long list of solo performers would qualify a concert for monster status.[93] Herz's second Boston concert, for example, was dubbed a "monstre concert" by the Daily Evening Transcript even though only four solo performers, an accompanist, a conductor, and an orchestra were on the program.[94] His first farewell concert in New York was considered a monster concert by at least two

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[92]See especially Francisco Curt Lange, Vida y muerte de Louis Moreau Gottschalk en Rio de Janeiro (1869) (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1951); and Libby Antarsh Rubin, Gottschalk in Cuba (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1974).

[93]Doyle erroneously states that "the term `monster concert' to describe L[ouis] M[oreau] G[ottschalk]'s festivals was apparently coined by journalists as early as 1858" (Gottschalk: A Bibliographical Study and Catalog, p. 14).

[94]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 18 December 1846. Similarly, Ureli Corelli Hill's Festival Concert of 10 November 1845 in which De Meyer participated was considered a "concert monstre" by the Courrier des Etats-Unis, 11 November 1845, p. 471.

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newspapers,[95] but the participation of the Italian Opera Company had as much to do with that designation as the William Tell Overture performed by sixteen pianists.

Bernard Ullman

While giving his first series of concerts in New York, Herz encountered a young man who altered drastically the course and overall tone of his tour--Bernard Ullman (d. 1885). Later Ullman became a leading impresario, but when he and Herz met, his managerial career was just beginning. Aware that Herz did not have a manager, Ullman presented himself in what was to become his usual fashion--aggressive, confident, and to the point--as Herz recounts:

> Mr. Ulmann [sic] was then a very young man who pursued wealth as everyone in America does, and much more besides, certainly.
>
> "What do you know how to do?" I asked young Ulmann, who had been warmly recommended to me.
>
> "Nothing," replied the future impresario frankly, "but for the very reason I do not know how to do anything, I do know how to get things done. Try me. I will take care of the concert posters, I will have your programs printed, I will see that everything is in order in the hall where you hold your concert, I will present you favorably to the newspaper editors. The newspaper is the key to artistic success, just as money is the key to success in war. If you wish it, I will give you my advice on whatever steps I think useful to

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[95] New York Herald, 7 January 1847; and New-York Daily Tribune, 5 January 1847.

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take, for it does not always suffice to have only talent to succeed; finally, I will act in your interest, which will become mine, in doing whatever you cannot do yourself but nevertheless urgently need to have done."

There was about the young man who thus spoke to me so much good sense and so much conviction that I did not hesitate to give him the trial he had asked of me. The apprentice soon became the master, and I will more than once, in the course of this narrative, have an occasion to render homage to the ability, to the lively imagination, and to the tact of this manager. . . . He knew how to profit from the most trivial circumstances in order to fix the public attention on the artist, whom he compared poetically with a brilliant meteor which everyone ought to admire during its all too short passage. In sum, he was a great help, and, in his prosperous hands copper and even false bank notes became gold.[96]

Ullman quickly established himself as an effective, if controversial, impresario, who later managed Henriette Sontag, Thalberg, and the opera at the Academy of Music.[97] He remained with Herz for almost three years, coordinating all the planning and publicity for his tours.

Another impresario also apparently shared Ullman's belief that there was money to be made from Herz. The pianist claims that P. T. Barnum tried to persuade him to

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[96]Travels, pp. 29-30 (pp. 96-98).

[97]Born in Hungary, Ullman probably arrived in the United States in 1842 and had some experience in journalism before managing Herz. For more information on Ullman, see chapter XII and the chapters on Thalberg below; see also Laurence Marton Lerner, The Rise of the Impresario: Bernard Ullman and the Transformation of Musical Culture in Nineteenth Century America (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), a groundbreaking study, although some of the information on both Herz's and Thalberg's tour is inaccurate. For example, Lerner relies too heavily on Herz's chronology of his association with Sivori and is unaware of Thalberg's last western tour and his arrangement with the Chickering piano company.

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join his planned tour of America with Jenny Lind. He flatly refused Barnum's offer, despite Ullman's protestations that he was making a serious mistake. Herz defended his decision, stating that he "wished to be entirely free by myself, and that it is always a kind of slavery to be associated with others."[98]

By the end of Herz's four New York concerts, Ullman had completely taken control of Herz's affairs. Herz relates:

> One day Ulmann came to tell me that we were to leave for Philadelphia, where we were to give a concert the next day;[99] that the hall was rented, that the posters were up, that all the seats were sold in advance, that our trunks were closed, that our railroad tickets were bought, and that a carriage awaited us at the door to take us to the station. I had made it my invariable rule to obey Ulmann.[100]

Ullman was not so well organized for Philadelphia as Herz reports. He had been unable to reserve a hall there,

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[98]Travels, pp. 30-31 (pp. 99-101). This incident, if it occurred at all, probably took place much later in Herz's tour. According to Ware and Lockard, Barnum Presents Jenny Lind, p. 1, Barnum "conceived the idea of bringing Jenny Lind to America" in October 1849, when Herz was in Mexico.

[99]Years later Paderewski commented on the tendency of a manager to identify with the performer: "The position of manager is quite a curious one psychologically. You know in some cases, and it is natural enough, a manager often actually becomes the artist, at least in his own mind. He is so used to arranging and managing affairs in speaking for the artist, that he even in his telegrams, also in coversation, sometimes speaks of himself as the artist!" (Ignace Jan Paderewski and Mary Lawton, The Paderewski Memoirs [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1980], p. 203).

[100]Travels, p. 31 (pp. 103-4).

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which forced Herz to appear first in Baltimore.[101] There the first--and only--direct confrontation between him and De Meyer occurred. De Meyer had begun his season earlier than Herz and stayed one step ahead of him. He appeared in Philadelphia on the same dates as those of Herz's last three New York concerts, and would have been in Baltimore alone if Herz's Philadelphia concerts had not been postponed. Instead, De Meyer gave his concerts in Baltimore on 18 and 20 November and Herz made his first appearance there in the same hall on the 19th.

A dispute erupted because De Meyer's pianos had been left in the hall overnight and were in Herz's way. The two pianists engaged in a brief but intense quarrel in the newspapers, amusing the public and gaining more publicity for themselves. De Meyer volleyed first, addressing his communication "to the public." He claimed that at six o'clock on the evening of Herz's concert, just when the "rain was pouring down in torrents," he had received a note from Ullman, as Herz's "servant," demanding that he remove his pianos from the hall immediately. Reitheimer supposedly approached Herz asking him to reconsider, but "Mr. Herz observed that he should not interfere in the matter, and that whatever had been done by his servant was by his approval." While in an accusatory mood, De Meyer further

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[101] New York Herald, 18 November 1846.

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charged that Herz, "with a most strange and vague idea of the proprieties of life," had tried to appropriate one of his grand pianos for a New York performance involving eight instruments. De Meyer had been warned by telegraph in time to stop him.[102]

While Herz carefully remained aloof, Ullman responded. Ullman admitted writing the note but said he had warned Joseph Burke early in the morning that the hall's platform was so small that one of De Meyer's two pianos had to be removed. His note became necessary when no attempt was made to move the piano. As for the incident in New York, Ullman held that De Meyer had offered the use of his pianos to Herz in the presence of witnesses, and when one of his pianos had been moved to the Tabernacle, Reitheimer "ordered it away just previous to the concert." De Meyer supposedly apologized to Herz in person for Reitheimer's action.[103]

This squabble was particularly acrimonious because Ullman and De Meyer had already had one dispute. Less than two weeks later, when the New York Morning Telegraph was listing De Meyer's offenses, it stated that the pianist had

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[102]Baltimore Sun, 20 November 1846.

[103]Baltimore Sun, 21 November 1846. This was Ullman's first signed communication as Herz's manager, and he was soon to become famous for his public messages signed "B. Ullman." Both De Meyer's and Herz's communications are quoted at greater length in Schonberg, The Great Pianists, pp. 184-86.

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quarreled, evidently a good distance in the past, "with Mr. Ullman, who had also been his friend."[104] Although a dozen years later Ullman claimed that he had at one time managed De Meyer,[105] no proof exists, and his claim seems unlikely. Ullman, with his journalistic experience and newspaper connections, had apparently helped the pianist with publicity. Indeed, in the Baltimore communications, he closed by stating:

> Perhaps some part of [De Meyer's] present insolence may be attributed to the indignation with which the undersigned [i.e., Ullman] refused to receive from him a gold snuff box as the price of a desired puff.[106]

De Meyer again replied to Herz, denying Ullman's accusations and sarcastically calling Ullman his savant (Ullman had rankled at even the designation "servant"). He explained his reason for the second communication:

> I have been induced to appear in this manner once more before my numerous friends and the public of Baltimore, less from a sense of any necessity to refute the misrepresentations of the article under notice, than from a momentary indignation at the receipt of a menacing note from the distinguished savant of Mr. Herz, who, with a degree of impudence and presumption, I scarcely know which most to admire, desires me to refrain from any notice of his publication, under peril of being assailed by him in the press of New York,

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[104] 2 December 1846.

[105] In an 1861 promotional pamphlet for the magician Herrmann, Ullman mentions De Meyer as one of several artists he previously managed (Academy of Music, Herrmann, First Prestidigitatuer, quoted in Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 2).

[106] Baltimore Sun, 21 November 1846.

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> Philadelphia and Havana. This very simple minded individual has yet to learn that he has entirely mistaken the character of the undersigned.[107]

De Meyer may not have been as brave as he sounded. Ullman unquestionably had influence with the press, and the fear that he could use it viciously may have prompted De Meyer to leave the East early for Cuba and the South, which he did within the week.

Herz does not refer to this incident, but it is no coincidence that in the chapter on Baltimore he describes with biting sarcasm a pianist who could only be De Meyer:[108]

> Baltimore . . . appears to have the most beautiful women in the whole country. At my concerts I was carried away to see so many beautiful faces all at once. . . . I never did, however, get to the place reached by a pianist who toured America a little while after I did, and who always waved to them. This the gallant virtuoso did with his right hand, while his left hand went rippling over the keyboard of the instrument (consecrated style). What charms will do!
>
> At his concerts he wore trousers with great stripes like those on mattress ticking, and when bouquets were thrown to him he always gathered them up and offered them to the most beautiful of his feminine listeners. Often he stopped in the middle of what he was playing in order to deliver a speech, after which he returned to the piano, throwing devastating glances

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[107]Baltimore Sun, 21 November 1846.

[108]Some of the clues include the bouquets, the pianist's "devastating glances at the ladies," and his striped trousers (see figures 5 and 8). Regarding his striped or plaid pants, the satiric magazine Yankee Doodle related an anecdote: "'What for you look so at mine pantaloons?' said De Meyer to a friend. 'I'm trying to find the other bar of this plaid.' 'Oh dat ish at home on my oder bair,' replied the Marche Marocaine" [sic] (quoted in The Musical World 21/45 [7 November 1846], 565).

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> at the ladies. I mention this, not as criticism of my most honorable colleague, but only because it is characteristic. No one found this conduct unbecoming, and the ladies were charmed by the dignified manners and bearing of this artist who was, indeed, so very commendable from every point of view.[109]

Herz's three concerts in Baltimore (19, 27, and 30 November 1846) alternated with his Philadelphia performances (21 and 24 November and 4 and 9 December); he also made a guest appearance at a Musical Fund Society concert in the latter city (12 December). His own four Philadelphia concerts included an orchestra led by Leopold Meignen as well as piano duos with Herman Thorbecke and Edward Walker.[110] The first two concerts were held at the Musical Fund Hall and took in about $500 each night,[111] at one dollar per person (the same fee as De Meyer). Ullman, in an early effort at hyperbole, advertised that the third concert would be

> on even a more magnificent scale than that produced by [Herz] at the Tabernacle in New York, which has been unanimously pronounced to have been the GREATEST

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[109]Travels, p. 53 (pp. 179-80).

[110]Herz's tales of his Philadelphia concerts, including the participation of Miss Fidler, who had falsely claimed to be a pupil of his, and the illumination of a concert by a thousand candles, have not been verified (Travels, pp. 34-39 [pp. 109-17 and 120-25]). But for a possible occurrence of the latter, see remarks below on his farewell concert in New York (7 January 1847).

[111]Musical Fund Society, Memorandum Book: Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1837 - September 30, 1847, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. According to this book, Herz was "pronounced by the critics to be the best performer that ever visited our country."

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MUSICAL FESTIVAL, that has ever been presented to the citizens of America.[112]

The third as well as the fourth concerts were held at the much larger Chinese Museum and included the Overture to Semiramide performed by sixteen pianists. This attraction combined with a reduction in ticket prices--family tickets admitted three people for two dollars or five people for three dollars, a policy followed later in New York and Baltimore--drew about four thousand people to the third concert, and some people with tickets could not obtain seats.[113] Herz's account of the crowd at a Philadelphia concert--with supposedly only eight pianists performing on four pianos--seems exaggerated but may have been true: "There were so many people in the hall when I came in to play that it was literally necessary to carry me in."[114]

Herz moved on to Boston, where his first concert had to be postponed briefly because he cut one of his hands while

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[112]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 4 December 1846.

[113]New York Herald, 7 December 1846; and Philadelphia Public Ledger, 9 December 1846. The ticket holders without seats were allowed to receive a refund or to exchange their tickets for the fourth concert.

[114]According to Herz, Ullman wanted to have forty pianists perform in a grandiose patriotic farewell concert in Philadelphia; Herz claims to have composed a piece to be performed by eight pianists on four pianos at his last concert in that city (Travels, pp. 42-43 and 50 [pp. 129-32 and 158-59]). Ullman's program for the patriotic concert as recorded by Herz is reproduced in Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, pp. 486-87.

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washing them in a china basin.[115] His two concerts there (17 and 19 December 1846) both featured an orchestra, which at his second appearance consisted of part of the Boston Philharmonic Society. The Society had postponed its own concert so as not to interfere with his and offered him the use of their hall and orchestra;[116] Herz reciprocated by returning to Boston to appear in the Society's concert of 2 January 1847.[117]

Although Herz remained in the Western Hemisphere for five years, he had not originally planned such a prolonged tour. During his first weeks in the United States it was announced that he had obtained a "leave of absence from the King of France for six months only,"[118] meaning a leave from his post at the Conservatoire.[119] After only three months in the United States, the advertisement for his penultimate New York concert of the season (26 December 1846), which was billed as a "Christmas Festival," announced:

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[115]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 14 December 1846. This incident may be the one Herz describes in which he burns one of his hands and is forced to postpone his first concert in the United States (Travels, pp. 25-27 [pp. 84-89]).

[116]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 19 December 1846.

[117]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 2 January 1847.

[118]New York Herald, 5 November 1846.

[119]Baltimore Sun, 18 November 1846.

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> A Card - Mr. Henri Herz having received intelligence by the last steamer, that the Secretary for the department of public instruction cannot comply with his request to extend his leave of absence for a longer period than April next, he will be able to give only one concert more in New York prior to his departure for the South and Havana, and thence for Europe.[120]

If not for the denial of his request, he could easily have remained in the eastern cities giving concerts for several more months, especially with De Meyer's early departure from the scene in late November.

Herz's New York farewell concert on 7 January 1847 was no doubt the inspiration of Ullman (see figure 13). In addition to the Overture to William Tell for sixteen pianists, the concert included duets with Rapetti and eight-year-old Anne M. Cole, a horn solo by Herr Dorn, and The Prayer of Moses performed by "the recently arrived members of the Italian Opera Company" (their first appearance "in any concert in America"), with a "powerful chorus and organ accompaniment." And the final Ullman touch: "Measures have been taken to have the Tabernacle lit with wax lights, independent of the gas."[121]

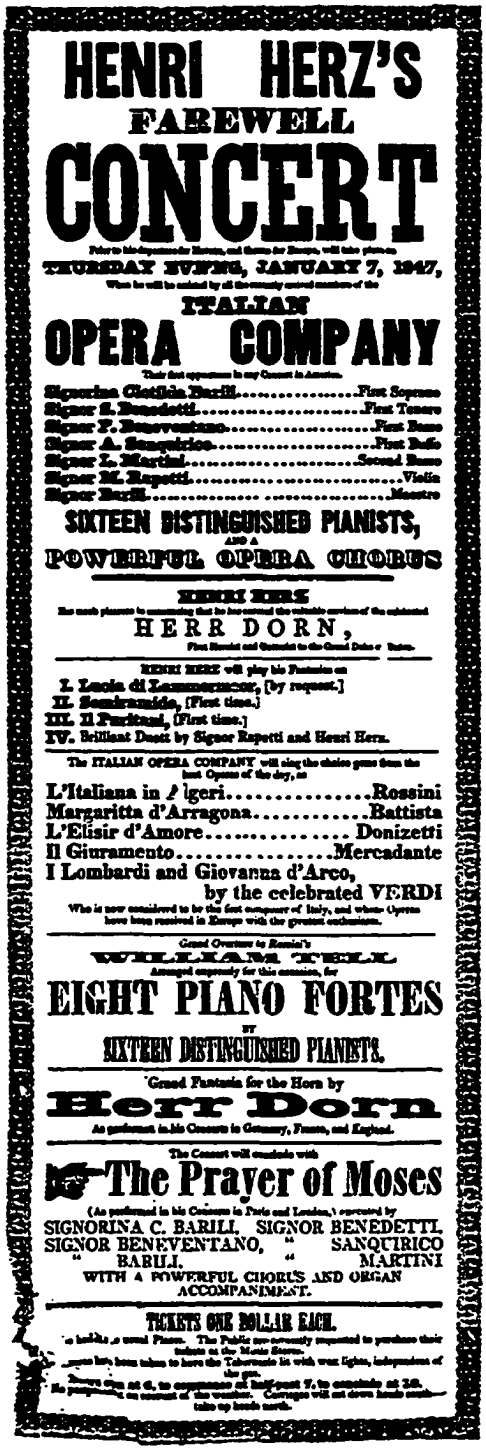
Ullman was probably responsible for the participation of the Italian Opera Company, whose members also performed solos at the concert. Ullman was consistently drawn to

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[120]New York Herald, 26 December 1846.

[121]New York Herald, 7 and 8 January 1847. This might be the concert illuminated by one thousand candles that Herz describes as taking place in Philadelphia (Travels, pp. 37-39 [pp. 120-25]).

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HENRI HERZ'S

FAREWELL

CONCERT

THURSDAY EVENG, JANUARY 7, 1847,

ITALIAN

OPERA COMPANY

Signorina Clotilda Barili.....First Soprano
Signor L. Benedetti.....First Tenore
Signor F. Beneventano.....First Basso
Signor A. Sanquirico.....First Buffo
Signor L. Martini.....Second Basso
Signor M. Rapetti.....Violin
Signor Barili.....Maestro

SIXTEEN DISTINGUISHED PIANISTS,

AND A

POWERFUL OPERA CHORUS

HENRI HERZ

HERR DORN,

HENRI HERZ will play his Fantasias on

I. Lucia di Lammermoor, [by request.]
II. Sonnambula, [First time.]
III. Il Puritani, [First time.]
IV. Brilliant Duett by Signor Rapetti and Henri Herz.

The ITALIAN OPERA COMPANY will sing the choice gems from the last Operas of the day, as

L'Italiana in Algeri.....Rossini
Margaritta d'Arragona.....Battista
L'Elisir d'Amore.....Donizetti
Il Giuramento.....Mercadante
I Lombardi and Giovanna d'Arco,
by the celebrated VERDI

WILLIAM TELL,

EIGHT PIANO FORTES

BY

SIXTEEN DISTINGUISHED PIANISTS.

Grand Fantasia for the Horn by

Herr Dorn

The Concert will conclude with

The Prayer of Moses

SIGNORINA C. BARILI, SIGNOR BENEDETTI,
SIGNOR BENEVENTANO, " SANQUIRICO
" BARILI, " MARTINI
WITH A POWERFUL CHORUS AND ORGAN ACCOMPANIMENT.

TICKETS ONE DOLLAR EACH.

Fig. 13. Program, Concert of Herz, New York, 7 January 1847. (Music Division, Library of Congress)

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opera: under his management, Herz, in his third season in America, teamed up briefly with three members of the Astor Place Opera Company, and Ullman later managed the opera at the Academy of Music and arranged various combinations of opera and instrumental concerts for Thalberg in America. In the meantime, Ullman was gaining valuable experience in his first managerial venture with Herz.

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CHAPTER VII

HERZ, ULLMAN, AND SIVORI (1847)

Herz's projected three- or four-month tour of the South and Cuba before returning to Europe grew into a seven-month tour of the South and Midwest ending in New York. In April 1847 Herz wrote from Natchez, Mississippi, to Hiram Fuller, editor of the New York Evening Mirror, that the French government had notified him that his leave of absence had been extended, which made the longer tour possible.[1] Like De Meyer, who was touring with Burke, Herz also traveled with a violinist. He credits Ullman for the idea of "associating a magic bow with [his] piano."[2] The magic bow in this case was that of Camillo Sivori, an Italian violinist who had made his American debut shortly before Herz.

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[1]Letter to [Hiram] Fuller, dated Natchez, 22 April 1847, Music Division, New York Public Library; summary in New York Evening Mirror, 5 May 1847; photographic reproduction in Herz, Variations on Non più mesta, annotated by Donald Garvelmann, p. 8. Herz wrote: "The last steamer has brought me (with no small trouble) a leave from the french government." According to records of the Conservatoire he was on an unlimited leave of absence (congé illimité) from 1 October 1846 to 30 September 1851 (Pierre, Conservatoire, p. 446).

[2]Travels, p. 57 (p. 190).

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Camillo Sivori

Sivori (1815-94) was a leading violinist in the nineteenth century. Born in Genoa, he began studying violin at an early age, first with a former teacher of Paganini and then briefly in 1824 with the master himself. After his debut in 1827, he made several brief concert tours before his first major tour in 1841 that took him all across Europe and to Russia.[3] Arriving in New York on 30 September 1846, he made his American debut there on 12 October. He was immediately criticized by Richard Grant White, the influential critic for the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer. Among other things, White did not believe that Sivori was a pupil of Paganini. But Sivori's claim was confirmed when he exhibited lessons in Paganini's hand that

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[3]For information on Sivori, see Albert Mell, "Sivori, Camillo," The New Grove, 17:356-57; Adele Pierrottet, Camillo Sivori (Milan: G. Ricordi, 1896); and Leslie Sheppard, "Camillo Sivori," The Strad 90 (February 1980), 758-61; see also the publicity pamphlet, James, Camillo Sivori: A Sketch.

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the elder violinist had composed for him as his teacher.[4] Sivori was praised by most critics, however, and many eminent local musicians made protests on his behalf.[5] Evidently no severe damage was done to the violinist's reputation, and he had already appeared with some success in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington before joining with Herz. But he was probably relieved to place his immediate future in the hands of Ullman, who undoubtedly assured him that he would no longer need to fear the press.

Herz recounts Ullman's proposal for making their joint tour as profitable as possible:

> "Gentlemen, the calling of the impresario is not what the vain public thinks it is. . . . In fact who would ever really know that to plan concerts well in America one must possess imagination, a sense of what is fitting, a knowledge of the human heart, and a grasp of strategy. . . ."

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[4]New York Journal of Commerce, 19 October 1846; also quoted in Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 22 October 1846. The editor of the Journal of Commerce attended a soiree given by Sivori at which the proof was displayed: "We had the satisfaction of examining in the course of the evening the artist's musical library, a portion of which consists of manuscript lessons composed by Paganini for his pupil and relative, when the latter was no more than eight years old. Not only each volume, but every piece in each volume is inscribed with Paganini's own hand, 'composto, e dedicati al bravo ragazzino Sig'r Camillo Sivori, du Nicola Paganini.' There were several gentlemen present who are perfectly well acquainted with the handwriting of Paganini, and who bore unequivocal testimony to the genuineness of these documents."

[5]The dispute is well documented by newspaper clippings in the Timm Scrapbook, New York Public Library; see also Ullman's communication in the New York Herald, 9 October 1847.

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"I expect . . . to use strategy, and to achieve by using that science, as indispensable to impresarios as to army generals, results three times as impressive as those obtainable by some common lout, devoid of the qualities which make the impresario. . . . I would never commit the error of first presenting you two together in cities which have yet never heard either of you. My plan is ready, my itinerary arranged, and here is what I have decided. Our great virtuoso Sivori will make his way through the West while our excellent master, Henri Herz, steers his course to the south, after which he will follow the western path of the former, who, in his turn, will gather laurels in the South."

"Is it laurels you want me to gather?" Sivori asked.

"Certainly," replied Ulmann. "Laurels in the form of dollars, which are, without question, the best kind of laurels. When you have finished this harmonious and lucrative crisscross, everything is arranged, without the loss of a day, for the three of us to join up again in New Orleans. Then from there we will set out together to exploit jointly the cities that each of you exploited alone. What do you think of that, gentlemen, and do you consider it an example of strategy--strategy of the very best?"

"Ulmann," said Sivori, "you are a powerful genius."

"Ulmann," I added, "you are an incomparable man."

"I believe what you say, gentlemen," was the simple reply of my secretary, in a tone of profound conviction.[6]

Thus Herz and Sivori began their tour separately and had not even performed together in New York before their

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[6]Travels, pp. 66-67 (pp. 214-18).

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departure, contrary to Herz's statements.[7] Sivori left New York first with his own agent, "who had detailed instructions from Ullmann on the cities to visit and the number of concerts to give in each."[8] The agent was Marco Aurelio Zani de' Ferranti (1800-78), known as the "guitarist to the king of the Belgians."[9] He had served his friend Sivori since the violinist's arrival in America, and himself had not performed publicly in the United States.[10] Sivori's first stop was Richmond where he gave two concerts. The two men parted ways there: Sivori went on to Charleston while Zani de' Ferranti remained in Richmond to give a concert and

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[7]The two performers had already appeared together, however, in Herz's Paris concert hall in April 1844 and possibly on other occasions (La France musicale 7/15 [14 April 1844], 116).

[8]Herz, Travels, p. 68 (pp. 218-19).

[9]Born in Bologna, Zani de' Ferranti began his concert career as a guitarist in 1820. He performed in many European cities and spent some time as a private secretary in St. Petersburg. After leaving the United States and returning to Brussels, he was appointed professor of Italian at the Conservatoire there ("Zani de' Ferranti, Marco Aurelio," La Musica, Parte Secunda: Dizionario, ed. Guido M. Gatti [Turin: Unione Tipografico, 1971], 2:1552-53). Upon Sivori's arrival in Boston in October 1846, Longfellow had called upon the violinist and was surprised to recognize his agent: "S[ivori] is a little fellow with bright, keen, yet soft eyes. Ferranti's face I remembered. Where had I seen him? In Paris in 1826. He gave my cousin, Eben Storer, lessons on the guitar, and I took of him my first lessons in Italian. What strange trumps turn up, as time shuffles the cards!" (Samuel Longfellow, ed., Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 2:62).

[10]Richmond Daily Whig, 20 January 1847; and New York Herald, 21 January 1847.

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then returned to New York before going back to Europe.[11]

In the meantime, Herz and Ullman had sailed to Charleston, arriving on 16 January 1847.[12] Herz gave his "First and Positively Only Concert" there on 19 January with the threat of leaving immediately for Havana. Sivori then arrived in Charleston and gave a "First and Only Concert" the night after Herz's, also with the threat of leaving for Cuba. Of course neither did so but instead announced their first joint concert (22 January) with an explanation typical for Ullman:

> Henri Herz . . . and Camillo Sivori, beg to announce to the inhabitants of Charleston that, having altered their route in consequence of the advanced state of the musical season, they are enabled to give, together, one Grand Concert, the last prior to their departure for New-Orleans.[13]

Herz's account of Ullman's original plan for two separate itineraries is possibly accurate, but after Charleston the two performers traveled in the same direction, sometimes on a staggered schedule; however, the basic principle of squeezing as many concerts out of the public by performing singly and then together was occasionally followed. Since their joint concert in

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[11]Richmond Daily Whig, 22 January 1847; and New York Herald, 30 January 1847.

[12]Charleston Courier, 18 January 1847.

[13]Charleston Courier, 22 January 1847.

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Charleston drew an overflow crowd,[14] Herz and Sivori gave another concert there (25 January) before traveling and performing together in Savannah (28 and 29 January)[15] and Columbus, Georgia (two concerts by 6 February), eventually arriving in New Orleans.

A Frenchman at Home in New Orleans

When a New Orleans newspaper boasted in March 1847 that "Herz has probably been more successful here than in any city of the Union,"[16] it was not exaggerating, for in his first season he gave more concerts there than in any other city.[17] What made Herz so popular in New Orleans was the very strong French connections of both the city and the pianist. Although a Viennese by birth, he was a Frenchman at heart, as is clear from his first reaction to the city:

> I cannot tell you how happy I was when I arrived in New Orleans and heard French spoken, saw French faces

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[14] Charleston Courier, 23 January 1847.

[15] In Savannah, "many persons [were] unable to find seats at their first Concert" (Savannah Daily Republican, 29 January 1847).

[16] New-Orleans Bee, 1 March 1847.

[17] During his first season, Herz gave ten concerts in New Orleans, six in New York, four in Philadelphia, three in Baltimore, and two in Boston (excluding guest appearances). It should be noted, however, that the halls in New Orleans were generally smaller than those in the large eastern cities.

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> frequently, and read signs in French. A person must have traveled in distant countries to comprehend the sweet and lively emotion which is evoked by anything that recalls his native land or the land to which he has given his affection and considers his own.[18]

Herz's repertoire was perfectly suited to the long-standing operatic tradition of New Orleans.[19] Most of his works were based on themes from French and Italian operas that the local citizens had heard many times. This coupled with Herz's reputation, the substantial musical interest in the city, and the popularity of the piano assured Herz of an enthusiastic reception. The New-Orleans Bee described the frantic scene at his first concert:

> Our music-lovers are sufficiently difficult to excite, but last Monday their usual indifference made room for an eagerness without equal. From six o'clock in the evening a distinguished and brilliant crowd surrounded the entrance to the St. Louis Hotel in order to find a place in the too confined hall where Henry Herz gave his first concert. Twelve hundred chosen had the good fortune to clear the threshold, while four or five hundred persons were obliged to return home, disappointed in neither being able to be admitted nor in being expressly promised they would be more fortunate next time.[20]

Although Herz and Sivori arrived in New Orleans

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[18]Travels, p. 83 [pp. 275-76]).

[19]New Orleans was the first American city to have a permanent opera company; see Henry A. Kmen, Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966).

[20]24 February 1847. The New Orleans Daily Picayune (23 February 1847) confirmed this report: "The room was literally crowded to overflowing and many persons were unable to obtain admittance. We found it utterly impossible to get inside the room."

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together on 8 February, they first appeared separately following Ullman's scheme. While Sivori gave concerts there, Herz went on to Mobile, and then the procedure was reversed. In New Orleans Sivori gave six concerts, and Herz four; each presented two in Mobile before joining to give six more concerts in New Orleans and another two in Mobile.

In contrast to the warm reception given Herz, Sivori was not so popular, and the concerts he gave without him were not nearly so successful.[21] A New Orleans correspondent for the New York Herald reported:

> Herz has realised the expectations I had formed of his success, and every concert has been brilliantly attended. Sivori, very unjustly, has not been well patronized. Why, I cannot divine.[22]

In a letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, editor of the Courrier des Etats-Unis of New York, Herz offered his explanation for their different receptions:

> My poor friend Sivori is pursued by ill-luck incredible. His concerts chance to fall upon the evenings of great balls, or of favorite operas, and when these do not interfere with him, it rains. I am distressed to see such beautiful talent struggling

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[21]At Sivori's first concert "the house was not near full" (New Orleans Daily Picayune, 11 February 1847), and his second "was not attended by the the crowd of amateurs, who usually throng the saloons of New Orleans, to welcome a great artist" (New Orleans Daily Tropic, 15 February 1847).

[22]14 March 1847.

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> against such fatality, while I, who merit it so little, am followed up by good luck as incredible.[23]

Balls and bad weather did plague Sivori's concerts, but also contributing to his poor showing was his Italian citizenship, his less than widespread reputation, and the public's limited knowledge of his repertory. According to the New-Orleans Bee:

> Henri Herz has for himself not only his reputation, but also the popularity which his music enjoys. M. Sivori does not have this last advantage.[24]

Four of Sivori's concerts and one of Herz's, like some of De Meyer's concerts in New Orleans, were held at theaters, with three of Sivori's presented in conjunction with one or more plays.[25] Several disadvantages were inherent in performing in a theater. The most serious was having a concert interspersed with dramatic performances--and mostly lightweight comedies at that. In this respect, Sivori was fortunate, for his concert was usually last on the bill and proceeded without interruption. Another liability was that some people, who would have attended a concert in a hall, objected on religious grounds to

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[23]Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, 7 March 1847; published in Courrier des Etats-Unis; English translation in The Home Journal, no. 59 (27 March 1847), 2; quoted in Alabama Planter, 12 April 1847, p. 148.

[24]9 February 1847.

[25]In Mobile two of Sivori's concerts and one of Herz's also took place in theaters with plays, as did the last three of their five joint concerts in Louisville.

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attending one in a theater.[26] A theater performance, however, also had some advantages. It provided a ready-made orchestra to accompany concerted works and give a program greater variety by performing overtures. Sivori, for example, offered concerto performances several times in New Orleans, which he probably would not have been able to do otherwise, given the cost of hiring an orchestra and generally poor attendance. Herz, being more successful, was able to engage an orchestra for some of his New Orleans concerts outside of the theater.

New Orleans is the only place where Herz seems to have given piano lessons. He had sufficient time to do so as he was in the city for over two months, making only two brief forays to Mobile. In his book, he mentions giving lessons in New Orleans, and in a letter to Gaillardet he sends a message from Madame _____ [sic], who was one of his students, adding:

> With a troop of lovely Creoles, she takes lessons of me, and I find that the Louisianian ladies are as musically organized as they are seductive.[27]

Herz probably drew from this "troop" of amateurs some of his assisting artists, as well as from the ample supply

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[26]When Sivori's fifth concert was announced for Armory Hall, the New Orleans Daily Picayune (3 March 1847) stated: "Many persons who object to visiting a theatre will now be able to hear Mr. S. in the concert-room."

[27]Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, 7 March 1847.

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of local professional musicians. In one concert he performed a piano duo on the march from William Tell with a "Lady of New Orleans" and in another a Grand Coronation Duet for piano and harp with "Mme L****."[28] Of the fourteen local "Ladies and Gentlemen" who assisted in performances of the eight-piano version of the Overture to William Tell, all but two or three were amateurs.[29]

Regarding a performance of the William Tell Overture, the New York Herald reported that "one of the fair performers was the lady of a very distinguished Senator from Louisiana."[30] This must refer to Armantine Soulé, wife of U.S. Senator Pierre Soulé, who Herz claims had a "skill at playing the piano rare in an amateur."[31] Herz was welcomed into the home of the Soulés, which "was the meeting place of all the distinguished people in the region."[32] He obviously enjoyed a special relationship with the couple: he speaks highly of them in his book, and he recalls even that Mrs. Soulé "liked to give her advice on the drawing up of the programs of our concerts," although Ullman often rejected

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[28]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 17 March and 9 April 1847.

[29]New-Orleans Bee, 26 March 1847.

[30]20 May 1847.

[31]Travels, p. 89 (p. 296).

[32]Travels, p. 89 (p. 295). For information on Pierre Soulé, see Amos A. Ettinger, "Soulé, Pierre," Dictionary of American Biography, 17:405-7.

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her suggestions.[33] Herz paid her the ultimate compliment by dedicating his La Pastorale to "Mrs. Armantine Soulé of New Orleans" (see figure 14).[34]

The hospitality and friendship offered by the Soulés are probably representative of an active social life afforded Herz while he was in New Orleans, which made his visit especially enjoyable. His last concert there with Sivori (12 April) was a benefit for four charities and was inspired by "the kind and warm reception they . . . met with from the citizens of New Orleans."[35]

Ullman Quickens the Pace

After New Orleans Herz and Sivori continued their association. From the time they first joined until the beginning of the next season in New York they were to give

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[33]Travels, pp. 90-91 (pp. 298-300). Actually, little programming of their concerts was necessary, since their content varied little from city to city.

[34]William T. Mayo of New Orleans published the work. The piece contains some moderately challenging scale passages for both hands.

[35]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 11 April 1847. The concert announcement read in part: "The net proceeds . . . will (by the advice of their friends,) be equally divided between, 1. The Orphan Asylum; 2. Une de Charité Exclusivement Française; 3. The Italian Benevolent Society; and 4. The German Benevolent Society."

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Fig. 14. Herz, La Pastorale
(New Orleans: Wm. T. Mayo, [1847]), cover.
(Music Division, Free Library of Philadelphia)

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at least 69 joint concerts; in addition, without his partner, Herz was to perform 9 times, and Sivori 12. In all, Herz was to make at least 98 appearances during his first season in the United States (see table 3 and map 3). After New Orleans they performed all the remaining concerts on the tour together, except for two by Sivori in St. Louis (17 and 19 May) and one by Herz (21 May); joint concerts there followed. Occasionally Ullman still tried to draw an audience by announcing how fortunate the public was to have the opportunity of hearing both performers in the same concert. The most flagrant attempt, with the mandatory flattery of the local residents, appeared in an advertisement for the first Vicksburg concert (29 April):

> A CARD:--Through some misunderstanding on the part of their respective agents Messrs. Herz and Sivori arrive in this city at the same time; and although they have reason to believe--from the well-known Musical taste of the citizens of Vicksburg--that they would have met even separately with a liberal share of public patronage, they prefer combining their efforts in offering to the public a pleasant evening, without a change in the price of admission, and trust that the arrangement will be appreciated by a music-loving community.[36]

The New York Herald must have become a knowing accomplice in Ullman's plan of deception. In late March, for example, it protested too much:

> There is not, as some have supposed, a "co-partnership in business" between the two artists. They are either of them fully competent to entertain an audience for any reasonable time, and have each met with success when playing separately. It sometimes happens that they meet in the place where they are performing, and

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[36]Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig, 29 April 1847.

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TABLE 3

ITINERARY OF HERZ'S FIRST SEASON (1846-47)

29	Oct	New York, NY
5	Nov	New York, NY
10	Nov	New York, NY
13	Nov	New York, NY
19	Nov	Baltimore, MD
21	Nov	Philadelphia, PA
24	Nov	Philadelphia, PA
27	Nov	Baltimore, MD
30	Nov	Baltimore, MD
4	Dec	Philadelphia, PA
7	Dec	Wilmington, DE
9	Dec	Philadelphia, PA
17	Dec	Boston, MA
18	Dec	New Bedford, MA
19	Dec	Boston, MA
22	Dec	Philadelphia, PA
26	Dec	New York, NY
2	Jan	Boston, MA
4	Jan	Providence, RI
7	Jan	New York, NY
19	Jan	Charleston, SC
22	Jan	Charleston, SC
25	Jan	Charleston, SC
28	Jan	Savannah, GA
29	Jan	Savannah, GA
	Feb	Columbus, GA
	Feb	Columbus, GA
12	Feb	Mobile, AL
16	Feb	Mobile, AL
22	Feb	New Orleans, LA
24	Feb	New Orleans, LA
1	Mar	New Orleans, LA
5	Mar	New Orleans, LA
12	Mar	New Orleans, LA
17	Mar	New Orleans, LA
24	Mar	New Orleans, LA
30	Mar	New Orleans, LA
1	Apr	Mobile, AL
5	Apr	Mobile, AL
9	Apr	New Orleans, LA
12	Apr	New Orleans, LA
	Apr	Donaldsonville, LA
	Apr	Baton Rouge, LA
	Apr	Baton Rouge, LA
	Apr	St. Francisville, LA
24	Apr	Natchez, MS
27	Apr	Natchez, MS
29	Apr	Vicksburg, MS
4	May	Vicksburg, MS
Apr-May		Jackson, MS
	May	Memphis, TN
21	May	St. Louis, MO
24	May	St. Louis, MO
27	May	St. Louis, MO
28	May	Alton, IL
1	Jun	St. Louis, MO
3	Jun	St. Louis, MO
5	Jun	St. Louis, MO
10	Jun	Nashville, TN
12	Jun	Nashville, TN
15	Jun	Nashville, TN
21	Jun	Louisville, KY
23	Jun	Louisville, KY
24	Jun	Louisville, KY
25	Jun	Louisville, KY
26	Jun	Louisville, KY
28	Jun	Lexington, KY
30	Jun	Maysville, KY
2	Jul	Cincinnati, OH
6	Jul	Cincinnati, OH
8	Jul	Cincinnati, OH
10	Jul	Cincinnati, OH
17	Jul	Pittsburgh, PA
19	Jul	Pittsburgh, PA
24	Jul	Staten Island, NY
28	Jul	Saratoga Springs, NY
2	Aug	Saratoga Springs, NY
11	Aug	Saratoga Springs, NY
13	Aug	Buffalo, NY
14	Aug	Niagara Falls, NY
17	Aug	Buffalo, NY
18	Aug	Rochester, NY
19	Aug	Syracuse, NY
20	Aug	Utica, NY
21	Aug	Utica, NY
	Aug	Newport, RI
25	Aug	Providence, RI
29	Aug	Fall River, MA
30	Aug	New Bedford, MA
1	Sep	Worcester, MA
2	Sep	Springfield, MA
3	Sep	Hartford, CT
4	Sep	New Haven, CT
9	Sep	Troy, NY
10	Sep	Albany, NY
14	Sep	Saratoga Springs, NY
17	Sep	Albany, NY
18	Sep	Troy, NY

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MAP 3

ITINERARY OF HERZ'S FIRST SEASON (1846-47)



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> in order to get up an extraordinary entertainment, something that shall afford an extra treat to their friends, they join, and by a combination of their talent, get up a brilliant evening, for which they undoubtedly receive the thanks, as well as more substantial marks of favor from their patrons. This is the only kind of business connexion which exists between the great pianist and the pupil of Paganini.[37]

In late July, a day before the duo's return to New York, the Herald was still trying to convince its readers of the casual relationship between the performers:

> The celebrated pianist, H. Herz, will arrive in this city, in a few days, from his southern trip. Sivori, with whom Herz has travelled de conserve, is not yet here, but he will probably arrive with Herz.[38]

Ullman's calculated press releases and his clearly defined strategy for Herz's tour distinguished it from that of De Meyer. But his most significant innovation was advance preparation in many of the cities. After the New Orleans stint, Ullman generally traveled several days ahead of Herz and Sivori to secure halls and assisting artists and to place newspaper advertisements. For example, Ullman arrived in St. Louis on 10 May; the first announcement of Sivori's concerts appeared on 13 May, and Sivori arrived on 16 May, the day before for his first concert.[39] Similarly, Ullman arrived in Cincinnati on 27 June and for a joint

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[37]25 March 1847.

[38]20 July 1847.

[39]Saint Louis Daily Union, 11 and 17 May 1847. Many newspapers list arrivals at the hotels.

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concert placed an advertisement that first appeared on 30 June;[40] meanwhile Herz and Sivori were performing in Lexington (28 June) and Maysville, Kentucky (30 June). They arrived in Cincinnati on 1 July and gave their first concert the following evening.[41]

This advance preparation made the tour more efficient. De Meyer wasted precious time in each city by having to make arrangements for his concerts first and then wait until advertisements could attract a sizeable audience. With Ullman's assistance Herz was able to give a concert almost immediately upon his arrival, which allowed him to give more concerts in the same period of time. To be sure, Ullman's plan was not perfected, and wasted days still occurred, but it was a definite improvement over previous practice. Ullman eventually refined his procedure and realized its full potential a decade later in a dizzying tour with Thalberg.

On a few occasions Ullman came close to achieving his

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[40]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 28 and 30 June 1847.

[41]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 2 July 1847. T. B. Sivori, the violinist's brother, also traveled with them and may have helped Ullman with some of his managerial duties and in the advance preparation. He arrived in Savannah at least one day before his brother and Herz (Savannah Daily Republican, 26 January 1847). The Musical World summarized and quoted from two letters from T. B. Sivori to friends in London written soon after arriving in America with his brother (21/45 [7 November 1846], 566-67, and 21/48 [28 November 1846], 613).

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goal of a solidly booked itinerary for Herz. After Herz and Sivori completed their principal southern tour, they returned to New York by 21 July and continued to perform during the next two months in cities and resorts in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island (see figure 15). One week (29 August to 4 September) they gave a concert in a different city on every night but one: Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester, Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven. Ullman's attempt at a full schedule sometimes backfired. In Fall River the concert was given on a Sunday, and although billed as a sacred concert it drew only a few spectators despite a reduction in the price of tickets to fifty cents. Many people still considered it sacrilegious to attend a concert on Sunday:

> We understand there were about a hundred persons at the Concert on Sunday evening. Had it been given on some other evening, we doubt not it would have been much better attended, for we know many individuals who were absent because they considered it improper to be present at such an exhibition on the Sabbath. Whoever advised the persons to give it on that evening, acted with very little wisdom or judgment, especially if their object was to insure a large attendance. . . .[42]

Ullman and Herz possibly fared better than the attendance would suggest. Several local citizens apparently paid a flat sum to Ullman, with the understanding that they would bear either the loss (as they must have done in this case) or profit. The advertisement for the concert stated:

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[42]Fall River Weekly News, 2 September 1847.

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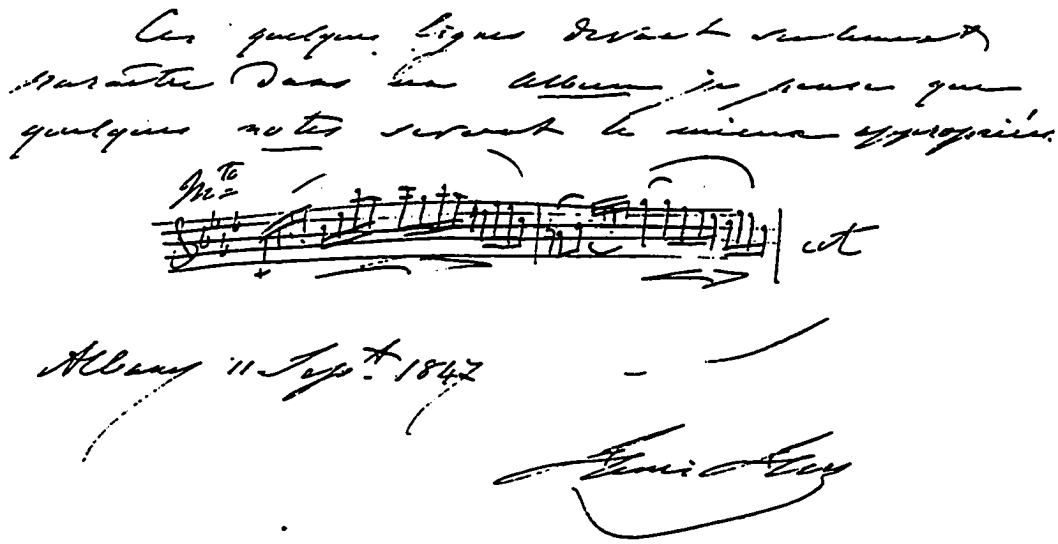


Fig. 15. Herz, Album Leaf,
Albany, 11 September 1847.
(Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

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> Several gentlemen of Fall River, desirous of procuring to their fellow citizens the treat of hearing those celebrated Artists, have engaged them at a large expense, for One Night Only, and they trust that this sacrifice on their part will be appreciated by the public.[43]

This seems to be the only concert by Herz that was sold, but it was a practice occasionally followed later for Thalberg's concerts.

These New England concerts, as well as those given in small southern cities (like Savannah, Natchez, and Lexington), were generally presented on a more modest scale. With few exceptions, no assisting artists are listed in the advertisements, and none was probably engaged. (Henry C. Timm toured with them in some of the New England cities serving as accompanist to Sivori,[44] but only for their concert in Providence on 25 August is he mentioned in an

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[43]Fall River Monitor, 28 August 1847.

[44]Spirit of the Times, 4 September 1847, p. 332. Their choice in Timm as accompanist was no accident. In an autobiographical statement, Timm writes: "I seem to have been for over twenty-five years a kind of sine qua non at all concerts given during that time, playing accompaniments to all soloists, both vocal and instrumental--I, modestly, may claim that this was my forte rather than anything else" (in Frédéric Louis Ritter, Music in America, new ed. [New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1890; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970], p. 375).

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announcement.)[45] The two performers could have easily carried a whole program, alternating in playing solos and joining together for at least one duet.[46] A program of one of their joint concerts survives listing selections only by the two (see figure 16). With no date or city printed on it, the same program could be used for many different appearances. A date in pencil of "Oct 26/47" identifies this as the program used in Worcester on 26 October 1847.

The duo repertory of Herz and Sivori included a piece by Sivori based on Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor, Herz and Lafont's duos on Rossini's Moses in Egypt and on Auber's Fra Diavolo, and a duo on Pacini's Niobe. By far their most frequently programmed work--and the warhorse of most violin

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[45]Providence Daily Journal, 25 August 1847. In most other cities, a local musician, and not Herz, almost certainly performed Sivori's accompaniment. In Charleston, a concert announcement stated that "Mrs. E. B. Barber has kindly consented to accompany Mr. Sivori" (Charleston Courier, 25 December 1847). Two reviews in other cities also specifically identify the violinist's accompanist: in Troy, J. W. Andrews "accompanied Sivori most admirably" (Troy Daily Whig, 16 September 1847), and in Pittsburgh "Prof. Rohbock presided at the piano, while Sivori played his violin, acquitting himself with his accustomed skill and grace. The audience are much indebted to Mr. R. for the manner in which he played the difficult accompaniments to the great performer" (Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 21 July 1847). Other advertisements occasionally list a piano accompanist, although in most cases such a reference could indicate an accompanist solely for assisting artists. (Only in Nashville and Pittsburgh is an accompanist listed with no assisting artist.)

[46]A review of their first Natchez concert stated: "The relief and variety afforded by the two great instruments, the Violin and Piano, in the hands of such distinguished masters, was gratifying and effective in the highest degree" (Mississippi Free Trader, 28 April 1847).

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(Oct 26 1847)

PROGRAMME

OF THE

ONLY GRAND CONCERT

TO BE GIVEN BY

HENRI HERZ,

(Composer and Pianist to H. M. the King of the French, and Professor of the Royal Conservatoire,) and

CAMILLO SIVORI,

The only pupil of Paganini.

PART I.

1. **Grand Fantasia** on **Lucia di Lammermoor,** composed and executed by **Henri Herz.**
2. **Romantic Concerto,** composed and executed by **Camillo Sivori.**
3. **La Violetta,** Brilliant Variations, composed and executed by **Henri Herz.**
4. **The Prayer of Moses,** followed by a Martial Theme with Variations, composed by Paganini, and executed ☞**On a Single String** by **Camillo Sivori.**

PART II.

5. **The Puritans,** Grand Fantasia on the celebrated Duet, composed and executed by **Henri Herz.**
6. **The Carnival de Venice,** Burlesque Variations by **Paganini,** with some additional variations composed and executed by **Camillo Savori.**
7. **The Pré aux Clercs,** Variations (di Bravura) composed and executed by **Henri Herz.**
8. **Grand Duet Concertant,** on Rossini's "**William Tell,**" executed by

H. HERZ and C. SIVORI.

☞The VIOLIN is the same upon which Paganini played at all his Concerts.

☞ Tickets, ONE DOLLAR Each—To be had at the usual places.

☞ CONCERT to commence at 7½ o'clock.

☞ The PIANOFORTE is from M. Herz's factory in Paris.

Fig. 16. Program, Concert of Herz and Sivori, Worcester, 26 October 1847. (American Antiquarian Society)

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and piano teams--was Osborne and Bériot's Duo on William Tell. Dwight described the work and their performance of it in Boston (18 October 1847):

> The great thing of this first concert was the magnificent duett by Osborne and De Beriot, on airs from "William Tell," in which the grand Piano of Chickering, played by Herz, co-operated with the violin of Sivori as one instrument, and produced a power and breadth of tone almost orchestral. . . . The composition altogether is a noble one, full of energy and a great meaning, and in its form ample, symmetrical, and free, flowing broad and rapid like a noble river swollen by spring rains. It is an exercise worth remembering to have heard it interpreted by two such masters as Sivori and Herz.[47]

Sivori's solo repertory consisted chiefly of works by Paganini, often with new material by himself, including Il Campanello, The Prayer of Moses ("executed upon a single string"),[48] The Carnival of Venice, and at least the first movement of his Concerto in B minor. He also performed the Rondo russe and Tremolo caprice of Bériot (the latter based on the slow movement of Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata), François Prume's La Mélancolie (described by Dwight as "one of the most pathetic and beautiful compositions for the

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[47]"Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 (30 October 1847), 327.

[48]This frequent advertising phrase inspired the following squib: "'The Prayer of Moses executed on one string!' said Mrs. Partington. 'Praying, I spose, to be cut down. Poor Moses!' sighed she; 'executed on one string! well, I don't know as ever I heard of any body's being executed on two strings, unless the rope broke;' and she went on wondering how it could be" (Boston Post, 23 October 1847).

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violin which we have ever heard"),[49] and of his own works, the Variations on "Nel cor più non mi sento" from Paisiello's La molinara (based on Paganini's work of the same title) and his two violin concertos.

Sivori exploited his relation with Paganini as much as possible. In addition to programming Paganini's works consistently, Sivori billed himself as "the only pupil of Paganini" and his instrument was usually identified in advertisements: "The Violin is the same upon which Paganini played at all his concerts" (see figure 16).[50] Comparisons to Paganini, which a few people in America were qualified to make, and especially to the trio of violinists who had preceded Sivori to the United States--Artôt, Bull, and Vieuxtemps--were not surprising. A correspondent to the St. Louis Reveille, who called himself "An Old Admirer of Paganini" and claimed he had assisted at the concerts given by Herz and Sivori in St. Louis, wrote of the violinist:

> Camillo Sivori [is] the legitimate heir of Paganini, of his violin, his fame, his soul, and his genius--not Paganini's pupil, but Paganini the younger! He is

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[49]"Musical Review: Sivori and Herz," The Harbinger 5/21 (30 October 1847), 328.

[50]Just prior to Paganini's death, Sivori had purchased from him his Vuillaume copy of his Guarneri (Mell, "Sivori," The New Grove, 17:356). At least one advertisement included the additional claim: "and has been bequeathed to him by his immortal master" (Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 16 July 1847). This statement is close to the version in James, Sketch, pp. 15-16, where Paganini supposedly gives Sivori the violin shortly before his death.

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> scarcely five feet high--but what a heart that man must have! Every note he plays is "a kiss to the whole world!" With less physical strength of tone than Vieux Temps, he has more passion, more music and more brilliancy. With less showiness than Ole Bull--for whom genius has done so much, and who has done comparatively little for his genius--he is more captivating, because his excentricity is natural, whereas, on the contrary, Ole Bull's is a studied one--an excentricity par excentriciti, as the French say. The one disfigures his music through excentricity; the other adorns it with it. The one plays like an innocent sweet girl; the other, like a high-bred city flirt. Ole Bull plays for the million; Sivori, for one and the million:[51]

George Knoop and a New Season

The pair continued their partnership during the next season. At least one announcement suggests that they were now actually business associates instead of occasional performing companions. The advertisement for their first Philadelphia concert (29 September 1847) informed "the public that they have definitely associated" and included the notice:

> The partnership entered into by Messrs. H. Herz and C. Sivori, renders it necessary that all letters on business should be addressed to HERZ & SIVORI.[52]

Since the two men had not performed together in the major eastern cities the previous year, their combination provided

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[51] St. Louis Daily Reveille, 27 May 1847; also quoted in Tri-Weekly Nashville Union, 10 June 1847, and Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 29 June 1847.

[52] Philadelphia Public Ledger, 29 September 1847.

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a new element to keep their concerts fresh for their second American season. Opening the season on 28 September 1847 in New York, they gave concerts in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Boston, Baltimore, and many of the New England cities they had appeared in during August and September (see table 4 and map 4).

Attendance at their New York concerts was consistently high. Advertisements frequently requested that concertgoers purchase tickets in advance rather than at the door, but the ad for the fourth New York concert (2 November) provided an unusual incentive:

> The great pressure at the door on the evenings of their former Concerts, having given rise to complaints on the part of gentlemen who came accompanied by ladies, H. and S. have determined to make, for the future, the following arrangement.
>
> Price of a ticket, taken at the music stores, before 6 o'clock, P.M., 75 cents; price of a ticket taken at the door, $1.[53]

In other cities a similar reduction in price was made to bolster attendance ("One Ticket, 75 cents. Two tickets will admit a Gentleman and two Ladies."[54]).

The most important new feature of Herz and Sivori's concerts was the regular appearance of the cellist George Knoop. He was a pupil of Bernhard Heinrich Romberg and had

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[53]New York Herald, 2 November 1847.

[54]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 4 October 1847.

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TABLE 4

ITINERARY OF HERZ'S SECOND SEASON (1847-48)

20	Sep	New York, NY	13	Nov	Boston, MA
28	Sep	New York, NY	15	Nov	New Haven, CT
29	Sep	Philadelphia, PA	17	Nov	Newark, NJ
4	Oct	Philadelphia, PA	18	Nov	Brooklyn, NY
6	Oct	New York, NY	20	Nov	Philadelphia, PA
11	Oct	New York, NY	22	Nov	Baltimore, MD
13	Oct	Brooklyn, NY	24	Nov	Wilmington, DE
18	Oct	Boston, MA	25	Nov	Lancaster, PA
19	Oct	Providence, RI	26	Nov	Philadelphia, PA
20	Oct	Providence, RI	27	Nov	Baltimore, MD
21	Oct	Boston, MA	30	Nov	Baltimore, MD
22	Oct	New Bedford, MA	8	Dec	Philadelphia, PA
23	Oct	Boston, MA	10	Dec	Washington, DC
25	Oct	Lowell, MA	11	Dec	Washington, DC
26	Oct	Worcester, MA	13	Dec	Richmond, VA
27	Oct	Springfield, MA	14	Dec	Richmond, VA
28	Oct	Hartford, CT	16	Dec	Richmond, VA
29	Oct	New Haven, CT	18	Dec	Wilmington, NC
2	Nov	New York, NY	27	Dec	Charleston, SC
4	Nov	New York, NY	31	Dec	Charleston, SC
6	Nov	New York, NY	1	Jan	Charleston, SC
9	Nov	Cambridge, MA	4	Jan	Charleston, SC
10	Nov	Boston, MA			Havana, Cuba
11	Nov	Portland, ME			Matanzas, Cuba
12	Nov	Salem, MA			Jamaica

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MAP 4

ITINERARY OF HERZ'S SECOND SEASON (1847-48)



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been in the United States since at least 1841.[55] Beginning about 1843 he toured with Dolores de Goni, a Spanish guitarist and singer whom he eventually married,[56] and the two based themselves in Cincinnati from 1844 to 1848.[57] Knoop had performed there with Herz and Sivori at their last two concerts and previously with De Meyer in both Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. For over two months he appeared with Herz and Sivori beginning with their New York concert of 2 November 1847.

Knoop was technically a solid performer; Thomas Ryan of the Mendelssohn Quintette Club wrote that he "was of the regulation pattern of well-trained virtuosi."[58] But he possessed something more than mere virtuosity. White of the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer considered him

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[55]Rufus A. Grider, Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from 1741 to 1871 (Philadelphia: Printed for J. Hill Martin by John L. Pile, 1873), p. 37. Grider wrote of Knoop: "He spent much time here, and the Bethlehem musicians were drawn towards him as by magic art. In 1843 he travelled with Signora De Goni, a Spanish lady, and a noted guitarre performer. They gave a concert, which I well remember; it was a treat. Never before was such enthusiasm manifested at a concert in Bethlehem as there was then."

[56]Dolores Nevares de Goni arrived in the United States around 1840 and gave concerts with her then husband, De Goni, who also played the guitar.

[57]For information on the Knoops in Cincinnati, see Charles R. Wyrick, "Concert and Criticism in Cincinnati, 1840-1850" (Master's thesis, College-Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, 1965), pp. 56-61.

[58]Recollections of an Old Musician, p. 31.

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> the greatest instrumental artist who has ever visited this country. . . . Not as to his command of the difficulties of his most difficult instrument . . . but in elevation of sentiment, directness, simplicity and purity of style and fervor of expression, we know not his equal.[59]

Dwight wholeheartedly agreed. In a state of reverence usually reserved for the works of Beethoven, he wrote of the cellist:

> Our main object . . . [is] to record our rare and heart-felt satisfaction at the return of Knoop, the master violoncellist, perhaps the truest artist who has been among us; a man of genius, if ever such a man has spoken to us through the medium of wood and strings obedient to the motions of his soul, by wise and conscientious art. He comes back from obscurity and poverty in which he has seemingly been resting, while more superficial celebrities have kept up a furore in our cities. . . . He had not played ten bars, before the infinite difference between genius and all mere arts of effect was felt. There was something in the manner in which those bars were given out which made us feel as if admitted into the very holy of holies of Art; it was the ideal; such a perfect expression of beauty . . .[60]

Knoop was not only an additional attraction as a soloist;[61] his assistance made possible a greater variety in repertory, including pieces outside the usual domain of a solo virtuoso. The advertisement for the first joint

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[59]5 November 1847.

[60]"Art Review: Herz, Sivori, and Knoop in Boston," The Harbinger 6/2 (13 November 1847), 11.

[61]The only solo pieces identified that were performed by Knoop were Friedrich Kummer's Fantasia on Meyerbeer's Robert le diable and a "Potpourri" on Weber's Preciosa (New York Herald, 2 and 17 November 1847). At their third New York concert, the Overture to William Tell was performed by an orchestra and Knoop played the "introductory Solo . . . accompanied by five distinguished violoncellists, as in the grand opera of Paris" (New York Herald, 4 November 1847).

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concert given by the three performers in Cincinnati had publicized the new repertory with an ironic disparagement of the usual offerings by Herz and Sivori:

> Desirous of complying with the wishes of many lovers of CLASSICAL MUSIC, H. Herz and C. Sivori beg to announce that they will give a CONCERT SPIRITUEL, in which, besides a number of brilliant and pleasing pieces, principally calculated for the Concert Room, they will introduce several Classical and Standard compositions of the highest order, which cannot fail to make a profound impression upon those who look upon Music as something loftier than a mere display of execution.
>
> It affords them the greatest possible pleasure to inform the public that the eminent artist Mr. G. Knoop has kindly consented to assist them in bringing out those pieces in a manner worthy of the high rank they hold amongst the great compositions of the day.[62]

Their Cincinnati offerings included duets--between Herz and Knoop and between Sivori and Knoop[63]--as well as two trios. One of the latter was the Trio No. 2 of Joseph Mayseder, which became their most consistently programmed work.[64]

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[62]Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 8 July 1847.

[63]The only duet to be mentioned by title is Souvenir de Rossini for violin and violoncello (Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 10 November 1847).

[64]Dwight was in ecstasy over their performance of this work: "Finally, the crowning glory of the evening, one of the grand classical Trios of Mayseder, performed by these three great masters of their respective instruments. There was a unity, a perfect co-operation, a breadth, a finish in this performance, and an all-convincing energy and fullness of expression, which no Trio, nor even Septette, ever carried with it before in Boston. That music filled the room and ruled the hour as naturally and as effectually as a flood of sunlight suddenly poured into the windows" ("Art Review: Herz, Sivori, and Knoop in Boston," The Harbinger 6/2 [13 November 1847], 11).

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They also performed two trios by Beethoven, in C minor (Op. 1, No. 3) and B-flat major (presumably Op. 11). The C-minor trio was falsely claimed to have been "executed for the first time in America" in their Boston concert of 10 November 1847.[65] Dwight had reservations about the performance of this work, but thought the "opening Allegro, and still more the Rondo Finale were played with true fire, as well as firmness and precision." Although he believed "Herz's part finely played, so far as execution went," he

> could have desired more of the feeling of Beethoven, which would have subdued the part to true proportions; as it was, the piano forte was too loud. Yet we hesitate not to call it a sublime performance; it went deeper than anything yet given in theatre or concert room this winter.[66]

The added attraction of Knoop and a further reduction in ticket prices (eventually to fifty cents) succeeded in drawing large audiences to their remaining concerts. In a few cities (Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond) Knoop did not appear at the first concert, but was held in reserve to induce the audience to attend yet another. For example,

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[65] Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 10 November 1847. The work had been performed at least once before in December 1839 in Boston by Louis Rackemann (piano), Henry Schmidt (violin), and Theodore Hach (violoncello) (Anne Hui-Hua Chan, Beethoven in the United States to 1865 [Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976], p. 142).

[66] "Art Review: Music in Boston," The Harbinger 6/4 (27 November 1847), 30.

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Herz and Sivori gave their first concert together in Baltimore on 22 November 1847 without Knoop; tickets were fifty cents and "hundreds were unable to gain admittance."[67] Knoop then appeared with them at a second concert (27 November), and a third concert (30 November) was scheduled "in consequence of numerous persons not being able to obtain seats at the [second] Concert."[68]

The advertisement for their last Baltimore concert on 30 November indicated they would soon be leaving for the South, and that for their Philadelphia concert on 8 December announced their approaching departure for Mexico.[69] After concerts in Washington, and Richmond, Knoop stayed behind to give concerts on his own,[70] and Herz and Sivori went on to make their final joint appearances in the United States in Charleston (27 and 31 December 1847, and 1 and 4 January 1848), "prior to their departure for Havana and Mexico."[71]

After Charleston, Herz and Sivori proceeded to Havana,[72] but at some point after their concerts there they separated.

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[67] Baltimore Sun, 27 November 1847.

[68] Baltimore Sun, 30 November 1847.

[69] Baltimore Sun, 30 November 1847; and Philadelphia Public Ledger, 8 December 1847.

[70] Richmond Daily Whig, 22 and 31 December 1847.

[71] Charleston Courier, 25 December 1847.

[72] Ramírez, La Habana artística, pp. 451, 521-22.

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Sivori went on to Mexico and South America,[73] and Herz, still managed by Ullman, eventually returned in the fall to New York for his final season in the eastern United States.

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[73]By May 1848 Sivori was in Lima, Peru, and continued on to Valparaiso, Chile (September 1848), returned to Lima (April-May 1849), and then went on to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (January 1850), Buenos Aires, Argentina (January-March 1850), and Montevideo, Uruguay (March 1850). He also performed in Arica, Coquimbo, and Santiago, Chile, and Arequipa, Peru. See Lauro Ayestarán, La música en el Uruguay (Montevideo: Servicio Oficial de difusión radio eléctrica, 1953), p. 237; Rodolfo Barbacci, "Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico musical peruano," Fénix: Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional 6 (1949), 500-501; Vicente Gesualdo, Historia de la música en la Argentina, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Beta S. R. L., 1961), 1:395-400; New York Herald, 11 December 1848; Eugenio Pereira Salas, Biobibliografía musical de Chile desde los orígenes a 1886 (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1978), 142; and Pierrottet, Camillo Sivori, pp. 38-43.

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CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH PIANOS, ITALIAN OPERA, AND CALIFORNIA GOLD (1847-51)

Herz as Piano Manufacturer

Herz was more than just a performer while in the United States. He was also a salesman promoting his own pianos.[1] In fact, it is generally believed that he undertook his American tour to raise capital for his struggling factory.[2] Herz's role as a piano manufacturer was significant but remains largely undocumented. His pianos were ranked with those of Erard and Pleyel in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in 1843 he patented a simplification of Erard's double escapement action (now known as the Herz-Erard action), "which, except for slight alteration, is used

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[1]Two years before coming to America, Herz had made a brief promotional visit to London (The Musical World 19/36 [5 September 1844], 295).

[2]This explanation first appears in Fétis, Biographie universelle.

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almost exclusively today."[3] Other details of his firm are sketchy. He first entered piano manufacturing in 1824 or 1825 when he formed a partnership with Henri Klepfer-Dufaut.[4] Herz soon lost his investment and later founded his own firm. According to Moscheles, in 1836 "Herz introduced his seven-octave piano in the concert market, but the tone was declared to be thin, and his invention met with but faint praise."[5] By 1844, however, he had achieved success: his factory had grown--it was employing over a

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[3]Franz Josef Hirt, Meisterwerke des Klavierbaus: Geschichte der Saitenklaviere von 1440 bis 1880 (Olten, Switzerland: Urs Graf-Verlag, 1955); English translation by M. Boehme-Brown as Stringed Keyboard Instruments, 1440-1880 (Boston: Boston Book and Art Shop, 1968), p. 106. The patent is dated 1843 in Rosamond E. M. Harding, The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851, 2nd ed. (Old Woking, England: Gresham Books, 1978), p. 321. Given Herz's consistent use of repeated notes in his variations, it is not surprising that he should improve the action that would make such passages easier.

[4]Virtually nothing is known about Herz's partner, generally referred to simply as Klepfer. No sources supply his full name but Harding lists three French patents dating from 1824 and 1826 by Henri Klepfer-Dufaut, who almost certainly was Herz's associate (The Piano-Forte, pp. 320-21). Fétis indicates Klepfer was formerly in Lyons ("Herz, Henri," Biographie universelle, 4:317). An American patent of 1851 (no. 8002) by Henry Klepfer of Cincinnati could possibly be by the same man (Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1851, Part I: Arts and Manufactures, pp. 73 and 142). In Cincinnati, Klepfer was a piano tuner and had tuned De Meyer's pianos there (see chapter III above); the 1850 census lists him as Henry Kloepfer, age 58, and indicates he was born in Germany.

[5]Recent Music and Musicians, ed. Charlotte Moscheles, trans. A. D. Coleridge (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1873; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 231.

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hundred workmen[6] and producing four hundred pianos a year[7]--and his pianos were awarded a gold medal at the industrial exposition in Paris.[8]

Whether or not Herz went on tour to raise money for his factory, he actively campaigned on behalf of his pianos while in America. With only a handful of exceptions, he always performed on his own instruments,[9] and concert advertisements contained notices such as this one:

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[6]The Musical World 19/49 (5 December 1844), 399.

[7]Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, p. 386.

[8]La France musicale 7/31 (4 August 1844), 239-40. See also the other reports on the exposition in the same journal, 7/22 (2 June 1844), 174, 7/26 (30 June 1844), 208, and 7/28 (14 July 1844), 219-20. The assertion that Herz did not found his own factory until 1851 (see, for example, Howard Schott, "Herz, Henri," The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, 2:215) is clearly incorrect. Besides the evidence presented below detailing Herz's promotion of his pianos while he was in the United States, see the advertisements for his pianos in La France musicale appearing between November 1844 and March 1846. Fétis also states that the manufacture of his pianos "did not prosper during his long absence" in America.

[9]These exceptions include his use of a Bacon & Ravens piano in Columbus, Georgia (February 1847), a Chickering in two Boston concerts (21 and 23 October 1847), a Knabe in Baltimore (22 November 1847), and unidentified pianos in California (April 1850). Herz later expressed qualified praise for the Chickering, the best American piano in his estimation, while not forgetting his own interests: "Without having that great equality of tone, that homogeneity of timbre, and especially that power, that sweetness, and that distinction which make our leading French pianos the best in the world, the Chickering instruments do not lack brilliance, and their grand concert models can compete with English grand pianos whose good features they most resemble" (Travels, p. 55 [pp. 186-87]).

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> The two Pianofortes are from Mr. Henri Herz's own Factory in Paris, and have been awarded at the National Exhibition of 1844 the grand Gold Medal of the first degree.[10]

Like De Meyer, Herz probably traveled with several pianos,[11] although for some of his concerts in Charleston and Augusta (and perhaps elsewhere) pianos manufactured by him were furnished by a local music dealer.[12] Moreover, he had a substantial stock of his pianos in the United States from which to sell to dealers and on which he drew for his performances. In a letter to Hiram Fuller from Natchez, Herz states: "My Pianos are all sold: I expect every day a new envoye from Paris of about 50 instruments."[13]

Perhaps the most important aspect of his promotion was in naming agents for his pianos, which he did in many of the cities he visited. For example, two days after Herz's final Charleston concert of his first season, the local music dealer F. Zogbaum announced:

> Henri Herz's Piano Fortes.--The subscriber respectfully informs the public that he is agent for Henri Herz's CELEBRATED PIANO FORTES of Paris, and is daily

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[10]New York Herald, 5 November 1846.

[11]And as in the case of De Meyer, his pianos did not arrive on schedule in New Orleans (New-Orleans Bee, 10 February 1847).

[12]The Charleston music dealer George Oates supplied the Herz pianos for concerts in both cities (Charleston Courier, 25 December 1847 and 14 May 1849; and Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel, 30 May 1849).

[13]Letter to [Hiram] Fuller, 22 April 1847.

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> expecting some, for one of which Mr. H. Herz has received the Golden Medal at an exhibition in Paris.[14]

Several months later in Pittsburgh Herz found two agents--rival music dealers John H. Mellor and Henry Kleber (who ten years later were to have a lively debate over Thalberg and his endorsement of the Chickering). The day Herz left Pittsburgh Mellor announced:

> Herz's Piano Fortes. John H. Mellor, No. 81 Wood street, has made arrangements with Mr. Henri Herz for a supply of PIANO FORTES, from his manufactory in Paris, and will receive during the next two weeks from those already arrived in New York, A SEMI GRAND PIANO FORTE, of Rose wood, 6 3/4 octaves, with the most elegant exterior, and of similar tone to the one exhibited by Mr. Herz, at his concerts in this city. Also, A SUPERB ROSE WOOD PICOLO [sic] PIANO FORTE, with 6 3/4 octaves, from the same manufacturer. The prices will be the same in Pittsburgh as New York.[15]

Kleber made a similar announcement the following day, also listing a rosewood semi-grand of 6-3/4 octaves that would be "fully equal in tone and touch to the one used by [Herz] at his concerts here, but far superior in point of style and exterior workmanship."[16]

About six weeks later Mellor announced the arrival of a rosewood semi-grand "to be sold low for cash."[17] Not long

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[14]Charleston Courier, 27 January 1847.

[15]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 20 July 1847.

[16]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 21 July 1847.

[17]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 31 August 1847.

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after that Kleber was able to announce with pride and a fine sense of one-upmanship:

> H. Kleber, No. 83 Third street, is just receiving and will open in a day or two, the following instruments, selected by him in person, from among Mr. Herz's extensive stock in New York.
>
> One semi-grand Rosewood Piano-Forte, 6 3/4 octaves, of most elegant exterior and workmanship, and unsurpassable for brilliancy and beauty of tone and touch.
>
> One Piccolo Piano-Forte, 6 3/4 octaves, of very elegant workmanship and superior tone.
>
> The above instruments will be sold lower than can be purchased East. They were selected with care for this market, and will be warranted superior to any thing ever offered here. The public, one and all, whether desirous of purchasing or not, are respectfully invited to call and examine the above. A good performer will be in constant attendance to exhibit the Pianos.[18]

On the evening that this announcement appeared and on the following one, Herz gave concerts in Troy and Albany, advertisements for which contained the notice:

> A Card.--Henri Herz has received from his factory in Paris, a number of rich Piano Fortes of different sizes, at corresponding prices, varying at from $300 to $700. Those desirous of procuring one will apply to him during his stay in this city.[19]

This was the only occasion Herz presented himself as a

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[18]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 9 September 1847.

[19]Troy Daily Whig, 9 September 1847; and Daily Albany Argus, 10 September 1847 (slightly varied text in the latter source). A similar announcement appeared in the advertisements for his concerts the following week in the same cities (17 September in Albany, 18 September in Troy). The only other similar advertisement was for a Baltimore concert that simply stated that the piano of Herz to be used in the concert was for sale (Baltimore Sun, 30 November 1847).

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direct agent to the public, and the prices listed above are retail. According to letters from Herz to L. F. Newland, an Albany music dealer, wholesale prices ranged from $250 for a pianino or piccolo piano to $500 for a semi-grand (petit piano à queue). A letter dated 1 November 1847 to Newland informed him of the arrival of the two pianos he had purchased. A second letter dated 6 December 1847 (see figure 17) acknowledged receipt of payment and continued:

> I have in hand an excellent Pianino in mahogany, exactly of the same size and compass as the one you received in rosewood. It is rather more finished: the cylinder in front, instead being flat is round & the lower part also is as rounded. The price, wholesale, is $250. The tone and touch are excellent.
>
> My square pianos are not arrived yet, but I expect them soon.
>
> Any orders directed to Mr. H. Herz's Pianoforte agencie 308 Broadway, N.Y. will be attended to.[20]

The pianino was a small upright (or piano droit). At this time uprights were very popular in Europe but less common in America, where the square piano was the principal style.[21] Herz introduced his pianino at a New York concert on 2 November 1847, when he performed his La Pastorale and

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[20]Letters to L. F. Newland, dated New York, 1 November and 6 December 1847, Gratz Collection, Case 13, Box 8, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[21]Herz remembers when he first saw an American piano, which struck him as being "so square, so heavy, that from a distance I might have taken it for one of those antediluvian animals Cuvier has reconstructed" (Travels, pp. 13-14 [p. 48]).

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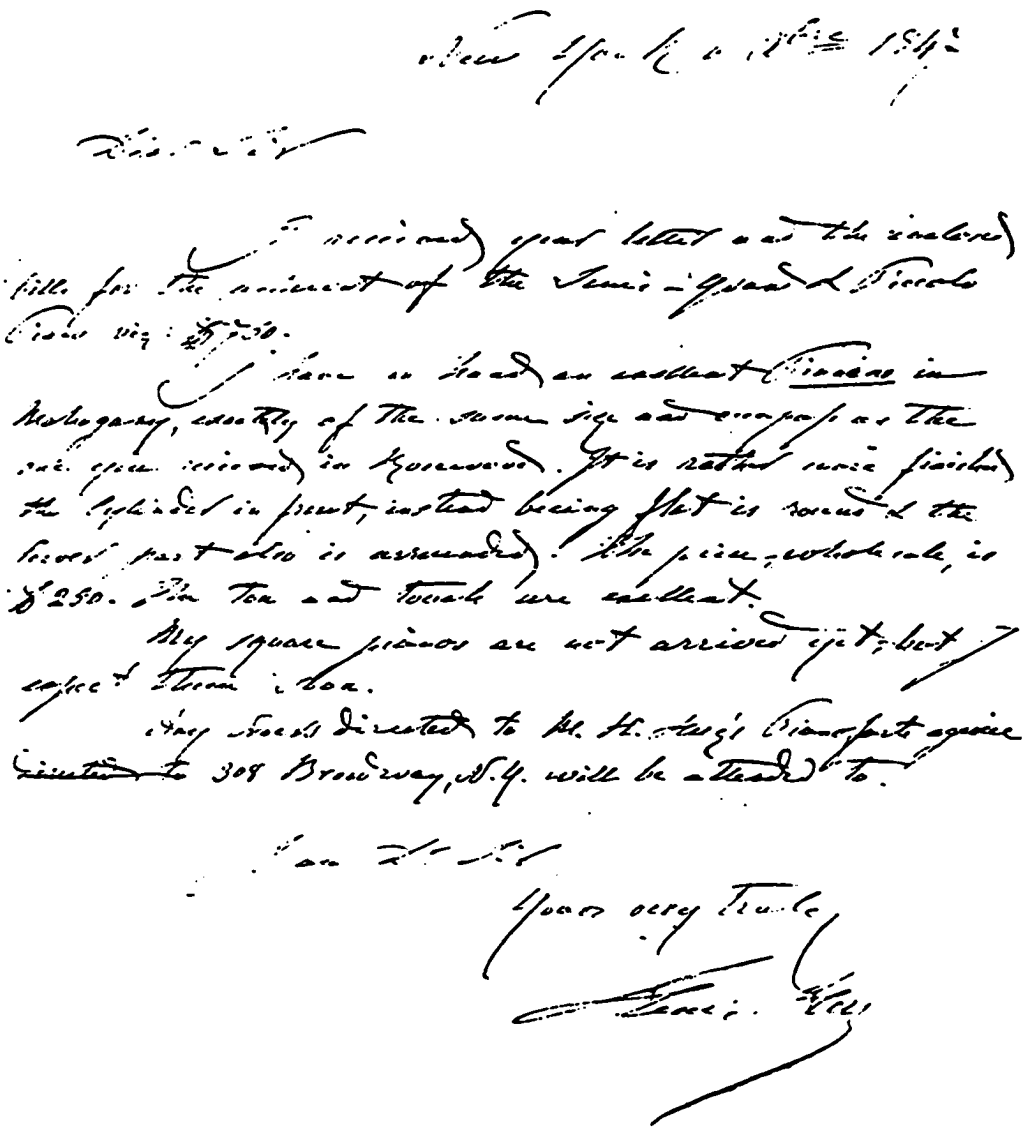


Fig. 17. Herz, Letter to L. F. Newland, New York, 6 December 1847. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

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The Last Rose of Summer.[22] A review of the concert gives this detailed description:

> [The Last Rose of Summer] was executed by the maestro upon a pianino (small piano droit) which elicited, by its tone, compass and force, the admiration of all the amateurs present. This instrument, from the factory of M. H., has the same fine quality, the perfect égalité, throughout its register, and nearly the same strength of sound as a large square piano, or a piano à queue. The only difference consists in the sweet tones of the strings, which are combined in such a manner as to possess sufficient power to render them brilliant to the hearers. The tone of the upper octave seemed to us perfectly clear and voluminous. This kind of piano will, undoubtedly, take well in New York, where parlors, though large, are often not sufficient to receive, with comfort, all the company at a party.[23]

Herz was becoming so ensconced in America and was doing so well in the marketing of his pianos that plans were underway for him to build a music hall and piano factory in New York. A rumor had circulated earlier that the new hall was to be modeled on his hall in Paris.[24] The New-York Daily Tribune described the plans in considerable detail:

> Music Hall. After a great deal of fruitless talk, we are at last happy to learn that the arrangements for a good Musical Hall are so far completed that it is something more than a probable thing. The parties are M. Henri Herz, the distinguished pianist, and M. Laforge of this city. The site is to be that of the Bond street House, and the present walls of that building, with some alterations and additions, will be employed for the purpose. The Hall will be large

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[22]New York Herald, 2 November 1847.

[23]New York Herald, 3 November 1847.

[24]New York Herald, 4 January 1847.

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> enough to contain upward of twenty-six hundred persons, and will be finished in a style excelling any of our public buildings in elegance. The seats are to be luxurious sofas; the floor, an inclined plane to give all a fair chance to see and hear, will be contrived so that it can be lowered to a level, the seats removed, and the whole converted into a fine ball room in two hours. Under the Hall, on Broadway, will be four stores, and in the rear of the whole, M. Herz intends to establish a manufactory of his pianos, the demand for which is already large in this country, and which cannot in Europe be well made for this climate.[25]

Neither the hall nor the piano factory was built, and though speculation continued about Herz's intentions (including one for "opening a school for musical instruction in New York, on the European plan"),[26] none ever was realized: Herz was probably not in New York or any other city long enough to carry through any of his various schemes. Performing was a less risky means for earning money. In 1848, however, his concert itinerary was drastically reduced. After leaving Charleston in January with Sivori, he seems to have gone to Cuba first and then Jamaica, "where cruel trials awaited" him. He writes:

> Believing I had lost the use of my right hand, I endured crushing physical pain, accompanied by mental tortures a thousand times more disheartening. Only virtuosos, those who love their art and practice it with devotion, can comprehend all the poignant regrets which then tore at my heart. The loss of my sight would have meant less to me than the loss of my

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[25]Quoted in Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 6 November 1847.

[26]Philharmonic Journal 1/5 (31 October 1848), 37.

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> fingers. Fortunately, the malady was not without cure, and three months after my arrival in Jamaica I was able to continue my concert tour through the two Americas.[27]

It was probably from Jamaica, with Herz incapacitated, that Sivori went on his own to Mexico and South America. Herz may have toured briefly in the Caribbean after recovering, for he was not back in New York until October 1848[28] and no performances in other parts of the United States have been documented.[29]

Once back in the East, Herz's schedule slowed to a virtual standstill: from November 1848 to March 1849 he gave only seven concerts and made three guest appearances. The reason for the sudden decline is not clear. He had recovered from his Jamaican ailment, and attendance at his concerts was good enough to have encouraged him to continue performing. Perhaps he was seriously considering the establishment of a piano factory in New York. He had a compelling reason to remain in the United States, at least for some time longer: returning to Paris would have been an uncertain move because of the French revolution of June 1848 during which many musicians had fled the city. On the day

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[27]Travels, p. 98 [p. 322]).

[28]New York Herald, 20 October 1848.

[29]Herz states that from Jamaica he visited Havana, Mexico, California, Peru, and Chile, omitting his final season in the eastern United States (Travels, p. 98 [p. 322]).

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of his last concert in New York (21 December 1848) the New York Herald reported:

> The [concert] proposed to be given to-night is probably his last concert; for we understand he purposes to retire from the field of competition soon, and create an establishment in this city for the manufacture and sale of musical instruments of such rank and quality as have hitherto not been known in this country.

Frans Coenen and an Opera Troupe

If Herz was indeed planning to retire from the concert platform, he made his final two New York concerts grand affairs (30 November and 21 December 1848); the first was billed as a "Great Solemnité Musicale."[30] Participating at both concerts were the soloists and orchestra from the Italian Opera under the direction of Max Maretzek, who had recently arrived in America to serve as conductor of the Astor Place Opera House. Three of the soloists were to soon team up with Herz in his final tour of the East Coast. Several other recent immigrants as a result of the European revolutions of 1848 appeared at the two concerts: at the first, Joseph Gungl and his orchestra,[31] and at the second,

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[30]The designation solemnité was unusual though not entirely new to America (it had been used in 1839 for the concert in memory of Daniel Schlesinger which led to the formation of the New York Philharmonic Society), and it was relatively common in France.

[31]Gungl's attack on American musical taste is cited in chapter I.

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the Bohemian pianist Maurice Strakosch and the Dutch violinist Frans Coenen. Strakosch (1825-87) had made his American debut in June 1848, and Herz had made a guest appearance at his concert on 16 December. Strakosch was to become one of the most energetic impresarios in the New World. This was probably his first contact with Ullman, with whom he was later briefly associated in producing opera at the Academy of Music and in managing one of Thalberg's western tours.[32]

Coenen (1826-1904) made his American debut at Herz's concert as a last-minute replacement. Born in Rotterdam, he had studied violin with Bernhard Molique in Stuttgart and Vieuxtemps in Brussels.[33] The combination of a violin and piano once again proved congenial, and Coenen performed in the remainder of Herz's concerts in the United States and accompanied him to Mexico.

Coenen's repertory included works by his teacher Vieuxtemps and the Carnival of Venice of Paganini as well as his own variations and fantasias. With Herz he performed some of the violin and piano duos that the pianist had played with Sivori, and during a guest appearance at the Boston Philharmonic Society (17 February 1849), the two

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[32]For more information on Strakosch, see chapters XII and XIII.

[33]Jan Ten Bokum, "Coenen," The New Grove, 4:517-18.

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presented the Andante and Finale from Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata,[34] a work rarely performed in the United States.

After a brief tour to Boston, Providence, and Worcester in February 1849 with Coenen and the singer Elsa Biscaccianti, Herz returned to New York (see figure 18); a full two months elapsed before he began his final series of appearances on the East Coast, in conjunction with Coenen and three soloists from the Italian Opera Company: soprano Teresa Truffi, tenor Sesto Benedetti, and bass Settimo Rossi.[35] The singers presented extensive excerpts from operas instead of just miscellaneous arias and duets: they were billed as the principal attraction with a piano and violin concert between the acts.

Herz had not sunk to serving as mere accompanist to an opera troupe, as has been implied.[36] Herz was clearly the

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[34]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 17 February 1849.

[35]Richard Grant White gave detailed descriptions of both Benedetti and Truffi: "Among all the tenors who have appeared in America, not one took such a hold upon the musical public as Benedetti, although he had not a great voice, nor a finished style, nor a handsome person. . . . But there was in the tone and quality of his voice something to which the heart could not say no; and his style of singing as well as his bearing on the stage was the perfection of manliness. . . . Teresa Truffi stands first as a favorite among the operatic artists of the second rank who have visited New York. She was not a great singer . . . but there was that nameless something in the tone of her voice . . . which enabled her to move her hearers when many a more finished vocalist would leave them as untouched as by the piping of a bullfinch" ("Opera in New York," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine 23/6 [April 1882], 877 and 881).

[36]Bokum, "Coenen," The New Grove, 4:518.

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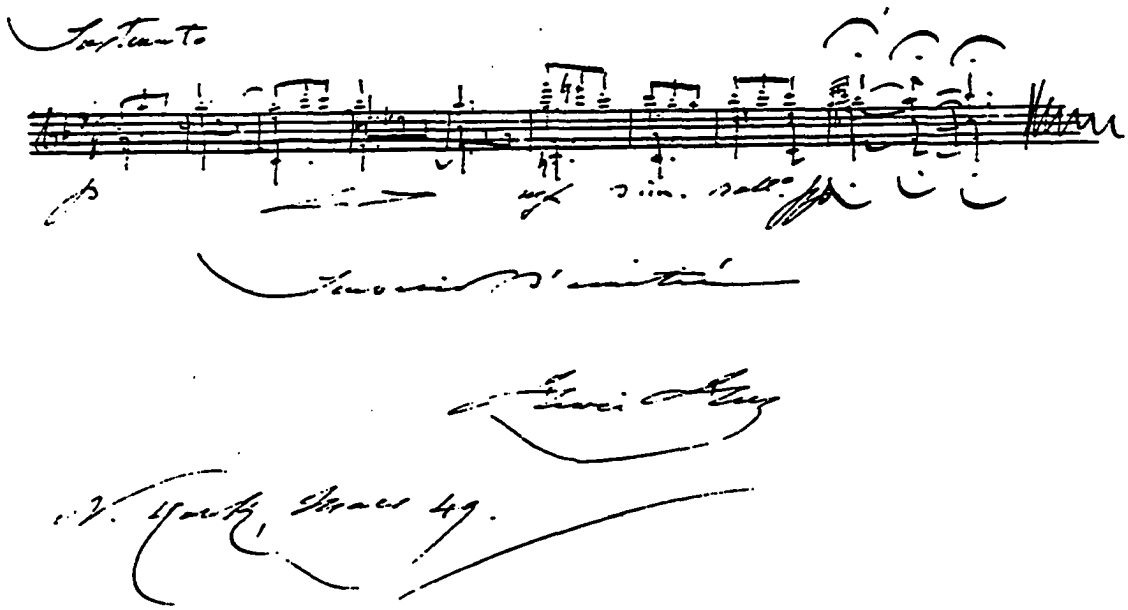


Fig. 18. Herz, Album Leaf,
New York, March 1849.
(Music Division, New York Public Library,
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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producer of these concerts and remained the star. Still, in his third season in the United States he needed some novelty to sustain attendance. Ullman, with his continued interest in Italian opera, probably conceived of the union. Originally the goal of the troupe was to travel far beyond the East Coast: one article about the company carried the headline "Musical Expedition in Pursuit of the Gold of South America" and described the troupe as a "sort of gold-digging California association."[37]

These musical forty-niners began on 19 April 1849 in Baltimore, where they gave five concerts, and then headed south. They performed in Washington, Richmond, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, and Columbia before the singers turned back prior to an appearance in Columbus by Herz and Coenen (see table 5 and map 5). The New York Herald reported: "Benedetti and Herz apparently quarreled about some important question--probably the difference

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[37]New York Herald, 12 April 1849. The Alabama Planter (7 May 1849, p. 179) of Mobile indicated their itinerary would include Chagres, Lima, and Valparaiso.

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TABLE 5

ITINERARY OF HERZ'S THIRD SEASON (1848-49)

30	Nov	New York, NY
14	Dec	New York, NY
16	Dec	New York, NY
21	Dec	New York, NY
30	Dec	New York, NY
8	Feb	Boston, MA
15	Feb	Worcester, MA
16	Feb	Providence, RI
17	Feb	Boston, MA
19	Apr	Baltimore, MD
20	Apr	Baltimore, MD
21	Apr	Baltimore, MD
23	Apr	Baltimore, MD
25	Apr	Baltimore, MD
27	Apr	Washington, DC
28	Apr	Washington, DC
2	May	Richmond, VA
3	May	Richmond, VA
7	May	Norfolk, VA
8	May	Norfolk, VA
11	May	Richmond, VA
12	May	Richmond, VA
16	May	Charleston, SC
18	May	Charleston, SC
21	May	Charleston, SC
24	May	Savannah, GA
25	May	Savannah, GA
26	May	Savannah, GA
30	May	Augusta, GA
31	May	Augusta, GA
1	Jun	Augusta, GA
4	Jun	Columbia, SC
5	Jun	Columbia, SC
6	Jun	Columbia, SC
9	Jun	Charleston, SC
12	Jun	Charleston, SC
18	Jun	Columbus, GA
19	Jun	Columbus, GA

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MAP 5

ITINERARY OF HERZ'S THIRD SEASON (1848-49)



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between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee--and so they separated."[38]

Before the split, however, the troupe had given over twenty-five performances. They offered condensed versions of operas stripped of expensive sets and tedious recitatives. In Baltimore, for example, they gave "Italian Opera Soirees" consisting of "all the Airs, Duets, Concerted Pieces" of operas "with Action and in Full Costume." Each performance was devoted to one or two operas, including Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor and Lucrezia Borgia, Mercadante's Il Giuramento, and Verdi's I Lombardi. This was not an entirely original procedure, and neither Herz nor Ullman attempted to take credit for it:

> The novel system pursued in this complete illustration of Italian Opera Music, is identical with that adopted by the Director of Her Majesty's Theatre, during his Operatic tour in the Provinces with Jenny Lind, Lablache, and Roger--and while no important part of the Music is omitted, due care has been taken to keep up the interest of the poem.[39]

Herz and Ullman probably hoped such a prestigious precedent would extinguish any doubts about their venture.

In some cities a different tactic was used. Instead of

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[38]By mid-July Truffi and Benedetti were "rusticating at the country house of Mr. Chickering" and were "endeavoring to make engagements with Chickering to get up the Italian opera in Boston" (New York Herald, 17 July 1849). Maretzek describes this contentious trio of singers and their intrigues against the manager of the Astor Place Opera House, Edward P. Fry, brother of composer and critic William Henry Fry (Crotchets and Quavers, pp. 30-46).

[39]Baltimore Sun, 16 April 1849.

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admitting that their original intention was to give operatic excerpts, the troupe falsely claimed that it was a matter of necessity beyond their control. In Richmond, for example, the advertisement began:

> In consequence of the steamer sailing for Mexico at an earlier day than was believed, and the impossibility of making suitable arrangements for the Italian Opera, Henri Herz begs to announce that he will give two Grand Italian Opera Concerts . . .[40]

"Grand Italian Opera Concerts" differed from the original plan of the Baltimore presentations in that they included a number of excerpts from several operas--not just one or two--and they were performed without action or costumes. To provide an extra incentive for attendance, the troupe withheld action and costumes until their third concert in Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, and Augusta.

Only at the last two Richmond concerts (11 and 12 May 1849), held in the theater[41] instead of the concert room, did an orchestra accompany the singers.[42] Otherwise Herz accompanied at the piano with occasional violin obbligato by

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[40]Richmond Daily Whig, 2 May 1849. A similar announcement was made in Charleston (Charleston Courier, 14 May 1849).

[41]The advertisements for the appearances in the theater assured the respectable citizens that "the Galleries and Bars will be closed, and no improper characters admitted" (Richmond Daily Whig, 11 May 1849).

[42]Richmond Daily Whig, 10, 11, and 12 May 1849.

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Coenen.[43] Between the acts Herz and Coenen performed solos and duets, occasionally offering fantasias based on the evening's opera.[44]

Because producing opera was a new experiment for Herz and Ullman, subscriptions for two or three performances were sold to encourage attendance at more than one concert. An added precaution in three cities (Baltimore, Richmond, and Norfolk) was to require a minimum number of subscribers--300 for Baltimore and Richmond, 250 for Norfolk.[45] The concerts were successful, however, and the requirement was soon eliminated. In Baltimore, over five hundred people subscribed and extra concerts had to be added. Interest was so high that tickets were oversold (they could be purchased at several locations--concert hall, music stores, hotels). For one of the extra Baltimore concerts Ullman asked for the public's cooperation:

> In consequence of the great number of tickets already sold, and the limited capacity of the Hall, the public are requested to buy their tickets at Barnum's City Hotel in preference to any other place, that the precise moment of stopping the sale of tickets might be fixed upon, so that all persons may be comfortably seated.[46]

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[43]Baltimore Sun, 20 April 1849; Richmond Daily Whig, 4 May 1849; Charleston Courier, 21 May 1849; Savannah Daily Republican, 26 May 1849; and Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel, 30 May 1849.

[44]For a Baltimore presentation of Ernani, Herz performed "a brilliant Fantasia on Ernani, expressly composed for [the] occasion" (Baltimore Sun, 23 April 1849).

[45]Baltimore Sun, 17 April 1849; Richmond Daily Whig, 28 April 1849; and Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 28 April 1849.

[46]Baltimore Sun, 25 April 1849.

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On his Own in Latin America and California

After the sudden departure of the troupe's three singers in Charleston, Herz, Coenen, and Ullman pressed on toward California via Mexico. A year passed before Herz finally arrived on the West Coast--without either Coenen or Ullman. Mexico had turned into an El Dorado of its own, making his enthusiastic reception in the United States seem lukewarm by comparison. On 11 July 1849, for example, about sixty leading citizens, musicians, and amateurs greeted him eight miles outside of Mexico City and escorted him into the city, where he was feted with a dinner and a serenade.[47] His concerts, which included at least one performance of the eight-piano William Tell Overture,[48] were extremely successful. One report, based on "a private letter [from Herz] received at Boston," claimed:

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[47]Alabama Planter, 30 July 1849, p. 275; New York Herald, 30 July 1849; The Message Bird 1/2 (15 August 1849), 27; and Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari, Reseña historica del teatro en México, 1538-1911, 3rd ed., 5 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1961), 1:485-86. A similar reception in another, unidentified Mexican town was described: "Twenty carriages, drawn by two horses, and five by four, were sent by the principal families to meet him on the outskirts of the town; a state carriage was placed at his disposal, and he was escorted by thirty artists on horseback and eight dragoons, and, on reaching his hotel, he was entertained with a magnificent dinner" (Alabama Planter, 17 December 1849, p. 17).

[48]Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, 1:489. The concert took place on 5 September at the Teatro Nacional in Mexico City.

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> Herz communicates . . . that the nett [sic] profits of one of his concerts given at Mexico, was $12,000! That many of the bouquets with which he was almost smothered, at his last concert, contained diamonds.[49]

Herz had an amicable relationship with the Mexican government as well as the people. Soon after his arrival, he announced his intention to write a national hymn for the country. With the government's approval, a public contest was held for the text, and Herz set it to music.[50] When the pianist left the capital to visit other cities, the

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[49]The Message Bird 1/21 (1 June 1850), 351. This account may seem exaggerated, but it reports correctly that the price of tickets at Herz's concerts in San Francisco was $6.

[50]The hymn was soon forgotten, and several others were written before the one still used today was adopted. It was composed by Jaime Nunó, who served as piano accompanist for Thalberg's first concerts in America (see chapter X). The complete background of the various Mexican hymns can be found in Bernardino Beltrán, Historia del himno nacional mexicano (Mexico City: D.A.P.P., 1939); and Jesús C. Romero, Verdadera historia del himno nacional mexicano (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1961).

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President ordered the governors to see that he was protected by guards.[51]

Sometime during his stay in Mexico, Herz broke his relations with both Coenen and Ullman for reasons unknown. Coenen performed in at least some of Herz's concerts in Mexico City, but by February 1850 he was giving concerts in Mexico without the pianist.[52] After returning briefly to Holland, Coenen joined with fellow Dutch pianist Ernst Lübeck, and the two made a comprehensive tour of Latin America and the West Indies (1851-54).[53] The only clue about the split between Herz and Ullman is Maretzek's claim that the pianist "dismissed [Ullman] from his service in

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[51]Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, 1:487-88; and The Message Bird 1/5 (15 November 1849), 135. Ullman wrote of his adventures in Mexico with Herz: "Travelling in this country is a laborious affair, attended with all kinds of dangers; no one can form a notion what the traveller has to go through, unless he knows, from experience, the wretched conveyance by means of mules, and the insecurity of the roads" ("Leaves from My Diary," Musical Pioneer 11/6 [March 1866], 42). Maretzek also tells of the dangers of traveling there; in describing his opera troupe as they were about to board the diligence from Mexico City to Vera Cruz, he states: "They looked rather like a horde of Mexican banditti than a peaceful company of Italian vocalists. . . . All were armed to the teeth. Each one of them carried a double-barrelled gun, two revolvers, and a huge Bowie knife. Even the very ladies looked like the Amazonian warriors of a former age, dressed and armed in the fashion of the present day. Not one of them was there, who did not carry her pistol" (Crotchets and Quavers, pp. 276-77).

[52]Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, 1:493.

[53]Barbacci, "Diccionario biográfico," pp. 443 and 471; Otto Mayer-Serra, Música y músicos de Latinoamerica (Mexico City: Editorial Atlante, 1947), pp. 224-25; and Eugenio Pereira Salas, Historia de la música en Chile (1850-1900) (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1957), pp. 115-16.

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Mexico."[54] Maretzek's comments on Ullman must be weighed carefully since the two men were rival impresarios. But he is seemingly correct, for Ullman had no better venture up his sleeve, or at least none came to fruition. His activities until April 1852, when he began serving as an agent for Maurice Strakosch in Havana, are unknown, and his new position then indicates a temporary setback in his managerial career.[55]

From Mexico Herz followed the gold rush alone to California. When he arrived in San Francisco on 26 March 1850, that city was not the most likely spot to find a virtuoso pianist from Paris, as Alta California announced: "It will cause considerable surprise to his friends and admirers in the United States and abroad to learn that [Herz] has extended his journeyings thus far."[56] He was in fact the first notable musician to visit

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[54]Crotchets and Quavers, p. 307.

[55]Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 60. Lerner speculates on the reasons for the break, but comes to no conclusion (pp. 59-61).

[56]27 March 1850. Making the voyage from Mexico to San Francisco was no easy task. Herz sailed from Mazatlan on the steamship California, which brought 260 passengers to San Francisco; on 2 March it had left about 1,500 people in Panama desiring passage and "hundreds at Mazatlan and other places on the coast offered 4 and $500 for tickets in the steerage to San Francisco" (San Francisco Daily Pacific News, 27 March 1850; and Sacramento City Placer Times, 30 March 1850).

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California, although many soon followed him, including Catherine Hayes, Miska Hauser, Ole Bull, and Maurice Strakosch.[57]

In a letter to the Courrier des Etats-Unis Herz shared his impressions of the bustling city:

> On arriving at San Francisco, I found there so many friends, French, English and Germans, that I was immediately at home. However, the most part of these friends were completely metamorphosed. Those whom I had been accustomed to see pass their life at New York in the delights of fashionable far niente, are here selling coats, shoes, hardware, &c. Others whom I had left trying to be lawyers, or parlor singers, have become auctioneers, and acquit themselves very well in their new business. I have seen young Parisian lions selling the product of their sporting at exorbitant prices; and professional painters consecrating their pencils to sign making, at an ounce of gold per letter. I have met with perfect gentlemen, offering to transport my pianos, receiving therefor, in different sums, $300 for their services. In fine, I have seen so many extraordinary things that I dare not communicate them, for fear of being accused of exaggeration.[58]

Herz, like many of his friends, was "metamorphosed," although not completely, after he passed through the Golden

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[57]For information on music in early California, see Works Progress Administration, Northern California, San Francisco, History of Music in San Francisco Series, 7 vols. (San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, 1939-42; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1972). Information on Herz can be found in vol. 1: Music of the Gold Rush Era, pp. 138-45; vol. 3: Letters of Miska Hauser, 1853, pp. 98-101; and vol. 4: Celebrities in El Dorado, 1850-1906, pp. 23-24. Herz did not return to California in 1854 as stated in 1:143 and 4:24.

[58]Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, ca May 1850, written on board the steamer Panama, published in Courrier des Etats-Unis; English translation in Boston Bee, quoted in Cist's Weekly Advertiser (Cincinnati), 3 July 1850, and The Message Bird, no. 25 (1 August 1850), 407.

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Gate. He was conscious of the necessity of appealing to a public more concerned with panning for gold than attending concerts. For his first San Francisco concert (2 April 1850) the finale was an "extemporaneous performance on the pianoforte, on several American, French, Italian and German popular songs."[59] At least one of the American tunes was "Oh! Susanna," which had virtually become the theme song of the forty-niners[60] and on which Herz had already published a set of variations. Herz knew his public, for Alta California thought the "extempore medley was more universally pleasing than either of his other selections," although it admitted that "as an exhibition of scientific skill it was not of course comparable with the performance of the more difficult compositions which he previously gave, but it was a very satisfactory conclusion of the concert."[61]

The finale of his second San Francisco concert (6 April) was billed as a "VOYAGE MUSICALE, in which he will

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[59]Alta California, 2 April 1850.

[60]John Tasker Howard states that the song "became the national anthem and marching song of the forty-niners on their way to California" (Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour, 2nd ed. [New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1953], p. 138); see also William W. Austin, "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home": The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours (New York: Macmillan, 1975), pp. 28-30; and Works Progress Administration, History of Music in San Francisco Series, vol. 2: A San Francisco Songster, 1849-1939, pp. 16-16B.

[61]3 April 1850.

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introduce the National Airs of all the principal countries, including La Marseillaise and Yankee Doodle, an imitation of a Storm at Sea, and the California Polka [see figure 19], arranged for this concert by HENRI HERZ,"[62] which Alta California found "perfectly electrifying."[63] To top the Voyage musicale Herz advertised his third appearance (11 April) as a "Monstre Concert." The term was used by Herz for the first time in an advertisement, and it created a problem because of the ambiguous description of the concert's finale:

> The celebrated SIGNORA AVALOS will sing several of her favorite airs, and also a duett with MR. LUNA. MR. HERZ will play four times. Solos on the cornet a piston by Mons. Villiers. To conclude with the Marche Nationale on FOUR PIANOS.[64]

Most people evidently believed, as did Alta California, that the Marche nationale was "to be performed at the latter end

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[62]Alta California, 6 April 1850. A detailed description of the piece (or improvisation) appears in the Sacramento Transcript, 20 April 1850. Such a work was not an original idea. The harpist Nicholas Bochsa was famous for his Voyage musicale, "in which the music of every nation of the earth is represented with marvellous ability" (New York Evening Mirror, 2 October 1847). Herz may have been inspired by the harpist, who with his wife, the singer Anna Bishop, had been in the eastern United States at the same time as Herz and had more recently vied with him for the public's favor in Mexico City. The couple visited California in 1854.

[63]8 April 1850.

[64]Alta California, 11 April 1850.

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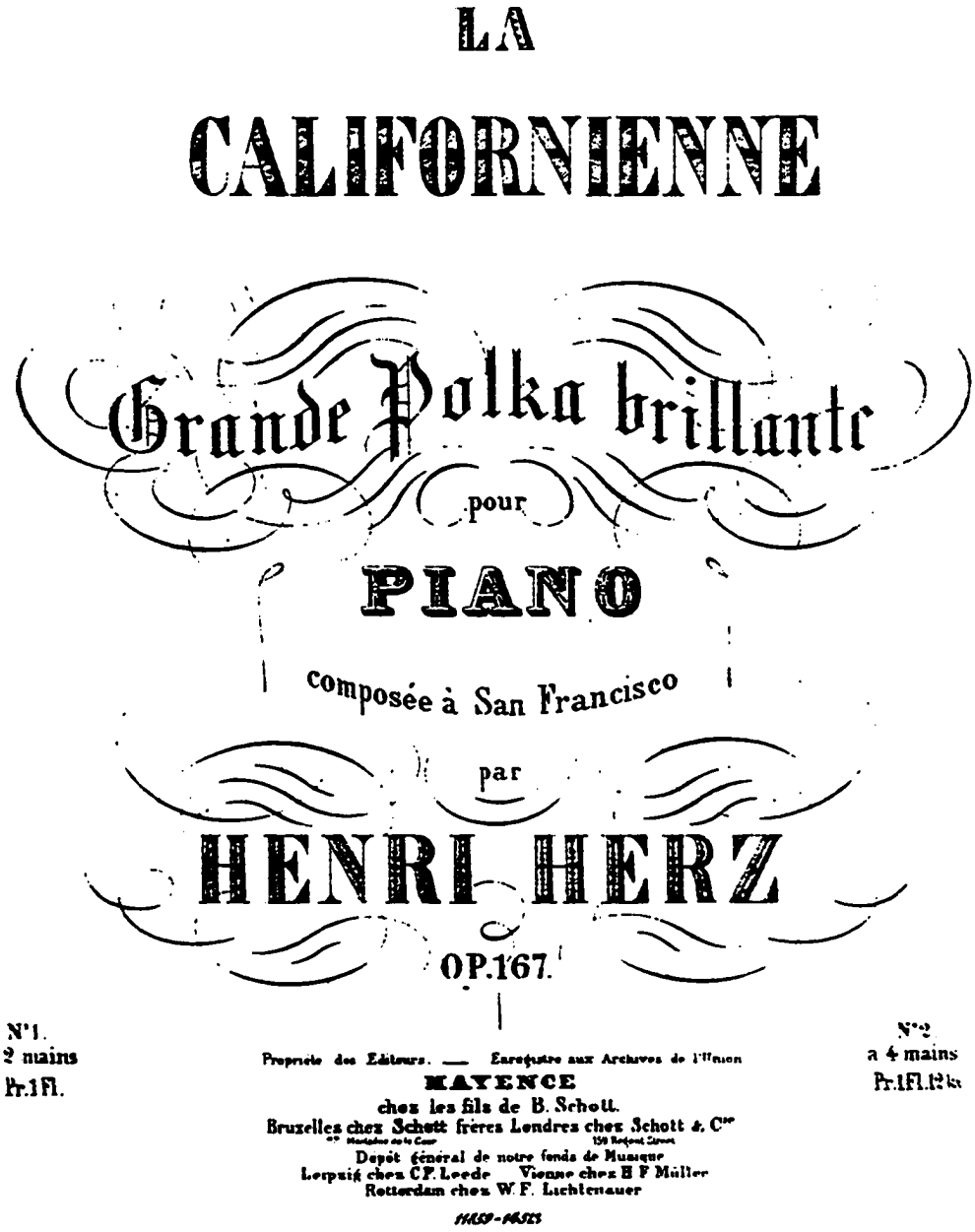


Fig. 19. Herz, La Californienne
(Mainz: Fils de B. Schott, 1850s), cover.
(Music Division, Free Library of Philadelphia)

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of the concert, by Mr. Herz, upon four pianos."[65] Needless to say:

> . . . those who expected to see and hear him perform upon four pianos at the same time were a little disappointed. He presided at one, while a lady and two gentlemen performed at the others.[66]

In a separate article Alta California, which had voiced its support of Herz, took him to task for his supposed cunning deception:

> Monstrosity.--We dislike the system of "gaggery" which professional people seem to think necessary to tincture all their public announcements with. We are willing to acknowledge that the public are so good natured that they are frequently gulled to a very great extent, but it is really unkind to take advantage of their credulity and impose upon their good nature too much. . . . An artist with talent of acknowledged excellence, and a name familiar to all, needs no puffery to back him, and it is bad taste to use the article at all. We were not a little annoyed at the announcement of Mr. Herz's last concert being a "monster" concert. If he had been assisted by a few anthropopagi, gronies and other monstrosities, the name would have been applicable enough, but from the fact that he was assisted by two or three amateurs only, nothing monstrous could be discovered. The ingeniously worded programme relative to the Marche Nationale, upon four pianos was a very gentle equivocal announcement approaching to a "sell." Many individuals went with the expectation of seeing Mr. Herz throw off his usual modest and quiet demeanor, and distribute himself among his four pianos, playing upon all of them at the same time. They did not exactly understand how he was going to do it, but probably imagined it was something similar to the performance on the bass drum, pandian pipes and cap of bells, by a well known character in this city. If he had have announced that he would preside at the grand piano, and be accompanied by a lady, Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Brown, each upon a piano,

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[65]11 April 1850.

[66]Alta California, 12 April 1850.

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> with a few notes from the cornet a piston of Mr. Villiers, some of his ardent admirers would have stayed away perhaps.[67]

At the invitation of several influential citizens of Sacramento, who appealed to Herz in a "pressing letter,"[68] the pianist moved on to that city and gave a similar series of three concerts (16, 18, and 20 April): the first included an improvisation on popular songs, the second featured his Voyage musicale, and the third was a "monster concert." For the last, Herz was more explicit in the advertisement in order to prevent any misunderstanding:

> Several Pianists having kindly volunteered their assistance for this Concert, Mr. HENRI HERZ is happy to announce that he will be able to execute his new composition, entitled "Marche Nationale," on three piano fortes.[69]

In two of his Sacramento concerts, Herz was assisted by the singer Stephen Massett, who had been the first musician to perform in California in June 1849, almost a year before Herz's arrival.[70] At both concerts Massett performed "several Songs, Ballads and Comic Recitations, together with Imitations illustrative of the peculiarities

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[67]16 April 1850.

[68]Sacramento Transcript, 8 April 1850; and San Francisco Daily Pacific News, quoted in Sacramento Transcript, 18 April 1850.

[69]Sacramento Transcript, 20 April 1850.

[70]Music in San Francisco, 3:92-97.

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of Yankee Character."[71] The singer records in his amusing autobiography that he had previously met Herz in New York and had run into him again on the steamer from San Francisco to Sacramento:

> He proposed that I should sing for him, and asked me what my "terms" were.
>
> Now I had given the first concert entirely by myself in this golden land, and one or two others besides, and generally pocketed four or five hundred dollars a night; and so I asked my friend from Paris five hundred pesos. He stared aghast, and said he couldn't stand it; but . . . I "concluded" to sing for two hundred dollars a night. (Pretty good pay now, I think.) The price of tickets was seven dollars and four dollars, and the house, at that, was crowded.[72]

Tickets prices for Herz's California concerts were close to Massett's account, and the pianist was making a lot

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[71] Sacramento Transcript, 18 and 20 April 1850.

[72] "Drifting About," or What "Jeems Pipes of Pipesville" Saw-and-Did (New York: Carleton, 1863), p. 141. "Jeems Pipes" was Massett's nom-de-plume for his satirical newspaper articles. He recalls that at one of Herz's concerts when he gave the comic recitation of the "Frenchman and the Rats," "two rats with very long tails ran right across the stage, and a general scrambling of the same animal was heard on the 'cotton' ceiling. A roar of laughter arose from the audience--Herz being quite convulsed." While visiting Paris in 1853 he again met Herz, who invited him to one of his concerts in his own hall, where "he didn't think I should see any rats running across the floor!" (p. 200).

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of money.[73] For his first two San Francisco concerts, tickets were six dollars for reserved seats in the boxes or parquette, four dollars for seats in the pit; prices were lowered a dollar for his third concert. The Sacramento concerts were less expensive, with a ticket for all three costing only ten dollars and a single ticket four dollars. A lady and a gentleman could attend one of the last two concerts for seven dollars. These ticket prices were high but were on a par with other prices in California.[74]

Attendance at Herz's concerts appears to have been good: "A numerous auditory" attended his first San Francisco concert, and according to Alta California his last concert there attracted "by far the most brilliant audience we have

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[73]According to the Sacramento Transcript (30 April 1850), Herz could have made a considerable sum in a somewhat different line of piano playing: "Highly Preposterous, If Not Slightly Amusing.--Some fellow in San Francisco, with a mind not capable of understanding the exact relation of things to each other in this world, offered Henri Herz previous to his departure on his musical tour through Mexico, two thousand dollars per month to stop at San Francisco, and play in one of the gambling saloons of that place" (also quoted in The Message Bird, no. 25 [1 August 1850], 410).

[74]The Sacramento City Placer Times gives, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, a sampling of prices: "Filtered water, delivered, 1.50 per barrel; washing and ironing, 6.00 to 7.00 per dozen; private boxes at the Tehama Theatre, 4.00, boxes 3.00, pit 2.00; musicians' pay at the sporting houses, 16.00 per day; . . . hair cutting, 1.50; shaving, 1.00; for saddle horse, 10.00 per day; billiards, per game, 1.00; for the use of the soft side of a plank and blanket, 1.00 per night--market buoyant" (quoted in Alta California, 8 April 1850).

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yet seen assembled in any public place of amusement in this city."[75] At his second concert, the paper was disappointed, however, to find so few American citizens:

> . . . although a numerous and highly appreciative audience were assembled we could not but experience a little mortification that there was but one or two American ladies present and but very few gentlemen. It cannot be that the mass of Americans with means in this place can have so little music in their souls as to fail to patronize an artist whose taste and excellence is acknowledged through Europe and America. . . . We cannot but feel astonished at the apathy evinced by our American population.[76]

Herz's audiences in California must have comprised a wide range of social levels, but they were probably not so rowdy as our imaginations might suggest. One of the publishers of the Sacramento Transcript later wrote of Herz's first concert in that city that "as tickets of admission were $4 each, and no one was admitted without a 'biled shirt,' the audience was not large, but very select."[77] Reviews contain the usual bow to the attendance of fashionable people, and a report of Herz's farewell concert in San Francisco is unusually defensive of the California audience:

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[75]3 and 29 April 1850.

[76]Alta California, 8 April 1850.

[77]Samuel C. Upham, Notes of a Voyage to California via Cape Horn, together with Scenes in El Dorado, in the Years 1849-'50 (Philadelphia: published by the author, 1878; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 292.

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> The building was filled to its utmost capacity by the beauty and fashion of our city; and in saying 'beauty and fashion,' we have the pleasure of informing our distant readers that these are no longer allegorical terms in California.[78]

Californians were eager to hear Herz perform, and they overcame with alacrity any obstacles that might have prevented them from doing so. In Sacramento, a hall was made ready specifically for his concerts.[79] In Benicia, the temporary lack of a piano did not deter them, as Herz related:

> The day before my departure, I was requested to give a concert in the little town of Benicia. Everything had been prepared for the best, and on arriving I found the hall--it was the church of the place--densely packed; only one thing, and an essential one, was wanting--a piano. I asked if there was not one in town. "There is one," was the answer, "but we have not been able to find any one to transport it hither." The audience began to grow impatient. I mounted the platform and explained the mishap, which had occurred. "Is that all!" they exclaimed, "let us go after it." And in a few minutes the piano arrived, borne by the dillitanti [sic] of the place.[80]

Herz's audiences were also demonstrably appreciative. In San Francisco the performance of his fantasia on Le Pré

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[78]San Francisco Daily Pacific News, quoted in George R. MacMinn, The Theater of the Golden Era in California (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, 1941), p. 368.

[79]Sacramento Transcript, 16 April 1850; and Pier Angelo Fiorentino, "Revue musicale: Henri Herz, un concert en Californie," Le Constitutionnel, journal politique, littéraire, universel, 21 September 1851; abridged English translation in "A Musician in California," The Musical Times 4/16 (21 February 1852), 251-53; summary in Music in San Francisco, 1:138-42.

[80]Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, ca May 1850.

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aux clercs was frequently

> interrupted by a burst of applause--in fact a portion of the audience seemed unable to restrain themselves and endeavored to express their approbation several times rather inopportunely.[81]

The Sacramento Transcript was "informed by a friend" in San Francisco "that it was sometimes with difficulty, that he could get through his pieces, so frequent and long were the applaudings of the audience."[82] Herz was in fact "astonished . . . to find so appreciating a musical public. It seemed like New York or New Orleans."[83] The Sacramento Transcript explained that Californians "crave amusements of a higher order" because its citizens had

> collected themselves together not from the wilds of Missouri, not from the steppes of Asia, but from the polite capitals of the world, and from the country

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[81]Alta California, 3 April 1850.

[82]16 April 1850. Applauding during the performance of a piece was an acceptable practice not only in California. In a New York concert, Herz performed his Fantasia on Lucia di Lammermoor, "at every pause in which there was a loud burst of applause" (New York Herald, 6 November 1846). In New Orleans De Meyer's playing called forth "frequent outbursts of admiration" and in New York "it was interrupted by the most frantic applause whenever a pause afforded opportunity" (New Orleans Daily Delta, 17 April 1846; and New York Herald, 21 October 1845). In Charleston the appreciation of Thalberg's troupe "again and again manifested itself in spontaneous bursts of applause" (Charleston Mercury, 2 February 1858).

[83]Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, ca May 1850.

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towns, where the blaze of civilization, of enlightenment has had its effect.[84]

This was at least partially true, and Herz was heartily welcomed into the polite social circles of both cities. On the evening after his first concert in Sacramento

> quite a number of the audience repaired to the cottage of Mr. P. B. Cornwall, and spent the rest of the evening in dancing and social converse. The party was a fair specimen of the despatch with which things are arranged in California. The idea was conceived of just before the concert commenced, the guests were invited before it was out, and yet one would have thought that days had been spent in the preparation. Mr. Herz was present, and everything was brilliant and full of gaiety. . . . During the evening, [Mr. Cornwall] presented to Mr. Herz a most magnificent and valuable watch chain composed entirely of [gold] specimens, and we overheard Mr. Herz say, "He couldn't have given me anything that would have pleased me more."[85]

After his last concert in San Francisco, another reception and complimentary supper were given in his honor, where "the sons of Albion and la belle France, as well as the representatives of the new world, were all centered in a brotherhood of festivity."[86]

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[84]3 April 1850. The San Francisco Daily Pacific News (2 April 1850) claimed that, "to the citizens of San Francisco," Herz was "an artist whom most of them have so often listened to before."

[85]Sacramento Transcript, 18 April 1850. When questioned later why he did not wear the chain during his second concert, Herz replied that "he could not play if he had any finery on, even a breast pin or a ring; that he was not accustomed to it, and that it annoyed him" (Sacramento Transcript, 20 April 1850).

[86]San Francisco Daily Pacific News, quoted in MacMinn, Theater of the Golden Era, p. 369; and Alta California, 29 April 1850.

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If money and gold were abundant in California, good pianos were not. At least one story claims Herz sent two of his pianos ahead of him,[87] but he seems never to have used them in his concerts, simply relying on whatever instrument was available. At his first San Francisco concert, Alta California was "not at all satisfied with the piano used" and was pleased to announce that "a very fine instrument [had] been kindly loaned Mr. H." for his second concert.[88] In Sacramento, even though several citizens "kindly proffered to loan him their pianos" for his first concert, the Sacramento Transcript reported that "the piano, although a good one, still contained but six octaves, and we could see plainly, that the great master was cramped during the performance of his pieces."[89]

Anecdotes, like the Benicia account, concerning Herz and pianos in California are numerous. One of them was still circulating almost two decades later:

> When Herz, the celebrated pianist, was in California, he announced a concert in one of the new cities, and was obliged to send to San Francisco for a property

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[87]Fiorentino, "Concert en Californie." This article includes an account of Herz having his pianos moved for $300 (the price quoted by Herz in his letter to Gaillardet); a slightly different version appears in Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. 35: California Inter Pocula (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), pp. 809-12.

[88]3 and 6 April 1850.

[89]8 and 18 April 1850.

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very necessary to the entertainment--viz., a piano. At the hour announced for the concert, the tickets were all sold, the house was crowded, the artist was at his post, and everything was in readiness--except the piano. In consequence of an inexplicable delay, the instrument had not arrived. Herz looked at his rough and bearded auditory in very considerable trepidation. What if the gold-digging dilettanti should take it into their heads to give him a taste of revolver or bowie-knife, by way of filling up the time? Heavy drops of perspiration stood on the frightened pianist's brow, and he began to wish himself in China, in Kamschatka--anywhere but in California. The miners saw his alarm, and kindly comforted him. "Never mind the cussed pianer," said two or three of them soothingly: "we don't care for it; we came to see you. Make us a speech!" Herz, with restored serenity, did the best he could. The spoken entertainment seemed to please the audience; and everybody, except the artist, had quite forgotten all about the piano, when its arrival was announced. A number of stout men carried the instrument into the hall, and placed it on the platform. It was a three-cornered, or "grand" piano, and Herz, promising himself to astonish these simple and easily-satisfied inhabitants of the Pacific coast, seated himself on an empty whiskey keg, (instead of the more civilized stool,) and ran his fingers rapidly over the key-board. Blum! blum! splash! splash! not a sound did the piano utter, save that of keys striking in the water! The Californians who had brought the "box" from San Francisco, finding it very heavy, had floated it to town, and upon dragging it out upon the levee, had neglected to pour the water from the interior.[90]

For his farewell concert in San Francisco (27 April), Herz programmed his Voyage musicale and was assisted by Madame Lacombe, an amateur pianist with whom he performed a duet, and by Signor Rossi, a magician and ventriloquist.[91]

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[90]Western Musical World 4/2 (February 1867), 19; and The New York Musical Gazette 1/5 (March 1867), 35.

[91]Alta California, 27 April 1850. Herz reciprocated by making a guest appearance at Rossi's entertainment on 30 April.

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When news of this program reached New York, Hermann Saroni, no less than the arranger of the William Tell Overture for sixteen pianists, blasted Herz for pandering to the public. With biting sarcasm, Saroni wondered how Herz would depict seasickness in his Voyage musicale, and suggested that if the pianist had plans to visit the "polar ice-regions," he should take a display of animals to amuse the public:

> Oh! Mr. Herz, you have mistaken your vocation! In the musical world you are but an ordinary mortal. As showman in a menagerie, you would make yourself immortal. We can just imagine you with that bland smile which never deserts your countenance, as you point with a cane to a large bear, calling out: "Dish, Ladies and Gentleman is de great California bear vot is so voracious as to heat hens and chickens alive; dhis is dhe Brazilian hape, vot makes a capital rope-dancer; dhis is an Orang-outang, vot axts occasionally as my substitute at the piano," &c.[92]

Except for the lapses of including a magician on his last program and performing the Voyage musicale, Herz's California programs were no different from those on the rest of his tour.

Herz's brief visit to California must have been arduous, but as an adventurer he relished it:

> I have no cause to regret the voyage, for I have seen the most curious country of the world, and have found there the best of friends. I have given twelve concerts, which have exceeded my hopes by far.

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[92]Saroni's Musical Times 1/38 (15 June 1850), 447-48. A similar attitude is expressed in Music in San Francisco, 3:99-101, which dubs Herz the "most venal of virtuosi" to visit California and brands him as "almost wholly an entertainer, [who] claimed and secured the rewards due an artist."

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> Besides, I have had an opportunity of appreciating the incredible activity and spirit of enterprise of the Americans. No other nation in the world would have made of California what it has now become in their hands within fifteen months.[93]

After California, Herz toured for over another year in Latin America before returning to Europe.[94] He first went to Mexico, where he performed in Guadalajara.[95] The threat of cholera in Mexico City prevented his returning there, and so he continued down the western coast of Central and South America.[96] He was particularly successful in Lima, Peru, where he gave about ten concerts beginning 19 August 1850, including a "concierto monstruo" rivalling those of Gottschalk. His Gran marche nacional militar, dedicated to the citizens of Peru, was performed on eight pianos by lady and gentleman amateurs of the city, a double orchestra, a military band, and a men's chorus.[97] Probably the same work--for identical forces but retitled Marcha patriótica--

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[93]Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, ca May 1850. Newspaper accounts of only eight concerts, in San Francisco and Sacramento, have been found. This letter contains Herz's description of a concert in Benicia.

[94]His intention of touring South America had been announced as early as April 1847, when he and Sivori were planning a tour there for the 1847-48 season (Alabama Planter, 19 April 1847, p. 156).

[95]Alabama Planter, 15 July 1850, p. 259.

[96]Revue et gazette musicale 17/34 (25 August 1850), 286.

[97]Barbacci, "Diccionario biográfico," pp. 463-64.

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was performed in Santiago and Valparaiso, Chile.[98] He was in Chile from about November 1850 to at least February 1851, performing also in La Serena and Copiapo.[99] Returning to Lima by June of 1851,[100] he was back in Europe the following month.

In all these cities Herz featured works that either incorporated popular national melodies or were newly composed and paid homage to the local culture in at least their titles. Some of his works performed in Peru and Chile included Los encantos del Perú, El día de San Juan en Lima, Las flores de Santiago, and Le charme du Chili.[101] Herz also updated his Voyage musicale--now known as El viaje musical--including "Yankee Doodle" for California and "La Zamacueca" for Chile. In Santiago he offered an unusual Panorama musical, or a "review of the most celebrated operas and songs of all the countries from the fifteenth century to the present." It included a fifteenth-century romance, a sixteenth-century gavotte, an Andante of Beethoven, selections or arrangements from operas of Mozart, Weber,

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[98]Roberto Hernández, Los primeros teatros en Valparaíso (Valparaiso: Junta de Vecinos de Valparaíso, 1928), p. 189; and Pereira Salas, Música en Chile, p. 113.

[99]Pereira Salas, Música en Chile, p. 114.

[100]Barbacci, "Diccionario biográfico," p. 464.

[101]Ibid.; and Pereira Salas, Biobibliografía, p. 84.

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Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Auber, Meyerbeer, and Verdi. Popular songs included were "very simple songs of Negro slaves" from the United States (these were most likely the minstrel-show tunes he had already adapted, "Oh! Susanna" and "Carry Me Back"), "El Jarabe" from Mexico, and "Cancion nacional" from Chile.[102]

When Herz returned to Europe in the summer of 1851, he stopped first in London to attend the exhibition where his pianos were on display.[103] Back in Paris he nurtured his piano factory and resumed his post at the Conservatoire, which he held until his retirement in 1874. Almost immediately he wrote a series of articles for La France musicale about his American tour.[104] As a raconteur par excellence, Herz was more concerned with telling a good story than getting the facts straight. His description of musical life in the United States includes some

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[102]"Un concierto historico-musical en 1850," Revista musical chilena 5 (June-July 1949), 69; and Pereira Salas, Música en Chile, pp. 112-13.

[103]La France musicale 15/24 (15 June 1851), 191.

[104]15/41 (12 October 1851) - 16/8 (22 February 1852); see the Bibliography for complete citations. He later revised the articles for his book, Mes Voyages en Amérique.

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condescending opinions and a few tall tales.[105] But he does praise generously, among others, the New York Italian Opera under Maretzek, the New York, Boston, and Philadelphia Philharmonic Societies, Saroni's Musical Times, and the composer William Henry Fry.

Herz's tour of the United States exemplified the new businesslike approach to bringing music across the country. Recognizing the complexity of touring in a foreign land, Herz engaged a professional manager to assist him. Most later performers had managers; however, impresarios generally took the initiative and sought artists they wished to represent, rather than the reverse. As Herz's agent, Ullman was an imaginative publicist, and although his notices were cleverly designed to attract the public, he did not overwhelm the music he presented with humbug. More important, Ullman was organized, and his efficient execution of his well-planned tour for Herz became a model for others. Under Ullman's management, Herz visited a larger number of cities than De Meyer--59 instead of 26--and gave more concerts--almost 200 instead of 85. Herz was here longer than De Meyer, but his activity in the United States was concentrated in two periods--from November 1846 to December

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[105]A Paris writer stated of Herz's observations: "Herz writes in the same lively, agreeable style in which he plays; but among Americans some of his stories will gain him the reputation of 'drawing the long bow'" (Western Musical World 4/8 [August 1867], 115).

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1847 and from December 1848 to June 1849--that were not much longer than De Meyer's tour.

Herz brought a refinement to the concert hall that De Meyer lacked. His simple but elegant stage manners and his graceful music charmed the American public. His repertory may not have been profound, but it was well known to Americans, and they relished the opportunity to hear it performed by the composer. With the exception of the works for multiple pianos and a few selections in his California appearances, Herz emphasized in his concerts the music itself and returned a soberness to the concertroom.

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CHAPTER IX

INTERLUDE:

REPERTORY

Today the music of De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg is almost forgotten, but in their own time it was among the most popular and widely performed. To understand why these pianists performed their own works, what position their music enjoyed in the standard repertory, and how it was received by Americans, three principal topics need to be considered: the composer-pianist tradition, the repertory of the period, and the taste of Americans.

The Composer-Pianist Tradition

De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg are often criticized today for having performed almost solely their own music. But all three belonged to the tradition of the composer-pianist, in which such a practice was assumed. The tradition was honorable and longstanding, stretching back to the earliest keyboard performers and including such men as Landini, Bull, Frescobaldi, Bach, Mozart, and Chopin. By playing his own music, each performer had a distinctive repertory specifically designed to display his own special technique.

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As the London Times explained:

> [De] Meyer . . . continues to play his own music . . . which naturally [is] more adapted to the expression of his own feelings and the development of his peculiar style than the composition of any other composer. A solo player does not appear merely to play music with which the audience shall be pleased; he has to call attention to his own power, and the capabilities of his instrument.[1]

It was understood that a leading performer who was also a composer would not play another composer's music in public. Liszt was perhaps the only significant exception to the tradition in his performance of works by other composers.[2] Charles Hallé, for example, wrote of Chopin:

> He was so entirely identified with his own music that it occurred to no one to inquire or even to wish to know how he would play, say, Beethoven's sonatas. If he was well acquainted with them remains a moot point.[3]

When Maurice Strakosch performed De Meyer's Marche d'Isly at his first New York concert in June 1848, just a year after De Meyer had left the United States, one critic explained why he should not have included the work in his program:

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[1]Quoted in The Musical Gazette 1/14 (3 August 1846), 107.

[2]See Liszt's own "Programme général des morceaux exécutés par F. Liszt à ses concerts de 1838 à 1848," translated in Alan Walker, Franz Liszt, Volume One: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), pp. 445-48.

[3]The Autobiography of Charles Hallé, ed. Michael Kennedy (London: Paul Elek, 1972; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), p. 55. Hallé recalls that "Mozart's Trio in E major [was] the only work by another composer which I ever heard him play."

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> We think it, at the least, very questionable policy to tread immediately after the originator, let the art be what it may, and more especially where the originator is also the executant. Had M. Strakosch played it like an angel, there would still be hundreds who would draw unfavorable comparisons.[4]

In a similar vein, Paderewski spoke of an unwritten guideline still followed into the early twentieth century, when the composer-pianist tradition had faded. Although Paderewski dedicated his Variations in A minor to his fellow pianist Eugen d'Albert, he stated:

> I do not know whether he ever played them or not. There is a certain etiquette--let us call it--among pianists that they rarely play compositions of <u>other living pianists</u>. There are sometimes exceptions of course, though generally they wait until one is dead![5]

Because the pianists did not perform the works of other composers in public did not necessarily mean that they did not know or appreciate them. Richard Grant White defended De Meyer against detractors who charged that the pianist was "wholly unlearned in classical music," that his taste was "not elevated enough to appreciate it," and that he was "wholly unable to perform in the severe school of piano forte playing." White countered:

> All musicians know that he would not be able to play such compositions as he does, and in the manner which he plays them, without a severe study of and familiar acquaintance with the great masters of the piano forte. . . .

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[4]<u>The American Musical Times</u> 2/5 (1 July 1848), 77.

[5]Paderewski and Lawton, <u>Memoirs</u>, p. 71. Italics in the original.

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> We can of our own knowledge bear witness to Mr. De Meyer's perfect mastery of the fugue, the sonata, and the symphony, having heard him perform the compositions of Bach and Beethoven with that same rigid precision and wonderful power combined with graceful ease and sweetness which always marks his performances.[6]

Charles Salaman made a similar revelation concerning Thalberg:

> His own compositions, which he chiefly played in public, enabled him best to display his astonishing virtuosity, but to be assured that Thalberg was a really great player was to hear him interpret Beethoven, which he did finely, classically, and without any attempt to embellish the work of the master.[7]

As will be seen, Thalberg unveiled his knowledge of a few works by Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Chopin while he was in America.[8] Herz had made tentative plans to display similar knowledge. Within a few months after his arrival, he had advertised to take place in Philadelphia a "soiree musicale . . . chiefly devoted to classical and modern Piano Forte Music."[9] He was also supposedly planning to give in New York a similar soiree "devoted to classical music of the style of Beethoven, Hummel, &c., also a lecture concert for

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[6]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 7 February 1846.

[7]"Pianists of the Past," p. 324.

[8]And in London he performed concertos of J. S. Bach for three keyboard instruments in 1837 (with Benedict and Moscheles) and 1844 (with Mendelssohn and Moscheles) and in 1850 a Mozart concerto (Moscheles, Recent Music and Musicians, pp. 238 and 359; The Musical World 19/22 [30 May 1844], 185; and Salaman, "Pianists of the Past," p. 320).

[9]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 23 December 1846.

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the students of the piano forte."[10] Neither took place, for unknown reasons,[11] but Herz must have been familiar with the literature or he would not have announced such a venture.

Gottschalk, another pianist identified primarily with his own works, also knew the classical repertory. Just before Thalberg's debut in America, a friend of Dwight's reported on hearing Gottschalk in private:

> He delighted us with Bach's fugues, Beethoven, Chopin, &c.; and as Thalberg was much talked of, he gave us his Don Juan fantasia (and is it not his best?); also some of his original studies. I do believe you could hear Gottschalk play for a year, every day in the year, and then not know the extent of his wonderful repertoire.[12]

George Frederick Root, with his strong belief in providing music accessible to the masses, confirmed Gottschalk's knowledge of the classics and praised his policy not to perform them publicly:

> Those who knew him well could testify to his wonderful repertoire of classic music. He could play all of Beethoven by heart, and he delighted in Bach, but he was too honest to play such music to any extent at his popular concerts, and too strong in the consciousness

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[10]New York Herald, 10 December 1846.

[11]Scheduling the Philadelphia concert for Christmas evening probably discouraged advance ticket sales, which, in turn, may have been interpreted as the public's lack of interest. According to the advertisement, however, the concert was planned "at the special request of many lovers of Classical Music, Professors and Proprietors of Schools."

[12]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/5 (1 November 1856), 38.

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> of his own merit to heed those critics who, if they could have their way, would never give the people any music that they could understand and enjoy.[13]

George Upton also recalled hearing Gottschalk play Beethoven and Mendelssohn in private. He remembered

> asking him why he didn't play that class of music in his concerts. He replied: "Because the dear public don't want to hear me play it. People would rather hear my 'Banjo,' or 'Ojos Creollos,' or 'Last Hope.' Besides, there are plenty of pianists who can play that music as well or better than I can, but none of them can play my music half so well as I can.[14]

Gottschalk's defense of his concert repertory--namely, that he could play his own music better than anyone else--was applied by Dwight to Thalberg. In fact, when Dwight heard the pianist perform his own works for the first time, he was forced to revise his opinion of Thalberg's music and admitted: "Let us own that, after hearing Thalberg himself play them, these Fantasias do seem to us a much more genuine thing than formerly; under his hands they justify themselves."[15] Even before hearing him perform, Dwight foresaw the necessity of experiencing the works at the composer's hands:

> There is a symmetry, repose and clearness in his style, corresponding, it is said, with the gentlemanly ease and quietness of the whole man. Music, which owes its peculiarity of structure so entirely to the wants of the performer in connection with his instrument, ought surely to be heard at first hand, as the composer-

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[13]Story of a Musical Life, p. 65.

[14]Musical Memories, p. 77.

[15]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 125.

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> player renders it, to give a perfect idea of its beauty.[16]

In the mid-nineteenth century the composer-pianist tradition began to die out, and pianists who were primarily interpretive rather than creative artists began to increase in importance and number. Pianists such as William Mason, Anton Rubinstein, and Clara Schumann performed mostly the music of other composers. To be sure, they were composers themselves and often included one or two pieces of their own on programs. (Several more generations were to pass before most pianists stopped composing entirely.) But their greatest significance lies in interpreting other composers's music. Concerning this new breed of pianists, Loesser wrote:

> The idea was indeed new: never before in the history of Western music did we encounter any considerable number of instrumental soloists who could achieve fame by confining their performances to other people's compositions.[17]

De Meyer, Herz, Thalberg, and their contemporaries represented the final flowering of the composer-pianists. When they performed their own music in America, they were following a respectable but vanishing tradition.

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[16]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/2 (11 October 1856), 14.

[17]Men, Women and Pianos, p. 422. The composer-pianist tradition did not entirely die out. Some notable later representatives include Rachmaninoff, Ravel, and Prokofiev.

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The Piano Repertory in America

As late as the 1840s, the works of Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Schubert, and Schumann--the very works that constitute a large portion of today's standard repertory--were little known in America and rarely performed in public. Except for an isolated performance in Boston in 1819 no "public performance of a complete Beethoven sonata took place in America during the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s"; not until the 1850s did almost half of his sonatas receive their first American public performance.[18] Schubert's songs began to be published regularly in the United States in the 1840s, and his symphonies and chamber works were introduced beginning in the 1850s, but only one performance of a work

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[18]Chan, Beethoven in the United States to 1865, pp. 165-90; see also Otto Kinkeldey, "Beginnings of Beethoven in America," The Musical Quarterly 13/2 (April 1927), 217-48. The Beethoven sonatas were not, however, totally unknown in the United States before the 1850s, for they were published here and performed in private circles.

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for solo piano is recorded before 1865.[19] Chopin's works, except for a few performances in 1839 and 1840, do not appear regularly until the 1850s,[20] and although Liszt was well known as a virtuoso, his music was rarely performed until after Mason returned in 1854 from studying with him.[21]

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[19]Mason performed the Sonata in C minor (D. 958) on 9 February 1864 (see Graber, William Mason, p. 176; Andrew C. Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York City, 1849-1865" [Master's thesis, University of Michigan, 1947], p. 480; and Robert Stevenson, "Schubert in America: First Publications and Performances," Inter-American Music Review 1/1 [Fall 1978], 5-28). Stevenson points out that despite the slow introduction of Schubert's works in the United States, American musical taste "did better by Schubert than English or French" (p. 25). In 1862 Mason performed at least three times Liszt's version for piano and orchestra of Schubert's Wanderer Fantasy: with Carl Zerrahn and the Boston Philharmonic, in New York with Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, and with Theodore Eisfeld and the New York Philharmonic.

[20]Morin, "America's Interest in Chopin." Writing at the end of the 1852-53 season, Dwight rejoiced at the introduction of Chopin by Otto Dresel and Alfred Jaell and remarked: "Until this season it has been a rare thing to get any work of Chopin played here, beyond a mere Mazurka or two" (Dwight's Journal of Music 3/1 [9 April 1853], 7). Salaman recalled the knowledge of Chopin's works in England when the pianist visited London in 1848: "At that time Chopin's music, now at the mercy of every schoolgirl, was not very much known in England. It was rarely heard in a concertroom,--indeed it was only five years before that a piece of his first appeared in a public programme in London" ("Pianists of the Past," p. 327).

[21]Irving Lowens, "Liszt and America," Journal of the American Liszt Society 4 (December 1978), 4-10. Both Louis and Frederic Rackemann as well as Jane Sloman performed a few pieces of Liszt from 1839 to 1842, including the Grand galop chromatique, Fantasia on Lucia di Lammermoor, the transcription of Schubert's Ave Maria, and the Hexaméron variations (see numerous programs of their Boston concerts in Music Department, Boston Public Library [**M.19.3]). When the American pianist Amy Fay was studying with Liszt as late as 1873, she was able to write home of her teacher: "He is a wonderful composer, by the way, and that is what I was unprepared for in him" (Music-Study in Germany, p. 235).

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A survey of piano concerts in New York between 1849 and 1865 reveals only five performances of works by Schumann and thirteen performances of six works by Mendelssohn.[22] Thus, the music of all these composers was only gradually introduced to America in the 1850s and then primarily through the performances of a number of interpretive pianists, the most important ones including Otto Dresel (1826-90),[23] Richard Hoffman (1831-1909),[24] William Mason,

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[22]Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York," p. 480.

[23]Dresel first came to the United States in 1848 and in 1852 settled in Boston, where he gave a regular series of concerts of solo piano music and chamber music. He was Dwight's favorite pianist, and glowing reports of his performances can be found throughout Dwight's Journal of Music. See especially Dwight's obituary for Dresel in the Boston Symphony Orchestra program, 10-11 October 1890, pp. 5-14; and for further information and bibliography, Frederick H. Martens, "Dresel, Otto," Dictionary of American Biography, 5:449-50. A Boston correspondent to the New-York Musical Review and Gazette had a different opinion of Dresel: he admitted he was a "very excellent musician" and "a tolerable pianist," but thought that "the position given him in one of our musical journals is ridiculous and sickening" (7/26 [27 December 1856], 407).

[24]Hoffman toured with Joseph Burke (1847-48) and appeared frequently with the New York Philharmonic; see Hoffman's Some Musical Recollections; and Frederick H. Martens, "Hoffman, Richard," Dictionary of American Biography, 9:117.

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Gustave Satter (1832-79),[25] and Carl Wolfsohn (1834-1907).[26]

On the other hand, the works of Herz and Thalberg were part of the standard concert repertory of their time. In both Europe and America other pianists programmed their compositions. Herz achieved his fame first, and his works quickly became popular. According to Salaman, who was writing of the 1830s: "Everyone played Herz's music in those days."[27] Maurice Strakosch stated that when he made his debut (about 1836), Hummel "shared with Moscheles and Henri Herz the first place in the musical world."[28] Even Charles Hallé and Clara Schumann, two pianists noted for their crusades to improve the piano repertory, included Herz's

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[25]See The Life and Works of Gustave Satter (Macon, GA: Seifert & Smith, 1879); H. Earle Johnson, "Gustave Satter, Eccentric," Journal of the American Musicological Society 16/1 (Spring 1963), 61-73; and Irving Lowens, "The Library of Congress and Gustave Satter: A Cautionary Tale," Journal of the American Musicological Society 18/1 (Spring 1965), 73-77.

[26]In the 1860s and 1870s Wolfsohn presented a complete series of Beethoven sonatas in Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago (Chan, Beethoven in America, p. 169; and "Carl Wolfsohn," Brainard's Musical World 15 [January 1878], 2-3).

[27]"Pianists of the Past," p. 310. By the end of the century, however, when Salaman wrote these recollections, he could ask: "Who plays it now?"

[28]Souvenirs d'un impresario, 2nd ed. (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1887), pp. 1-2; English translation in "Strakosch and Patti," The Musical Courier 41/17 (24 October 1900), 26.

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music in their early programs,[29] and Liszt still remembered a piece by Herz late in his life.[30] Although no systematic study of piano concerts given in America during the 1830s and 1840s has been made, Herz's music was apparently a repertory staple. Loesser reports performances of his music as early as 1830 in New York and 1835 in Philadelphia.[31] In 1834 W. A. King advertised himself as a "pupil of the celebrated H. Herz" and performed the works of his teacher in New York and Boston.[32] In 1839 William Scharfenberg and Edward Walker, two leading Amerian pianists, performed a duo

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[29]Hallé was later embarrassed by his early repertory. He wrote of the pieces he performed at his debut in 1828 at age nine: "Of the programme, or rather my part in it, I ought to feel ashamed, for, in accordance with the fashion of the hour, it consisted of variations by Henri Herz and by Ries, but also, I am glad to add, of a rondo by Hummel, which, I hope, was more to my taste" (Autobiography, p. 30). From 1830 until 1837, Clara Schumann (then Clara Wieck) included at least six solo works of Herz, one piano duet, and two jointly composed piano-violin duos, one written with Bériot, the other with Lafont (Pamela Susskind Pettler, "Clara Schumann's Recitals, 1832-50," 19th-Century Music 4/1 [Summer 1980], 70-76). That she included no works of Herz after 1837, the year of her marriage commitment to Robert Schumann, is probably no coincidence.

[30]Amy Fay recalls Liszt playing a study of Herz from memory in 1873: "Liszt hit the notes every time, though it was disgustingly hard, and as he said himself, 'he used to get all in a heat over it.' He had evidently studied it so well that he could never forget it" (Music-Study in Germany, p. 249).

[31]Men, Women and Pianos, pp. 472-74.

[32]In Boston he performed Herz's Fantasia on the March from Otello and La Violette; and, with the violinist Henry Schmidt, the duos on Fra Diavolo and on the March from Moses in Egypt, both composed with Lafont (Programs, Masonic Temple, 27 August and 6 September 1834, Music Department, Boston Public Library [**M.19.3]).

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for two pianos of his in New York.[33] William Mason performed a number of works by Herz in the late 1840s, including one at his first public appearance in 1846.[34]

Thalberg did not come to prominence until the mid-1830s, but his works soon entered the repertory. Clara Schumann introduced two of his fantasias in 1839 and 1842.[35] Also in 1839 Daniel Schlesinger performed a Thalberg piece in New York,[36] and in 1840 G. V. Scheidler performed his Fantasia on Les Huguenots in Cincinnati.[37] Pianists such as Otto Goldschmidt (1829-1907),[38] Carl Hause, Robert Heller (ca

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[33]The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence 1/27 (16 February 1839), 377.

[34]Over twenty of Mason's concert programs and a few newspaper clippings from the period 1846 to 1853 are preserved in a scrapbook in the Music Division, New York Public Library. He performed Herz's Fantasia on the March from Otello, Fantasia on the March from William Tell with orchestral accompaniment, a Duo on "C'est un larme" for piano and violin (composed with Lafont), and, at his debut in Boston on 7 March 1846, Fantasia on an Air from Méhul's Joseph with quintet accompaniment.

[35]Pettler, "Clara Schumann's Recitals," p. 75. She first performed the Fantasia on La Donna del lago in 1842 and probably the Fantasia on Moses in 1839.

[36]Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, p. 479; and New York Evening Post, 4 February 1839.

[37]Wyrick, "Concert and Criticism in Cincinnati," p. 33.

[38]Goldschmidt joined Jenny Lind's American tour in 1851 as her piano accompanist and married her the following year (Porter and Ware, Barnum Presents Jenny Lind, pp. 94 and 121).

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1830-78),[39] Richard Hoffman,[40] Sebastian Bach Mills (1838-98), Arthur Napoleão (1843-1925; a friend of Gottschalk),[41] and a number of others performed his works in the 1850s,[42] and Alfred Jaell (1832-82) consistently programmed them while he was in America from 1851 to 1854.[43] Dwight thought that Jaell "more nearly than any other pianist, helped us to form beforehand some idea of Thalberg."[44]

Thus, when Herz and Thalberg arrived in the United States their music had already received numerous performances and was considered part of the standard repertory. In performing their own works they were

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[39]Heller, whose real name was William Henry Palmer, gave the first performances in America of Beethoven's Fourth and Fifth Piano Concertos in 1854 with the Germania Musical Society (Johnson, First Performances in America, pp. 47-48). He later gained fame as a magician; see John and Anna Gillespie, A Bibliography of Nineteenth-Century American Piano Music (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 303.

[40]Hoffman recalled of Thalberg's works: "As a boy I learned nearly all of his compositions and operatic arrangements, and have never forgotten them, although I have not looked at the notes for twenty-five years or more" (Some Musical Recollections, pp. 86-87).

[41]See David Correia Sanches de Frias, Arthur Napoleão: resenha comemorativa da sua vida pessoal e artística (Lisbon: Livraria Pereira, 1913).

[42]Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York," passim.

[43]Jaell was an important pianist who primarily toured as a soloist with the Germania Musical Society, with whom he frequently played Weber's Konzertstück and the two piano concertos of Mendelssohn; he also toured in America with Sontag under Ullman's management.

[44]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/26 (28 March 1857), 205.

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therefore not introducing something new to the public but were presenting authoritative, if not definitive, performances of works already known. Perhaps, then, they should not be criticized too sharply for playing their own music when other pianists were performing it so consistently. Some pianists were even bold enough to program their works while the composers were in America. Emile Guyon, who billed himself as a pupil of Thalberg,[45] Eugenie de Roode, and Countess de Bienville, for example, performed the works of Thalberg during his 1856-58 sojourn in America.[46]

De Meyer's music never achieved the popularity of that of either Herz or Thalberg, but for at least a short time a number of pianists performed his works in the United States, including two of the most notable ones. Mason regularly included several of his works in his concerts of the late

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[45]Guyon arrived in the United States in 1856 and the following year performed Thalberg's works throughout the Midwest, where he toured with the singer Anna de la Grange. A New York correspondent to Dwight wrote in January 1857, just a few months after Thalberg's arrival in the United States: "Mr. Emile Guyon, a pianist and pupil of Thalberg, is rash enough to announce a concert for Saturday evening" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 [17 January 1857], 127).

[46]Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York," pp. 234, 255, and 261.

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1840s and early 1850s,[47] during the period in which he was still infatuated with the pianist's technique. After returning in 1854 from his studies in Europe, however, Mason apparently no longer performed any of De Meyer's music. Hoffman occasionally performed De Meyer's works from the time of his American debut in 1847 until about 1851.[48] Several other pianists also performed his music, including Maurice Strakosch, Hélène Stoepel (the second wife of William Vincent Wallace), F. E. Doctor, Alfred Jaell, Julie de Berg, and, as late as 1862, Sebastian Bach Mills.[49]

By the 1850s Herz's music had essentially disappeared from the concert platform, but Thalberg's works were played throughout the 1850s and into the 1860s.[50] A few lingered on even longer in the concert repertory: in 1873, when Anton Rubinstein gave his series of farewell recitals in America surveying the keyboard literature from Bach to Rubinstein,

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[47]Works of De Meyer that he performed include his Fantasia on Semiramide, Marche triomphale d'Isly, The Carnival of Venice, and, as late as 1853 in England, his Nocturne (Mason Scrapbook, Music Division, New York Public Library).

[48]Hoffman performed De Meyer's Fantasia on Semiramide at his New York debut in 1847. He also performed several of his works on concerts given by Jenny Lind, including the Fantasia on Lucia di Lammermoor.

[49]Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York," pp. 26, 40, 86, 127, and 363.

[50]Teresa Carreño, for example, played Thalberg's Fantasia on Moses and his Barcarolle at her first New York concerts in 1862.

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he included Thalberg's Etude in A minor and Fantasia on Don Giovanni.[51]

If the works of Herz and Thalberg did not find a permanent niche in the concert repertory, they found a special place in the parlors of nineteenth-century America.[52] Two compositions in particular were extremely popular as shown by their success in sheet music sales: Herz's The Last Rose of Summer, which was advertised as selling at least 75,000 copies (see figure 20), and Thalberg's Home, Sweet Home, which appeared in a "100th edition" (see figure 21). The immediate popularity of the latter piece was humorously suggested when a New York correspondent to Dwight described Thalberg's performance of it at the beginning of his second season: "It was really refreshing to hear [it] played by him, after listening for half a year past, to its execution by all the young ladies in the Republic."[53]

In general, it is impossible to determine how many copies of the music by these pianists were published in the

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[51]The series consisted of seven recitals given between 12 May and 22 May 1873 in New York. Each of four recitals was devoted entirely to the music of one composer: Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, and Rubinstein (Programs in Music Division, New York Public Library).

[52]Some attempt has been made in recent years to reintroduce their works into the repertory by such pianists as Raymond Lewenthal, Michael Ponti, and Earl Wild.

[53]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/26 (26 September 1857), 204.

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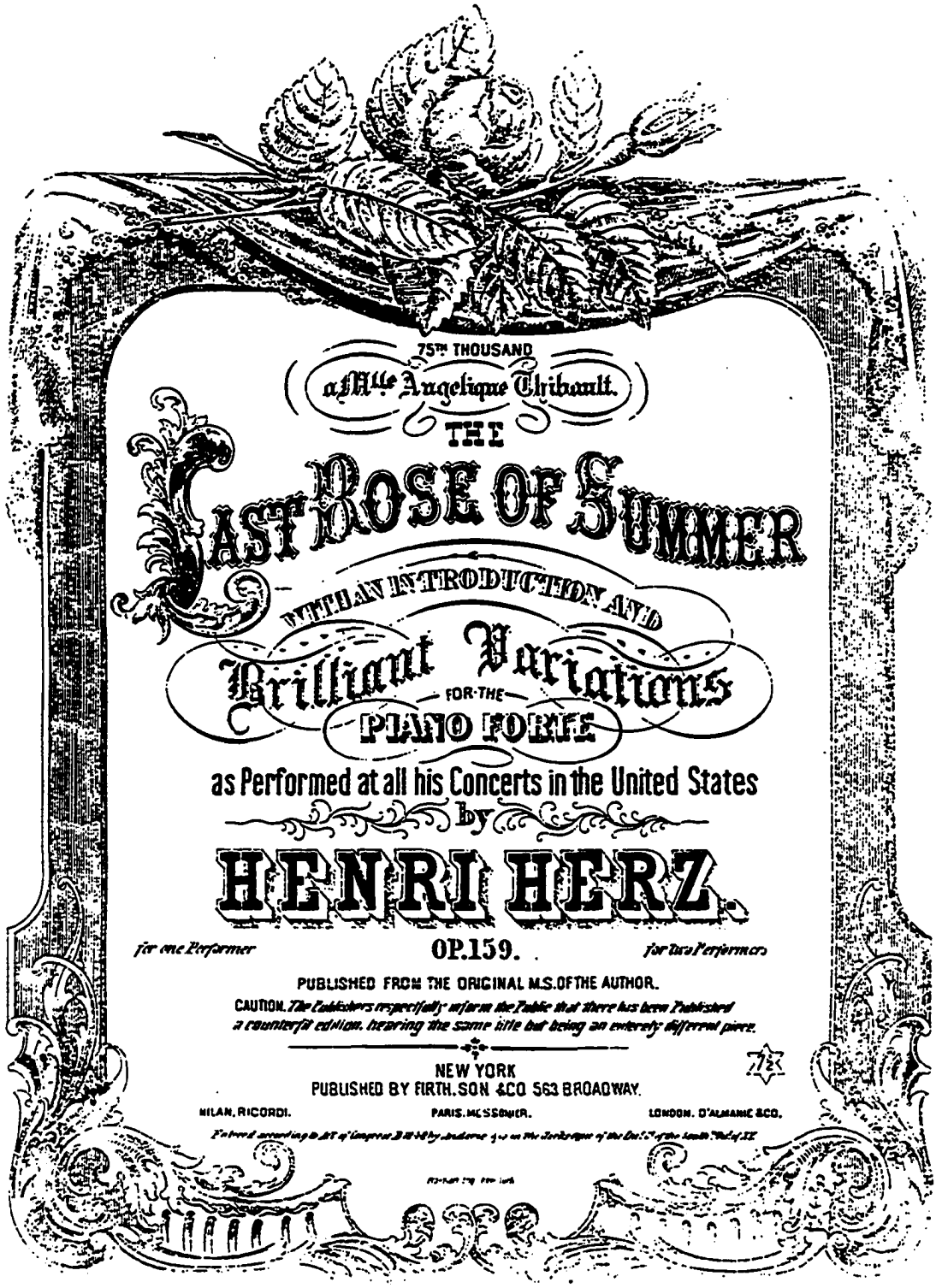


Fig. 20. Herz, The Last Rose of Summer, "75th Thousand" (ca 1863-66) (New York: Firth, Son & Co., copyright 1848), cover. (William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan)

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Fig. 21. Thalberg, Home! Sweet Home!
"100th Edition" (ca 1866-79)
(New York: G. Schirmer, copyright 1857), cover.
(Music Division, Library of Congress)

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nineteenth century, but the substantial amount of their music that survives in various libraries and private music collections suggests that a significant number was distributed.[54] Other evidence suggests that their works were popular. In 1847, when the Louisville music store of Peters and Webster listed the titles in a new shipment of sheet music from Firth, Hall, and Pond of New York, it carefully indicated that "a large supply" had been received of Herz's Fantasia on Lucia di Lammermoor[55] The critic George Upton recalled that "the Thalberg fantasies were all the rage for a time. Every little piano thumper tackled them."[56]

Loesser's statement about Gottschalk's The Last Hope, another immensely popular piece in the second half of the nineteenth century, gives some sense of what this music meant:

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[54]Among the libraries that have significant collections of music by De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg are the Free Library of Philadelphia, Library of Congress, Louisiana State Museum (New Orleans), New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, and Newberry Library (Chicago). A survey of a private collection of sheet music compiled in the 1830s in Norfolk shows that of the 54 composers whose music is included, 43 are represented by only one work, while there are 17 works by Herz, 16 by Hünten, 6 by Rossini, and 4 by Beethoven (James R. Hines, Musical Activity in Norfolk, Virginia: 1680-1973 [Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974], pp. 74-76).

[55]Louisville Daily Democrat, 15 April 1847.

[56]Musical Memories, p. 76. By the time he wrote this book at the turn of the century, he could state: "But Thalberg, his school of virtuosity, and his fantasies are now only memories. The fantasies to-day are as empty as last year's birds' nests."

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> By the rarefied monastic standards of latter-day highbrows, Last Hope ranks as trash. However, if there is value in something because it has given satisfaction to a great many people for a long time, then Last Hope must count as an important piece of music.[57]

American Taste

Not all Americans, however, enjoyed or appreciated the music of these pianists. A wide variety of reactions to their music was recorded reflecting the divergent levels of musical knowledge and taste across the country. When compared to today's prevailing view of these pianists as caterers to the masses, the most striking response is that many Americans considered their music too complex and scientific. Some openly acknowledged their inability to appreciate the music. Writing of Thalberg's performance in Wilmington, North Carolina, one critic admitted: "Of the very little which we could understand, we have not a word to say but praise. We confess that what we did not understand

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[57]Men, Women and Pianos, p. 501.

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was the greater part."[58] Orville Hickman Browning, a lawyer from Quincy, Illinois, and a friend of Lincoln, attended the concert of Thalberg and Vieuxtemps in Springfield and wrote in his diary: "The performances were too artistic to be to my taste. It may have been fine music, but was not melody."[59] The two appearances of Herz and Sivori in Baton Rouge left one newspaper editor unaffected:

> Their performances were no doubt, grand, and most difficult to acquire--but for real, down right heart touching music give us the "Star-spangled banner," played by a full regimental band, and in the way of sacred music, that venerable air of "Old Hundred" sung by a full chorus of old men, women, boys and girls, with their voices in full blast.[60]

In Columbus, Georgia, after a Thalberg concert another critic sighed:

> We have, we think, some music in our soul if it was diligently fished out. We can even appreciate a Jews

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[58]Wilmington (NC) Daily Journal, 20 January 1856. Concerning Vieuxtemps, the writer continued: "His rendering of opera music was, beyond question, magnificent, but most of it was like an Italian song,--being to us, at least, in an unknown tongue. When he gave Yankee Doodle and Patrick's Day, we felt ourselves on safe ground, we knew where we were and enjoyed ourselves accordingly. We never did hear these familiar airs played so well before. We may be making an acknowledgement of which we ought to be ashamed, but candor compels us to say that we derived more pleasure from these than we did from more scientific, but less familiar pieces--who in the house did not?"

[59]The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, ed. Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, 2 vols.: Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vols. 20 and 22 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1925, 1932), 1:326.

[60]Baton Rouge Gazette, 24 April 1847.

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> Harp if touched with skill--but alas our education has been sadly neglected in the higher walks of the divine science. We will then . . . leave to more cultivated minds the appreciation of your "furrener" airs. . . .[61]

The writer above was one of many who expressed a preference for works not based on "furrener" airs. In Louisville, De Meyer's performance of his variations on American tunes "seemed to create quite a sensation, showing that it suited the taste of the audience much better than the tunes and airs which he brings from his native country."[62] In Nashville, a critic believed he spoke for many when he wrote of De Meyer and Burke:

> While we (like most others,) cannot pretend to that critical knowledge which enables one to enjoy to the utmost so rare a musical treat, there were passages with which, being acquainted, we were exquisitely pleased. Burke's violin--in some of our familiar airs, such as "Mary Blane," "Lucy Neal," "Long-long-ago," &c., seemed absolutely to take the audience by storm. . . . We are free to confess that in our opinion, such performers as De Meyer and Burke and Ole Bull are apt to give us a greater display of genius and skill, than of music. . . .[63]

Other writers did not acknowledge personal perplexity about the music, but they doubted seriously whether a substantial number of the audience could understand it. De

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[61]Columbus (GA) Enquirer, 9 February 1858.

[62]Louisville Daily Democrat, 10 June 1846.

[63]Nashville Republican Banner, 7 April 1847. The writer qualified his criticism by adding: "We still think that all who are pleased with the 'heavenly science' should attend, if but for once, to see how much can be accomplished even in a short life by a thorough enthusiast in any profession."

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Meyer's appearance in Cincinnati during his second season led one paper to claim: "It requires a musical taste, educated far beyond the ordinary standard, to appreciate the skillful and scientific combinations of de Meyer."[64] After attending a Thalberg concert in Troy, a local critic presumed that "there was quite a portion of the audience who could not fully appreciate execution by artists who seem to approach so near to inspiration."[65] A Cincinnati paper described the audience at a concert by Thalberg and Vieuxtemps:

> Many, no doubt, were unable to appreciate the transcendental style, because the great mass of the people are not proficient in music, and all would no doubt have been better pleased with the execution of airs more familiar to the ear. . . .
>
> With the singing . . . the majority of the listeners may find the same occasion to express regret, as with the instrumental music. It was too foreign, too artistic, too exalted, for the musical education of the masses. . . .[66]

This opinion was found not only in the smaller cities. Shortly after De Meyer's debut in New York, the Tribune predicted that the pianist "very possibly may not please the unscientific hearer as well as did [William Vincent]

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[64]Cincinnati Morning Herald, 22 April 1847, quoted in Wyrick, "Concert and Criticism in Cincinnati," p. 104.

[65]Troy Daily Times, 5 May 1858.

[66]Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 25 May 1858.

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Wallace, but he will astonish all."[67] The Home Journal, reporting on the astonishing success of dollar concerts in New York, wondered:

> But who would lay a very heavy bet that there are a hundred (besides Mrs. [Lydia Maria] Child) who feel a dollar's worth of ecstacy [sic], in the comprehension of these deep soundings? Who believes that ten unprofessional people of the two thousand of the audience could, blindfolded, distinguish Timm's playing from Herz's, Sivori's from Rapetti's?[68]

In Janesville, Wisconsin, when Thalberg and his troupe did not appear for a concert as scheduled, an article answering a counterclaim by a rival newspaper in Milwaukee, the Wisconsin, frankly discussed in detail the general level of music appreciation in the two cities:

> We wished to illustrate the folly of those who are eternally running after "great" names, and especially foreign "artistes," who bring with them the style and language of a foreign country, and whether it be complimentary or otherwise to our citizens, we still think three-quarters of Thalberg's audience could not have told the difference, or if they could have distinguished any difference, would not have appreciated the superiority of the great pianist over half a dozen resident players if the playing had been done in the dark.
>
> And we apprehend that Milwaukee, with all her professed musical taste, is no better in this respect than Janesville. In that city, we will wager a new hat that ten persons to one will award the preference to the Hutchinsons over Parodi or Jenny Lind, and listen with pleasure to Yankee Doodle or Lucy Neal from the violin of some musical negro when they would yawn over the "highest" performances of Ole Bull. And we will

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[67] New-York Daily Tribune, 20 October 1845.

[68] No. 41 (21 November 1846), 3.

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double the bet that the Wisconsin writer himself would be found among the "miscellaneous crowd" who would make up the popular verdict.

> "Facts is facts," according to a vulgar proverb, and this love of the simple and true over the intricate and over wrought is one of the most stubborn in the whole catalogue. We may as well, neighbor Wisconsin, admit the truth occasionally, even if it reflects disagreeably upon our pretensions to taste and fashion.[69]

The "pretensions to taste and fashion" caused many audience members, including the fashionable concertgoer, to feign that they could understand the music. Upton recalled the state of musical taste and of the audiences in Chicago when Thalberg visited there in 1857:

> The city at that time was hardly graduated from its five-finger exercises, but it was greatly excited over the advent of a real pianist and put on its best clothes to go to [his] concerts. . . . It was not sure it would intelligently appreciate him, but it would at least pretend to do so.[70]

A Cleveland critic held that "audiences invariably applaud to the echo anything that they don't understand. It is a weakness that audiences have."[71] In Cincinnati another writer believed that "just in proportion as the composition was involved, elaborate and incomprehensible, the encores

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[69]Janesville Morning Gazette, 12 June 1857.

[70]Musical Memories, p. 73.

[71]Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, 27 March 1858.

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were loud and protracted."[72] And in Rochester a critic reported on a Thalberg concert: "Those who thoroughly understood music were doubtless delighted with what they heard, and many affected to be. Many a home-made concert has, however, better pleased the mass of the audience than this did last night."[73]

Other writers agreed that only a small portion of the population could understand the finer points of a performance, but this did not necessarily preclude the masses from enjoying the music. An Alexandria writer believed:

> While to the ear of those less accustomed to strictly artistic performances, the music was not so delightful as familiar airs, yet all were charmed, and each piece was loudly encored.[74]

Describing a performance by Thalberg in Salem, one critic wrote:

> It is not necessary that hearers should be scientific, in order to appreciate Thalberg's wonderful powers. Every one present felt that <u>it was music</u> which he heard.[75]

In Mobile this position was explained in detail:

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[72]<u>Cincinnati Daily Gazette</u>, 24 March 1858. The writer added: "We fear there is no help for this until artistes cease to bewilder their patrons with too concentrated draughts of harmony."

[73]<u>Rochester Union and Advertiser</u>, 8 May 1858.

[74]<u>Alexandria Gazette</u>, 20 November 1857.

[75]<u>Salem Gazette</u>, 16 April 1857.

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> We know that it is frequently called an affectation in persons not critically acquainted with music as a science, to express admiration for such performances. But this we think an injustice, for the appreciation of beauty in sight or sound, is a gift, an intuition bestowed upon the whole animal creation and scientific music is but a combination of simple melodies, according to the eternal law of harmony--and when skillfully interpreted to the ear by a thorough artist, there will always be a hearty response.[76]

In general, many people found the music of these pianists too complex to be understood completely, although most could probably receive some enjoyment from it. By performing their own music almost exclusively, these pianists were following the tradition of the composer-pianist. Had they performed works of Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt, Mendelssohn, and others, most of the audiences would probably not have been prepared to understand it and would have been severely disappointed in not hearing the works for which they were famous. As Richard Grant White wrote:

> [De Meyer] writes his pieces for his own use, and must write to please the public, who demand just such music as he gives them. A double fugue or a concerto for two piano fortes by Sebastian Bach, or a sonata by Beethoven, Hummel or Mendelssohn, though it would give the highest pleasure [to] the connoisseur subscribers to the Philharmonic Society, would drive nine-tenths of De Meyer's audiences out of the house, or at least prevent their ever entering it again.[77]

There was, of course, at least a small number of people

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[76]Mobile Daily Register, 13 February 1858.

[77]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, 7 February 1846.

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who would have preferred to hear the music of other composers. A. N. Johnson, editor of the Boston Musical Gazette and an associate of Lowell Mason, was the most critical in this respect concerning De Meyer:

> With one exception, all of the pieces which De Meyer performed were of his own composition, i.e., were arrangements designed to exhibit to the best advantage his execution. We cannot think he excels as a composer. Why could he not have given some of the works of those who have excelled as composers? We know of no other reason, than that it is his "forte" to astonish by execution, rather than to charm by performing good music. We are aware that our ideas upon this subject are somewhat different from those of the "public," but we cannot help expressing them, especially when we have excellent authority for holding such opinions.[78]

Dwight also expressed a desire to hear a greater variety of repertory, especially from Thalberg, who had teased him with a few performances of Beethoven. But even Dwight was able to place this music in perspective. Of De Meyer he wrote:

> Because he is not a Beethoven, nor a Schubert, nor a Chopin, we shall not the less enjoy him for what he is--a genial, lifesome creature, whom music has chosen to be her best expression of the nervous energy and the champagne sparkle of life.[79]

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[78]The Musical Gazette 1/21 (9 November 1846), 165.

[79]"De Meyer Again in Boston," The Harbinger 3/20 (24 October 1846), 317.

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THE AMERICAN CONCERT TOURS OF LEOPOLD DE MEYER, HENRI HERZ, AND SIGISMOND THALBERG

by

R. ALLEN LOTT

Volume II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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PART III

SIGISMOND THALBERG

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CHAPTER X

A RIVAL OF LISZT (1856-57)

Thalberg's two-year American sojourn (1856-58) was remarkable. Performing at an astounding rate, he made at least 340 appearances in the United States and Canada, more than any other visiting virtuoso pianist before Paderewski. He performed 77 times in New York,[1] 26 in Boston, and 20 in Philadelphia. He gave evening concerts, solo matinees, and free concerts for schoolchildren, and appeared at benefit concerts. He made three separate tours of the Midwest, presenting as many as eight concerts in Cincinnati and nine in St. Louis. His assisting artists included leading American musicians like Carl Bergmann, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, William Mason, and Theodore Thomas. With his support, Ullman and Strakosch leased the Academy of Music in New York for the presentation of opera. He became such a vital part of American musical life that Dwight could observe:

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[1]He was such a fixture in New York that one paper claimed that "New York has adopted him" (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 17 January 1857, p. 99).

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> Thalberg is a sort of moving centre about whom all the world musical revolves; artists, societies, orchestras, conductors, all file into his train.[2]

The tours of De Meyer and Herz had whetted the appetites of Americans to hear even better pianists, specifically Liszt and Thalberg, who were considered then to be the two greatest living pianists.[3] Rumors of an American tour by Thalberg preceded him to this country by almost a decade. In early 1847, when both De Meyer and Herz were still in the United States, The Home Journal had reported: "Thalberg and Liszt are both coming to America next year, it is said, to pick up any stray coins that De Meyer and Herz may have

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[2]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/26 (28 March 1857), 205.

[3]After Thalberg's first season in the United States, an account of a visit to Liszt by the New York music publisher Charles Breusing revealed the pianist's current thoughts on America and the possibility of an American tour by him: "Liszt told him that he had been often invited to visit our country, and that he feels greatly inclined to do so, not only on account of the prominent place it begins to occupy in the musical world, but also on account of the friendly, sympathetic calls he had so often had from here. Unfortunately, his time for the next three years was so much engaged by carrying out his plans with regard to his position as a composer in Germany, that he would not be able to respond to the multiplied invitations for a visit which he had received, unless some extraordinary circumstances should force him to give up his dearest wishes. But if he should come, it would be as a pianist and as a teacher, and with the intention not to leave this country any more. As he felt that he had some talent for teaching, his ambition would be to start here a conservatory of music, in the superintendence of which he would conclude his days. In the mean time, he authorized Mr. Breusing to give all rumors with regard to his coming over this season, or next season, under the management of this or that agent, a flat denial" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/17 [22 August 1857], 257).

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left."[4] The following year letters arrived in New York that led The American Musical Times to proclaim that "the great Thalberg is about visiting this country."[5] A seemingly more solid report appeared shortly after Jenny Lind's American debut, stating that John Hall Wilton, who successfully negotiated Barnum's contract with the Swedish singer, had completed arrangements with Thalberg and the violinist Heinrich Ernst for them to come to America in the spring of 1851.[6] A year later a rumor circulated that "Thalberg was said to have his face set towards America."[7]

When the pianist finally crossed the Atlantic in 1855 it was South America, not the United States, to which he first journeyed.[8] But finally, in the summer of 1856, Dwight was able to report that a letter had arrived in New York "from the renowned pianist, Thalberg, announcing it as

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[4]No. 50 (23 January 1847), 4.

[5]2/1 (3 June 1848), 6.

[6]Saroni's Musical Times 2/2 (5 October 1850), 20. For information on Wilton's negotiations with Lind, see Ware and Lockard, Barnum Presents Jenny Lind, pp. 1-5.

[7]Dwight's Journal of Music 1/1 (10 April 1852), 67.

[8]For information on Thalberg's appearances in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires from July to December 1855, see Ayres de Andrade, "Um rival de Liszt no Rio de Janeiro," Revista brasileira de música 1/1 (April-June 1962), 27-50; Rodolfo Barbacci, "Documentación para la historia de la música Argentina, 1801-1885" Revista de estudios musicales 1/2 (December 1949), 49-55; Gesualdo, Música en la Argentina, 2:208-19; and Mayer-Serra, Música y músicos de latinoamerica, pp. 980-81.

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positively his intention to come to this country in the autumn."[9] Two decades had passed since Thalberg's rise to fame, and although his music was performed throughout the 1850s in the United States (as described in the previous chapter), there were now suggestions that his technical superiority as a pianist was on the wane. The Home Journal's rumor in 1847, for example, had stated that Thalberg "is said to be the pianist of all possible pianists,"[10] but a report in the New-York Musical Review and Gazette in the summer before his arrival described him as "once the greatest living pianist."[11] And Henry Vieuxtemps, the Belgian violinist who joined Thalberg in America in 1857, wrote of his decision to come to this country: "A celebrated speculator tracked me out and persuaded me to accept an offer for the United States of America, but with a resuscitated celebrity, Sigismund Thalberg."[12]

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[9]Dwight's Journal of Music 9/16 (19 July 1856), 126. A later report that Thalberg might bring the hornist Eugène Vivier proved false (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/15 [26 July 1856], 225; and Dwight's Journal of Music 9/19 [9 August 1856], 152).

[10]No. 50 (23 January 1847), 4.

[11]7/14 (12 July 1856), 209.

[12]"Autobiographie," quoted in Maurice Kufferath, Henri Vieuxtemps: sa vie et son oeuvre (Brussels: J. Rozez, 1883), p. 16; English translation in Dwight's Journal of Music 41 (3 September 1881), 119.

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However dusty Thalberg's reputation as a pianist might have been in 1856, there was and is no doubt about his preeminence. Robert Wangermée has written in The New Grove: "Together with Liszt, Thalberg must be ranked as the greatest virtuoso pianist of the mid-19th century."[13] The two pianists were constantly referred to in the same breath, and each had his partisans. In the French press, for example, Berlioz favored Liszt while Fétis supported Thalberg.[14] Mendelssohn gave Thalberg a slight edge over his rival:

> There is no doubt that [Liszt] plays most of all of them, yet Thalberg, with his composure, and within his more restricted sphere, is more nearly perfect as a real virtuoso; and after all this is the standard by which Liszt must also be judged, for his compositions are inferior to his playing, and, in fact, are calculated solely for virtuosi.[15]

The debate over who was the greater culminated in a joint

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[13]"Thalberg, Sigismond," 18:723.

[14]See Hector Berlioz, "Listz [sic]," Revue et gazette musicale 3/24 (12 June 1836), 198-200; and François-Joseph Fétis, "Mm. Thalberg et Liszt," Revue et gazette musicale 4/17 (23 April 1837), 137-42; the latter is quoted with English translation in Suttoni, Piano and Opera, pp. 157-59. It should be noted that Berlioz had been a close friend of Liszt since 1830, and Fétis was a hopeless reactionary.

[15]Felix Mendelssohn, Letter to his mother, 30 March 1840, in Briefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1847, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1863), 2:224-25; English translation in Letters, ed. G. Selden-Goth (New York: Pantheon, 1945), pp. 289-91. Mendelssohn added: "That [Liszt], together with Thalberg, alone represent the highest class of pianists of the present day, seems to me indisputable."

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concert in 1837 in the Parisian salon of Princess Belgiojoso that was a combination of duel and reconciliation.[16] Biographers of Liszt have perpetuated a myth that their subject was proclaimed the winner.[17] Not until Alan Walker's recent study was the record once again set straight: the duel, in fact, was considered a draw.[18] The critic Jules Janin reported on the concert:

> Never was Liszt more controlled, more thoughtful, more energetic, more passionate; never has Thalberg played with greater verve and tenderness. Each of them prudently stayed within his harmonic domain, but each used every one of his resources. It was an admirable joust. The most profound silence fell over that noble arena. And finally Liszt and Thalberg were both proclaimed victors by this glittering and intelligent assembly. . . . Thus two victors and no vanquished. . . .[19]

Liszt's withdrawal from performing in 1847 left Thalberg unchallenged as the reigning performing pianist, although about the same time he also greatly curtailed his appearances.

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[16]Revue et gazette musicale 4/15 (9 April 1837), 125-26.

[17]Humphrey Searle, for example, stated: "[Liszt] played at Princess Belgiojoso's house in the celebrated pianistic duel with Thalberg, whose fame as a pianist was beginning to rival Liszt's; Liszt was the victor" ("Liszt, Franz," The New Grove, 11:30).

[18]Liszt, pp. 238-40. Walker discusses in some detail the Liszt-Thalberg rivalry on pp. 232-43.

[19]Journal des débats, 3 April 1837; English translation in Walker, Liszt, p. 240.

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Thalberg's performing career had begun in the late 1820s and had included the usual tours as a virtuoso. His early years, however, were anything but normal. The circumstances surrounding his birth are still unclear.[20] Born in Pâquis, Switzerland, near Geneva, in 1812, he was considered during his lifetime to be the natural son of Prince Franz Joseph Dietrichstein and the Baroness von Eyb (later the Baroness von Wetzlar).[21] His birth certificate, however, states that his parents were Joseph Thalberg and Fortunée Stein of Frankfurt.[22] Whether Joseph Thalberg was the real father or simply assumed paternity on behalf of Dietrichstein, the latter eventually adopted the pianist, oversaw his education from the age of ten, and designated him his heir.

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[20]The fullest discussion of the conflicting evidence regarding Thalberg's parentage appears in Michel Béro, Sigismond Thalberg: Aspects de la virtuosité pianistique au XIXe siècle (Mémoire de licence, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1975), 1:5-9. Béro's work, a compilation of biographical and bibliographical documents, is the only major study of Thalberg; see also Daniel L. Hitchcock, "Sigismund Thalberg, 1812-1871: An Evaluation of the Famous Composer-Pianist, on the 100th Anniversary of his Death," The Piano Quarterly, no. 77 (Fall 1971), 12-16.

[21]Count Moritz Dietrichstein, the prince's brother, is frequently given in error as his father. Both Liszt (Letter to Marie d'Agoult, 13 April 1838, in Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult, ed. Daniel Ollivier, 2 vols. [Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1933-34], 1:215-18) and Salaman ("Pianists of the Past," p. 323) describe visiting Prince Dietrichstein, whom they believed to be the father of Thalberg.

[22]The birth certificate was first transcribed in "La Date de naissance de Thalberg," Le Guide musical 58/3 (21 January 1912), 51.

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The belief in Thalberg's aristocratic birth enhanced his romantic appeal as a virtuoso. His birth also made his early years financially comfortable. At age ten he went to live in Vienna with Dietrichstein and began preparing for a diplomatic career; he also studied music with the bassoonist Mittag at the Court Opera. He may have taken some lessons in theory with Sechter and in piano with Hummel,[23] and he later studied with Kalkbrenner, Pixis, and Moscheles.[24] In 1830 he made his first international tour and in 1836 achieved his first success in Paris.

Thalberg's triumphs and his music were well known in the United States before his arrival. The New-York Musical Review and Gazette asserted:

> He has been known in America by reputation for many years, where his name is familiar to thousands who have never heard of the other great cotemporaries who excel upon his instrument. The piano-forte of every advanced amateur and pupil has borne upon its desk the Lucia Fantasia, or some other of his compositions.[25]

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[23]Most sources indicate he studied with Sechter and Hummel, but Fétis claims that Thalberg, in conversations with him, denied studying with them ("Thalberg, Sigismond," Biographie universelle, 8:207).

[24]Moscheles wrote to Mendelssohn (14 August 1836): "In 1826 I gave [Thalberg] some instruction; and at that time already I became aware that he would little need me to do great things,--sans comparaison" (Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles, p. 153).

[25]7/20 (4 October 1856), 305.

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The New-York Daily Times believed he was "an artist who is known in every clime, and whose compositions are the glorious effort of every beautiful and aspiring pianiste."[26] It was on the basis of this reputation that Ullman, as Thalberg's manager (and later Vieuxtemps's "celebrated speculator"), was able to present him so successfully to the American public.

Ullman Again

After breaking with Herz in 1849, Ullman had a temporary reversal in his managerial career.[27] Soon, however, he regained his footing with the successful but ultimately tragic North American tour of Henriette Sontag (1852-54), who died of cholera in Mexico. His negotiations with Thalberg were probably made in the summer of 1856 during his annual trip to Europe in search of new celebrities.

For the most part, Ullman handled Thalberg's tour in a serious and refined manner. His general lack of humbug was consistently praised, although Thalberg usually received the

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[26]31 October 1856, p. 4.

[27]See pp. 287-88 above.

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credit. An ironic but typical example is a statement by the New York Herald, which had been such an avid supporter of De Meyer:

> The great success of M. Thalberg . . . is a real tribute to the merit of a great artist, unassisted by any of the dodges or humbugs that were resorted to by his predecessors. M. Thalberg came here modestly and without any nonsense. . . . There was no Barnum or Leopold de Meyer humbug--no serenades or rehearsals, or tickets sold at auction, or any of the other tricks that have disgusted everybody.[28]

To be sure, Ullman had perfected his art of issuing announcements designed to attract the largest possible audience. Increasingly he assumed a more public role as an impresario by signing his name to press communications and basked in the glory of his famous clients. Ullman's approach was to convince Americans that (1) they needed music, (2) they were fortunate to have it made available to them by someone like himself, and (3) they should gladly pay for it.

Thalberg's arrival in New York on 3 October 1856 on the steamship Africa was briefly noticed in the press,[29] but no public demonstrations or serenades greeted him as they had so profusely Jenny Lind. A few days later, advertisements in the papers announced simply: "Thalberg's Concerts will

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[28]20 November 1856, p. 4. The New York Courier and Enquirer confirmed this opinion: "[Thalberg] came before the American public without humbug of any kind, relying solely upon his established position as an artist of the highest rank" (quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 10/7 [15 November 1856], 55).

[29]New-York Daily Times, 4 October 1856, p. 4.

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commence at Niblo's Saloon on Monday, Oct. 20, 1856."[30] Ullman soon postponed the concerts because of the intense excitement created by the presidential election,[31] and with the suddenly available free time Thalberg made a quick trip to Niagara Falls.[32] The first concert was rescheduled for 20 November, and eventually a flourish more customary of Ullman graced the advertisement. His "Card of the Management" tried to convince the public of his and Thalberg's self-sacrifice and their altruistic efforts on the behalf of art:

> Artists of renown who visit this country are actuated by two motives: the desire to accumulate money, and the ambition to extend the dominion of their art-triumphs. The majority--who aim at the first object--select a large building, where thousands may obtain admission; the minority are content with the fame which appreciation can alone bestow. It is not indelicate to say that Thalberg belongs to the latter

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[30] New-York Daily Times, 6 October 1856, p. 3.

[31] James Buchanan defeated John Frémont in the election, the main issue of which was slavery and the future of the Union; Buchanan was supported by the South and the pro-slavery cause. In regard to postponing the concerts, Dwight remarked: "He waits until after the 4th of November, to see 'the Union saved,' before he begins his concerts in North America, reversing the Napoleonic [recte Louis XIVth] saying, thus: After the deluge, me, Thalberg!" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/4 [25 October 1856], 31).

[32] New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/22 (1 November 1856), 337. Although he gave no public concerts in Niagara Falls, an anecdote circulated relating how, because of his playing, he was rewarded with wine in a temperance hotel (Springfield [MA] Daily Republican, 29 December 1856; also quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 13/12 [19 June 1858], 92).

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> class. He desires not merely a pecuniary success, but an art-exposition, an art-success. To obtain this, he has cheerfully relinquished the advantages of a large hall, and in preference has selected a room of limited capacity (such as Niblo's saloon,) in which the nuances, the lights and shades, the delicate tints, and the broad contrasts which impart an individuality to piano-forte playing, may be gathered with the ease and comfort of a home circle. In this way Mr. Thalberg hopes to contribute--here as well as in Europe--his share towards the development of music as one of the sister arts, and not merely to display his capacity as a performer.
>
> From the same motive the prices of admission have been fixed at a moderate standard--certainly too moderate to afford him that just emolument to which he is entitled, since the highest average of receipts, in a room containing only about 800 seats, with standing room for 200 persons more, after deducting the usual free admissions, and the proportionately large expenses, will leave him a smaller share of profits than has been gained heretofore by artists holding an inferior position in the musical world to that universally conceded to Mr. Thalberg.[33]

Ullman was at least partly correct in his statement. Niblo's Saloon was considerably smaller than the Academy of Music, which seated 4,000 people, and was not economically the best choice for concerts.[34] But holding an extended series of piano concerts in the cavernous Academy might have proved impossible, and the building would not have been available at all times because of its use as an opera house.

Once his concerts finally began, Thalberg performed at a furious pace. In a nonstop schedule masterminded by

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[33]New-York Daily Times, 4 November 1856, p. 5.

[34]One paper claimed "he could undoubtedly have realized five times the amount which can possibly be received in Niblo's Saloon had he taken the Academy of Music" (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 15 November 1856, p. 358).

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Ullman, for the next eight months Thalberg appeared almost every night of the week (with the usual exception of Sunday). Occasionally he performed two or three times on the same day, as he gave concerts for schoolchildren in the morning and matinees in the afternoon in addition to evening performances.

After the first two weeks of concerts in New York, he began appearing in rapid succession in other eastern cities. He often shuttled back and forth between two major cities like New York and Philadelphia or Baltimore and Washington, as in the second and third weeks of December 1856 (see table 6 and map 6). At other times he used a major city as a hub and alternated performances between it and smaller surrounding cities, as he did Philadelphia in early February (see figure 22) and Boston in late March and early April 1857.[35] In just over five months he made almost 150 appearances in the eastern cities alone--more than De Meyer in his entire tour of 20 months and about 75 per cent as

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[35]During Thalberg's first visit to Boston and surrounding cities in January 1857, severe snowstorms and extreme cold wreaked havoc with Ullman's meticulous schedule. Many concerts had to be postponed because it was impossible sometimes to reach the cities. Ullman was forced to revamp his schedule slightly because of "the fatigue . . . accruing to the artists from daily travel in such an unpropitious season, as well as the uncertainty of their arriving at the requisite time" (Boston Evening Transcript, 9 January 1857).

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TABLE 6

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S FIRST EASTERN SEASON (1856-57)

10	Nov	New York, NY	29	Dec	Brooklyn, NY
11	Nov	New York, NY	30	Dec	New Haven, CT
13	Nov	New York, NY	31	Dec	Springfield, MA
15	Nov	New York, NY	1	Jan	Hartford, CT
17	Nov	Brooklyn, NY	3	Jan	Boston, MA
18	Nov	New York, NY	6	Jan	Providence, RI
20	Nov	New York, NY	7	Jan	Worcester, MA
21	Nov	New York, NY	8	Jan	Boston, MA
24	Nov	Albany, NY	9	Jan	Salem, MA
25	Nov	Troy, NY	10	Jan	Boston, MA
26	Nov	Newark, NJ	12	Jan	Boston, MA (s)
27	Nov	New York, NY	13	Jan	Boston, MA
28	Nov	Philadelphia, PA	14	Jan	New Bedford, MA
29	Nov	New York, NY	15	Jan	Providence, RI
1	Dec	Brooklyn, NY	16	Jan	Boston, MA
2	Dec	New York, NY (s)*	17	Jan	Boston, MA (s)
		New York, NY			Boston, MA (m)*
3	Dec	Philadelphia, PA	18	Jan	Boston, MA
4	Dec	New York, NY	20	Jan	Boston, MA (m)
5	Dec	Philadelphia, PA	21	Jan	Hartford, CT
8	Dec	Philadelphia, PA	23	Jan	Albany, NY
9	Dec	New York, NY	24	Jan	Troy, NY
10	Dec	Philadelphia, PA	27	Jan	Albany, NY
11	Dec	New York, NY	28	Jan	Troy, NY
12	Dec	Philadelphia, PA	30	Jan	Philadelphia, PA
13	Dec	Philadelphia, PA (s)	2	Feb	Washington, DC
		Philadelphia, PA	3	Feb	Baltimore, MD
15	Dec	Baltimore, MD	4	Feb	Philadelphia, PA
16	Dec	Washington, DC	5	Feb	Philadelphia, PA (s)
17	Dec	Baltimore, MD			Wilmington, DE
18	Dec	Baltimore, MD (s)	6	Feb	Lancaster, PA
19	Dec	Baltimore, MD	7	Feb	Philadelphia, PA
20	Dec	Washington, DC	9	Feb	Harrisburg, PA
22	Dec	Baltimore, MD	11	Feb	Philadelphia, PA (s)
23	Dec	Baltimore, MD			Philadelphia, PA
24	Dec	Washington, DC	12	Feb	Washington, DC
26	Dec	New York, NY	13	Feb	Baltimore, MD
27	Dec	Philadelphia, PA	14	Feb	Philadelphia, PA

(continued)

*s = school concert; m = matinee; see the Appendix for postponed and canceled concerts.

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TABLE 6 (continued)

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S FIRST EASTERN SEASON (1856-57)

16 Feb	New York, NY (s)	20 Mar	New York, NY
	New York, NY	21 Mar	New York, NY
17 Feb	New Haven, CT	23 Mar	Hartford, CT
18 Feb	New York, NY	24 Mar	Boston, MA
19 Feb	New York, NY (s)	25 Mar	Boston, MA (m)
	Brooklyn, NY		Providence, RI
20 Feb	New York, NY (m)	26 Mar	Boston, MA
	New York, NY	27 Mar	Boston, MA (m)
21 Feb	New York, NY		Worcester, MA
24 Feb	New York, NY (m)	28 Mar	Boston, MA
	New York, NY	29 Mar	Boston, MA
26 Feb	New York, NY (s)	30 Mar	Boston, MA (m)
	New York, NY (m)		Lowell, MA
	New York, NY	31 Mar	Boston, MA
27 Feb	New York, NY (m)	1 Apr	New Bedford, MA
	Brooklyn, NY	2 Apr	Providence, RI
28 Feb	New York, NY (s)	3 Apr	Providence, RI (s)
	Williamsburg, NY		Worcester, MA
3 Mar	New York, NY (m)	4 Apr	Boston, MA (m)
	New York, NY		Boston, MA
4 Mar	New York, NY (m)	6 Apr	Lowell, MA
5 Mar	Williamsburg, NY (s)	7 Apr	Boston, MA (s)
	New York, NY (m)		Boston, MA
	New York, NY	8 Apr	Providence, RI (m)
6 Mar	Newark, NJ		Providence, RI
7 Mar	Brooklyn, NY	9 Apr	Boston, MA
10 Mar	New York, NY (m)	10 Apr	New Bedford, MA
	New York, NY	11 Apr	Boston, MA
11 Mar	New York, NY (s)	13 Apr	Salem, MA
12 Mar	New York, NY (m)	14 Apr	Boston, MA (m)
	New York, NY	15 Apr	Hartford, CT (m)
13 Mar	New Haven, CT		Hartford, CT
16 Mar	New York, NY (m)	16 Apr	New Haven, CT (m)
	New York, NY		New Haven, CT
18 Mar	Trenton, NJ	17 Apr	Northampton, MA (m)
19 Mar	New York, NY (m)		Springfield, MA
	Brooklyn, NY		

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MAP 6

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S FIRST EASTERN SEASON (1856-57)



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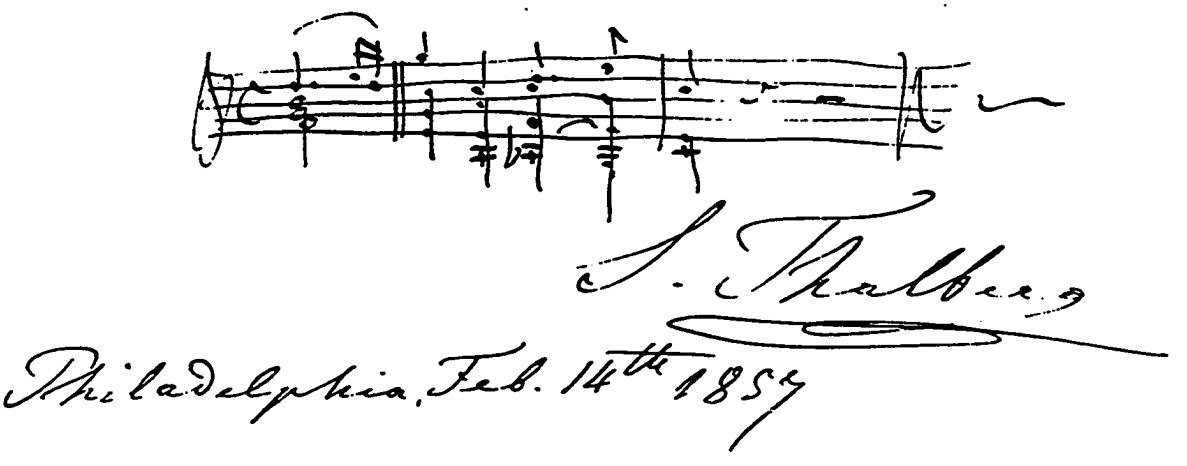


Fig. 22. Thalberg, Album Leaf,
Philadelphia, 14 February 1857.
(Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

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many as Herz in 22 months. What had happened that made such a dramatic increase in less than a decade possible?

The most important occurrence was the rise of the impresario as a vital force in the musical life of the United States illustrated by Ullman's painstaking strategy.[36] As the New York Dispatch stated:

> We have no hesitation in saying that the career of Mr. Sigismond Thalberg in this country has thus far been more quietly, and at the same time more brilliantly successful, than that of any great artist that has preceded him, without any exception whatever. It were folly to deny that the management of his business affairs, the arrangements of his concerts and matinees, the quickness of his movements, the combinations of attraction, the selection of hours and places for performance, the economy of time, are all more perfect, more closely calculated, and more energetically carried out, than was ever any similar undertaking in this or any other country.[37]

Just as important was the rapid growth of musical interest in the United States. All the most sophisticated planning would have been worthless if the public had not had sufficient interest to attend the concerts. Only a few performers like Thalberg, however, could have fueled the public's enthusiasm in many of the cities for such an extended period of time and so large a number of concerts. During his first season he gave 38 concerts in New York, 22 in Boston, 13 in Philadelphia, 7 in Baltimore, and 5 in Washington (excluding free concerts for schoolchildren).

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[36]See chapter XII for a discussion of impresarios.

[37]Quoted in Rochester Daily American, 16 April 1857.

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A Providence paper stated: "We do not believe that any other man could call out such an assemblage after giving four concerts; but there is magic in the very name of Thalberg."[38] After Thalberg gave twenty concerts in Boston, the Post believed:

> The people do not tire of the distinguished pianist's entertainments, for, after they have long ceased to be novelties, they are attended by as large and brilliant audiences as at first.[39]

And after sixteen concerts in New York, the Times reported that "the interest in this great and genial artist appears to be on the increase."[40] A Washington paper held that "save and except Jenny Lind only, the impression produced upon our musical circles by Thalberg is without a parallel."[41]

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[38]Providence Daily Journal, 9 April 1857.

[39]Boston Post, 10 April 1857. At his fifth Boston concert Dwight reported: "The Music Hall was packed as full as it could hold; we found a seat with hundreds on the stage" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 [24 January 1857], 132).

[40]New-York Daily Times, 19 February 1857, p. 1. At his twelfth New York concert "every seat was filled, and many ladies were obliged to stand during the entire performance" (New York Herald, 10 December 1856, p. 5).

[41]Washington Daily Union, 24 December 1856. A Philadelphia paper agreed: "His visit to Philadelphia has proved a complete success . . . ; the fact of seven such expensive concerts having been given in so short a time and with such great patronage . . . we believe is unprecedented here, except perhaps in the case of Jenny Lind" (Fitzgerald's City Item, 20 December 1856, quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 10/13 [27 December 1856], 101).

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Thalberg's Performance Style and His Music

Whatever doubts there may have been about Thalberg's current status as a pianist immediately vanished when he exhibited his technique to American audiences. They quickly realized he was the best pianist to appear in the United States:

> Without the shadow of a doubt Thalberg is the greatest pianist we have ever had in America.[42]

> We only speak the unanimous sentiment of the art world when we say that no such finished and artistic pianoforte playing has ever before been heard in America.[43]

> We unhesitatingly affirm . . . that he is the greatest pianist we have ever heard. De Meyer, Herz, Gottschalk, Mason, Strakosch, and the rest have all their merit, and great merit too; but none of them appear [sic] to have acquired that complete control of the instrument, that power to produce great effects by quiet means and ease of execution.[44]

Even Dwight was so entranced by Thalberg's playing that he could temporarily overlook whatever misgivings he had about the music:

> The execution was so perfect that the mind did not begin to analyze, or hardly ask itself what it was hearing; it might break the charm to ask a question. There was a singular completeness about it. The execution was perfection, the like of which we had not

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[42]New-York Daily Times, 11 November 1856, p. 1.

[43]New York Herald, 12 November 1856, p. 7.

[44]Chicago Daily Democratic Press, 22 May 1857.

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> heard before. Each piece told its story so perfectly, that you forgot to ask how much it was all worth, as music. . . . We were thankful for a new and exquisite sensation; and that it was to hear at last fully, perfectly done, and by the master of them all, what we have seen so many sweat and strain themselves to do but passably.[45]

His "quiet means and ease of execution" were widely lauded, and American audiences were once again enchanted by a performer who, like Herz, had serious and simple stage manners.[46] A Newark writer described his unostentatious appearance on the concert platform:

> When his time came, a medium-sized gentleman in the prime of life, rather stoutly built, and so severely simple, yet neat and tasteful, in his manner and attire, that he might have been mistaken for a well salaried secretary of our Board of Missions, or a Judge of the Supreme Court--with modest assurance and dignity enough for either--Thalberg stepped upon the platform, and quietly sat down to his work [see figure 23].
>
> He never once got his feet upon the keys, nor even his elbows; nor did his hands toss over each other, showering colored lights from diamonded fingers. During all his performances there was scarcely a perceptible motion of his head or shoulders, nor indeed any more agitation than would be observed in a

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[45]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/15 (10 January 1857), 118.

[46]The New York Herald believed that "his quiet, modest, thoroughly gentlemanly manner at the piano makes him almost as many admirers as his splendid playing" (14 November 1856, p. 5).

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Fig. 23. Photograph of Thalberg (1850s?). (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

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> Wall street banker passing over his golden notes from one side to the other, as if there were almost too many to inspect within bank hours.[47]

A letter to a Boston paper expressed gratitude that in the pianist's entrance there was "no upturning of the eyes or pressing of the hand over the heart as if seized by a sudden cramp in that region, the said motions caused by a fit of thankfulness."[48] A Providence writer was pleased that in Thalberg's performance there were

> no tricks, no sentimentalities, no galvanic liftings and frenzied dashings down of the hands, no rapt listenings to his own sweet strains, (though this might show its warrant,) no flippancies directed at his audience, no civilities to any of them beyond his general and dignified bow.[49]

For most Americans Thalberg was indeed a relief from the showy display of many pianists:

> After witnessing the affectations and extravagancies of many public performers, we cannot forbear remarking upon the dignity and gravity of Mr. Thalberg's demeanor, which evinced that he did not look upon the art of music as a game, astonishing the ignorance and credulity of the hearers, but as a noble calling, not to be approached with levity or ostentation. The simplicity and quietness of his movement, contrasted well with those second-rate performers who delight in

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[47]Newark Daily Advertiser, 27 November 1856. At least one writer believed that Thalberg's simplicity in performing misled some people to believe he was not a great pianist: "Because Thalberg sits quietly in his seat, without endeavoring to put his feet on the keys, and without breaking several strings every time he plays, many people suppose that he can not be a great artist" (New Orleans Daily Delta, 20 February 1858).

[48]Boston Evening Transcript, 24 March 1857.

[49]Providence Daily Journal, 8 January 1857.

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making the gaping multitude stare, and in bewildering the brain of the unitiated.[50]

A similar testimony appeared in a Boston paper:

> The personal demeanor of Thalberg upon the stage is entirely free from all those pompous affectations too often displayed by artists who have been petted by a talent worshiping public, and from the entrée to the exit he appears more like the private gentleman at home than the most distinguished pianist of the world.[51]

If the public admired Thalberg's unpretentious performance style, they were amazed at his accuracy and precision. Hallé wrote that "his performances were wonderfully finished and accurate, giving the impression that a wrong note was an impossibility."[52] One writer quipped that "it would be a sort of relief to hear a discordant note,"[53] and according to the New York critic Richard Grant White:

> His accuracy is marvellous to the verge of the miraculous; and we do not wonder at the story told, that one of those used-up Englishmen who travel about in search of a sensation, having followed him in vain

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[50]Salem Gazette, 13 January 1857. Heinrich Heine, writing in 1843, made comparable observations: "This artist distinguishes himself to advantage from his pianist colleagues by, I might almost say, his musical deportment. As in his life, so also in his art Thalberg shows an innate tact; his delivery is so gentleman-like, so well-to-do, so respectable, so wholly without grimace, so wholly without any forced air of genius, so wholly without that bullying clownishness which ill hides inward timidity. . . . There is but one, whom I prefer to him, and that is Chopin, who is, however, far more a composer than a virtuoso" ("Musikalische Berichte aus Paris," 26 March 1843, from Französische Zustände, II; quoted in English translation in Dwight's Journal of Music 13/16 [17 July 1858], 122).

[51]Boston Post, 12 January 1857.

[52]Autobiography, pp. 58-59.

[53]Richmond Daily Dispatch, 16 January 1858.

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> for three years in the hope of hearing a false note, blew out his brains in despair.[54]

Others did not find this trait desirable:

> With him there is no variableness; he always moves with the perfect precision of the most reliable machinery, exciting admiration, but no warmth of enthusiasm.[55]

Hallé believed that "he did not appeal to the emotions, except those of wonder, for his playing was statuesque; cold, but beautiful."[56] Harper's, which thought that Thalberg perhaps was the "most perfect pianist that ever has been or ever can be," sarcastically disagreed:

> Many think he is very perfect, but "like other perfect things, cold." Like the sun, for instance, or a summer day.[57]

A Springfield, Massachusetts, writer also disagreed, stating that "the grand secret of his playing, or rather of its effect upon the audience, is that his soul is in it."[58]

The music of Thalberg was not only popular with audiences and amateurs but was also more highly regarded by

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[54]New York Courier and Enquirer, 11 November 1856, quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 10/7 (15 November 1856), 55.

[55]Newark Daily Advertiser, 7 March 1857.

[56]Autobiography, p. 59.

[57]Harper's New Monthly Magazine 14 (May 1857), 850.

[58]Springfield (MA) Daily Republican, 1 January 1857. The same writer, who claimed Thalberg "far surpassed any piano playing we ever heard or dreamed of," admitted that the effusiveness of his review made him "inclined to think we are making ourselves a little foolish over him, but we do not see exactly how we can help it."

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critics and musicians than the music of Herz. Even Schumann admired Thalberg's playing and was more complimentary to his music than he was to that of most virtuosos, although often in a backhanded manner:

> First of all, as everyone knows, he writes for himself and for his concerts. He wants to please the crowd with his glittering performances; the composition itself is a secondary concern. If in all this there were not a spark of something nobler here and there, and were there not, in individual passages, signs of a more industrious working-out, his compositions would simply have to be counted among the thousands of pieces of virtuoso hackwork that appear year in and year out, only to be forgotten immediately.[59]

Fétis, by far Thalberg's staunchest supporter, praised him as "an innovator in the art of piano playing" and discussed at some length his new developments:

> Thalberg, coming forward as an innovator in the art of piano playing, has clearly proposed the problems to be solved: first, to combine in a single system the advantages of both the singing and brilliant schools of piano playing, not alternately, as the most famous artists have done, but simultaneously in a manner that brings out a powerful and significant melody in the midst of the most difficult, rapid and lively passagework; second, to unite . . . the highest portions of the instrument with the middle range and the bass so as to embrace the piano all at once; third, to give the hands and fingers an absolute independence of strength . . . and to make perceptible, by means of delicate nuances, the different patterns played by each

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[59] Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 15/32 (19 October 1841), 126; English translation in Plantinga, Schumann as Critic, p. 211; see pp. 207-14 in the latter for a summary of Schumann's writings on Thalberg.

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> hand . . .; fourth, lastly, to find a power of sound in the instrument that can produce . . . the illusion of a full orchestra . . .[60]

The first innovation listed by Fétis, the combination of "the advantages of both the singing and brilliant schools of piano playing," was Thalberg's most characteristic trait. He was noted for his lush, singing tone, and the critic Henri Blanchard claimed that "no one has ever sung at the piano like Thalberg."[61] His emphasis on lyricism was a welcome change to many people who had been subjected to performers who banged:

> Thalberg saved us the pain of listening to the fashionable piano thunder last evening. He did not pound his instrument to pieces, nor grate the ear with the terrible execution which flunkeys call "wonderful." He discoursed a fair proportion of music, sweetly, melodiously, magically, sublimely. . . . He did not break down the Grand Piano Forte, nor "split the ears of groundlings" by terrific noises. . . . Thanks to Thalberg for the improvement on the fashionable, "break-neck" recklessness of piano-smashing, and artistic thunder, grating upon the ear with the harshness of the gate swinging upon its iron hinges, and which opened to the infernal regions--so vividly described by Milton.[62]

The significance that Thalberg attached to a singing tone

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[60]"Thalberg et Liszt"; English translation in Suttoni, Piano and Opera, pp. 157-59. Dwight later echoed these views: "It was he who first undertook to overcome the shortcomings of the piano-forte by wonderful rapidity and wide grasp of execution. It was he who first made the piano speak through the whole length of its keyboard like an orchestra" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/2 [11 October 1856], 14; see also Fry's discussion in New-York Daily Tribune, 11 November 1856, p. 5).

[61]Revue et gazette musicale 3/19 (8 May 1836), 153.

[62]Troy Daily Times, 26 November 1856.

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was symbolized in his series of transcriptions of vocal works under the title L'Art du chant appliqué au piano. In transcribing such works as Beethoven's Adelaide and the quartet from Bellini's I Puritani[63]--both of which he performed frequently in America--he supplied pieces by which students could improve their skill at making the piano sing. In a short preface to the series, he encouraged performers to "overcome or conceal" the piano's inability "to utter prolonged sounds similar to those of the human voice." He offered some guidelines on how to meet this challenge:

> In songs, the character of which is grand, noble, or dramatic, it is necessary to sing from the chest; a great demand to make upon an instrument, from which must be drawn all the sound it is capable of emitting without ever striking the keys, but in assailing them by degrees, enforcing, pressing them with vigor, energy and warmth. In songs, simple, tender, and graceful, one must, so to speak, knead the key, manipulate it with a hand without bones and fingers of velvet; the key in this case, must be rather felt than struck.[64]

Thalberg's transcriptions are faithful to the originals. In Adelaide, for example, he accounts for every measure, and the only liberties he takes are to thicken the texture and to make a few slight changes in the duration of certain notes of the melody. The purpose of the latter is
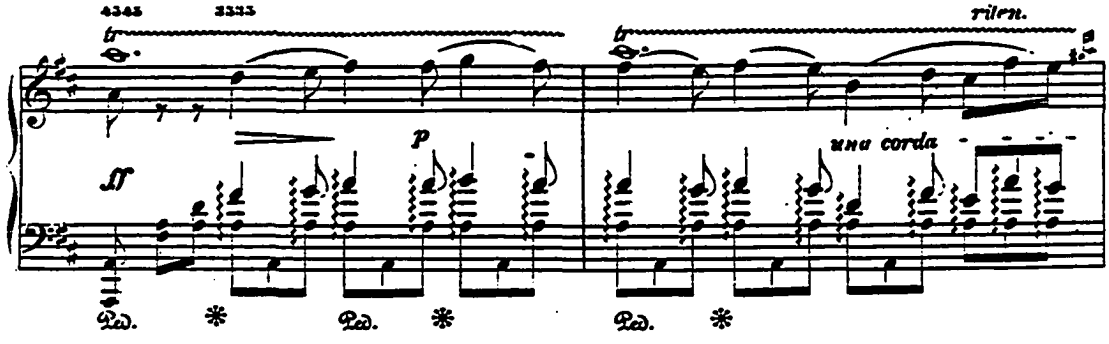
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[63]Also in the series are transcriptions of Schubert's "Der Müller und der Bach" and works by Pergolesi, Stradella, Mercadante, Mozart, Rossini, and Meyerbeer.

[64]English translation by Wardle Corbyn in The Thalberg Concert Book, and Piano-Forte Album (New York: Wardle Corbyn, 1856), pp. 7-8.

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either to facilitate performance on the piano or to sustain a note rather than repeating it, which in the original allowed for proper declamation of the text. For variety he occasionally places the melody in the middle register with accompaniment above and below. To give the necessary emphasis to a melody in an inner voice with the proper phrasing is a formidable challenge, requiring that the fingers possess the "absolute independence of strength" mentioned by Fétis. This technical difficulty is compounded in his transcription of the quartet from I Puritani. The pianist must bring out two inner voices while performing a trill above and a skeletal accompaniment below (example 24).

Example 24. Thalberg, Quatuor de I Puritani de Bellini (from L'Art du chant appliqué au piano), measures 44-45.



Thalberg's emphasis on singing at the piano is also evident in his fantasias on opera themes. He almost invariably has a broad melody as the work's foundation, even amid the most demanding virtuosic display. He was famous for the texture in which a melody in the middle register of the piano was divided between the two thumbs, while both

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hands swirled arpeggios, scale passages, and other figuration above and below the melody. He first introduced it in his Fantasia on Rossini's Moses in Egypt[65] (example 25), the piece he performed in his concert with Liszt, and he used it frequently in later works.[66]

This texture was described with great accuracy in a typically Americana style of humor:

> By Jove! his thumbs are all fingers. Really, I thought Mason, Gottschalk, Strakosch and those tall players did the piano well, but I am just as much in the fog as to what piano perfection is, as when I first heard cousin Jane thump out "Home" as a waltz on our forty dollar concern. This man plays a few notes of the melody in the middle of the piano with his right hand; at the same time his left, full of "muttering wrath," crawls up and attacks the melody, and then the right steals way up to high C, sees what's to be seen, and then softly tumbles back just in time to carry on the melody, while the left hand leaves for the lower regions on an excursion for "diminished sevenths," "flat ninths," curious tenths, and all them sort of things, and gets back in the region of middle C in time to relieve the right hand of the melody, to cut up its pranks in the upper octaves. Really, I believe the next great player who comes here will play a part at each end of the instrument, while he plays an obligato accompaniment inside on the wires![67]

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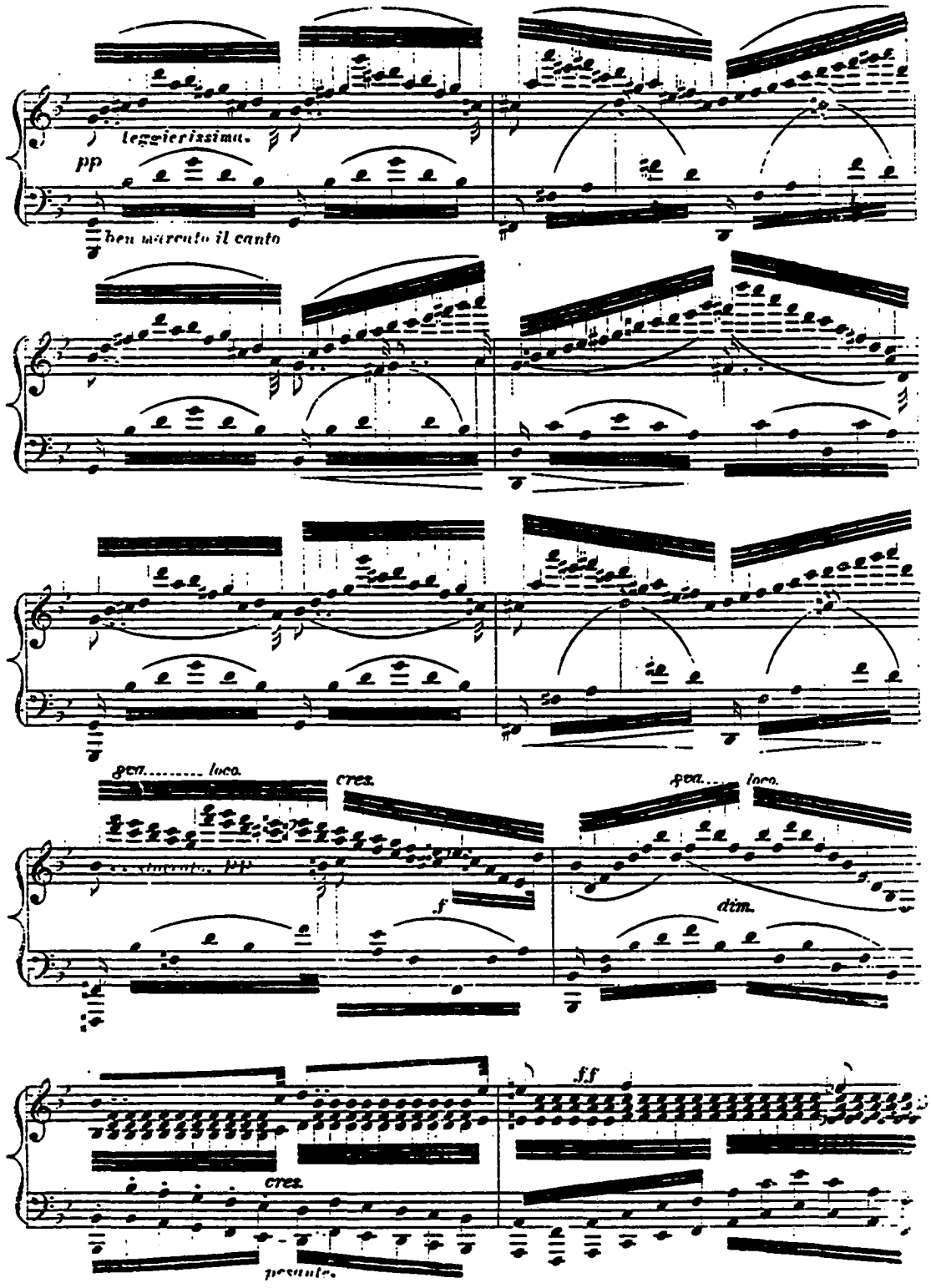
[65]Thalberg was preceded in the use of this texture by Giuseppe Francesco Pollini (1762-1846) and possibly by the virtuoso harpist Elias Parish-Alvars (1808-49) (Carl Friedrich Weitzmann, Geschichte des Clavierspiels und der Clavierliteratur, 2nd ed. [Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen, 1879], pp. 138-39).

[66]The technique was also used in his Fantasias on La Sonnambula, Lucrezia Borgia, Semiramide, Masaniello, Don Pasquale, and Il Trovatore, according to Suttoni, Piano and Opera, p. 203.

[67]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/15 (10 January 1857), 116; also quoted in Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 20 April 1857.

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Example 25. Thalberg, Fantasia on Moses in Egypt, measures 260-69.



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This technique amazed audiences, who supposedly stood up to see how it was accomplished, for it gave the impression that three hands were required.[68] The New-York Daily Times stated:

> It is hard to believe that one man can do so much with the ordinary number of fingers, and one looks at his hands suspiciously, expecting to see them branching out with supplementary fingers, like the quaint caricature in Breusing's [music] store [see figure 24].[69]

Thalberg's fantasias represent his most important and popular works. They differ significantly from those of Herz in that they are usually more than just a series of mechanical variations on well-known themes. Thalberg attempts to mold the work into a dramatic unity. Dwight believed his Fantasia on Moses, for example, "grows and builds itself up symmetrically, and does not descend to the patchwork character which may be charged on some of these pieces."[70] Mendelssohn wrote of Thalberg's fantasias in glowing terms:

> A fantasia by Thalberg (especially that on the "Donna del lago") is an accumulation of the finest and most exquisite effects, and a crescendo of difficulties and embellishments that is astonishing. Everything is so

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[68]Hoffman, Some Musical Recollections, p. 86; see also the account of Thalberg's first performance in Paris of Moses in Antoine Marmontel, Les Pianistes célèbres (Paris: A. Chaix, 1878), p. 159; quoted with English translation in Suttoni, Piano and Opera, p. 179.

[69]11 November 1856, p. 1.

[70]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 126.

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Fig. 24. Caricature of Thalberg.
(Music Division, New York Public Library,
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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> calculated and so polished and shows such assurance, skill and superlative taste.[71]

In his study of the opera fantasia, Suttoni examines in detail Thalberg's works based on Norma, Les Huguenots, Moses, and Don Giovanni, and he believes that Thalberg brought a new "seriousness and a more sonorous type of lyricism" to the opera fantasia.[72] Suttoni describes what he believes to be Thalberg's "most influential contribution to the opera fantasy":

> Herz, Kalkbrenner, and even Cramer chose to end their works with a lively theme--unrelated to anything earlier in the work--simply for a brilliant conclusion. In Moses, Thalberg replaced the lively finale with a single, powerful thematic statement.[73]

In addition, Thalberg's fantasias differed from those of Herz in that the melody does not vary but remains constant, like a cantus firmus, while the accompaniment changes kaleidoscopically:

> His literal faithfulness to the simplest theme that he may take as his subject is no less remarkable than the crowd of brilliant, fantastic, musical thoughts with

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[71]Letter to his mother, 30 March 1840; see also letters to his sister Fanny, 29 December 1838 (Sebastian Hensel, Die Familie Mendelssohn, 1729-1847: nach Briefen und Tagebüchern, 2 vols, 7th ed. [Berlin: B. Behr, 1891], 2:53-54) and to Ferdinand Hiller, 9 February 1839 (Reinhold Sietz, Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826-1861): Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 28 [Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, 1958], p. 33).

[72]Piano and Opera, p. 171.

[73]Ibid., p. 205.

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> which he adorns and illustrates it. You hear this theme constantly; it goes steadily and inexorably on; its bold steady march distinctly audible amid the musical tumult of arpeggios, scale passages, octaves, and fanciful outbursts and freaks of sound, which his magic raises around it.[74]

Thalberg's mature fantasias, then, gradually build toward a climax through various restatements of a main theme. The Fantasia on Moses is a perfect example. An introduction half the length of the entire work consists primarily of original themes which only hint at the two major themes from the opera that appear later.[75] The second half of the work is divided into two principal sections, the first based on the chorus "La dolce aurora" and the second on the prayer "Dal tuo stellato soglio." The treatment of the prayer is the most typical of Thalberg and coincindentally follows closely its operatic setting. He begins simply with the theme in the middle register surrounded by a broken chord figuration (example 26). The second statement of the theme divides the melody between the thumbs (example 25 above). The third and final statement of the theme is both the finale and climax of the work. The theme is still divided between the hands, but now in a full

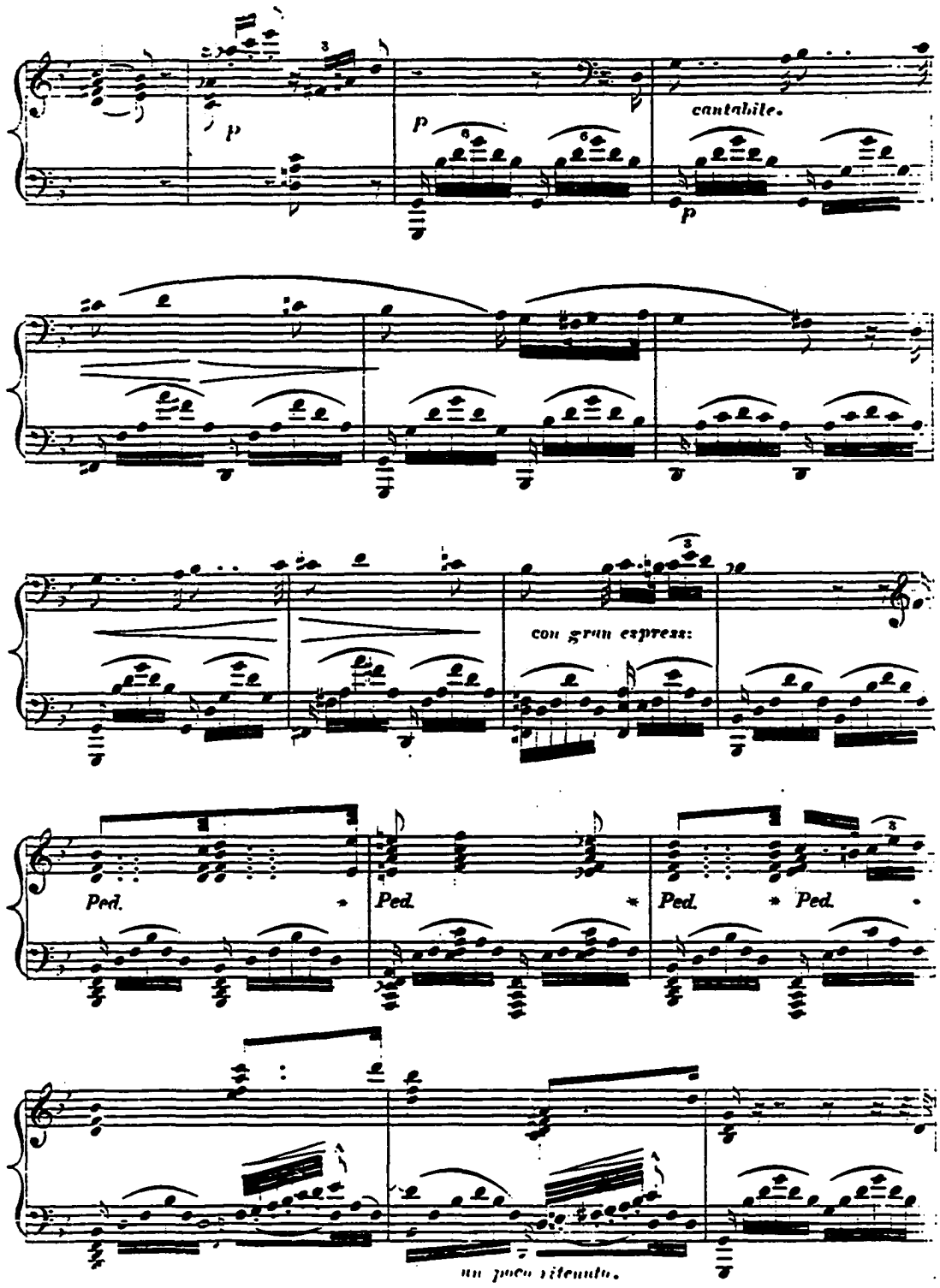
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[74]New-York Courier and Enquirer, 11 November 1856, quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 10/7 (15 November 1856), 55.

[75]Suttoni believes Thalberg's long introductions, which often have no clear relation to the rest of the work except for sharing a mood, are a major weakness.

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Example 26. Thalberg, Fantasia on Moses in Egypt, measures 243-59.



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chordal texture and with arpeggiated chords in the left hand and arpeggios in the right (example 27). It is undoubtedly this treatment to which Fétis refers when he speaks of Thalberg's having the power of a full orchestra and his ability "to control the progression of the piece so as to increase interest constantly up until the climax."[76]

Despite Mendelssohn's admiration for Thalberg's fantasias, there were those who had reservations about them. The Chicago critic George P. Upton, for example, admitted that Thalberg's "fantasies were something new in the world," and respected "his elegant and absolutely perfect technic," but thought that

> there was no more soul in it than there is in a head of a kettledrum. It was simply marvellous mechanism. . . . It was rather a pyrotechnic display, with the rockets left out, for Thalberg never soared. The real attraction of his work was its elegance and its clearness, even in the most intricate mazes with which he enclosed a melody.[77]

And Suttoni concludes that his fantasias "tend to lack dramatic vitality and, viewed as a body, display a certain similarity of effect."[78]

Thalberg's other works include an early piano concerto,

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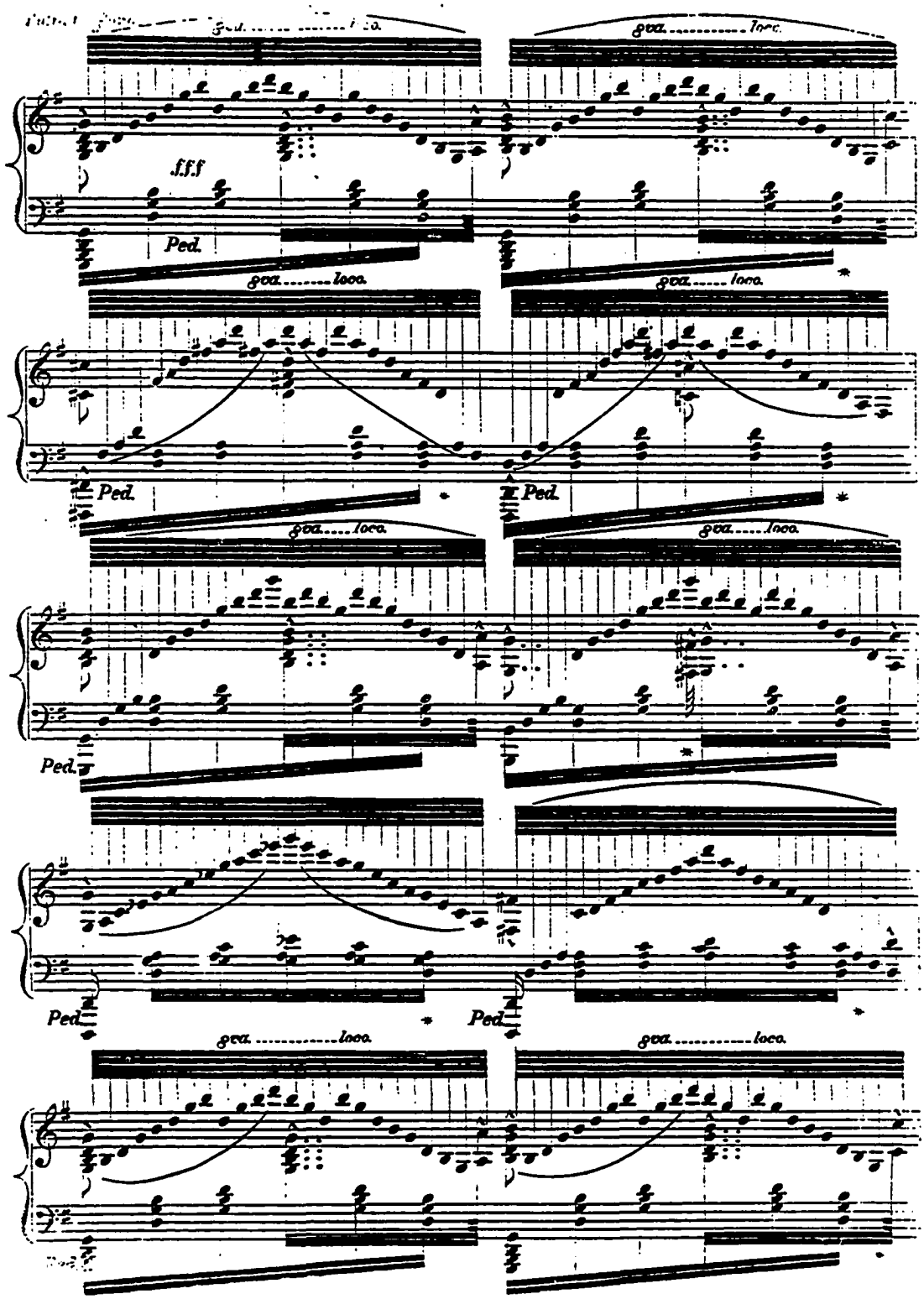
[76]"Thalberg et Liszt"; English translation in Suttoni, Piano and Opera, p. 159.

[77]Musical Memories, p. 75.

[78]Piano and Opera, p. 206.

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Example 27. Thalberg, Fantasia on Moses in Egypt, measures 297-301.



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a piano sonata,[79] and a piano trio.[80] His two operas, Florinda (London, 1851) and Cristina di Svezia (Vienna, 1855), were not successful. He also wrote numerous shorter works, including caprices, etudes, nocturnes, romances, and waltzes. Dwight found in these "gentler, less pretending pieces, like his Andante Tremolo, and some of his Nocturnes . . . a certain poetry and delicacy of feeling, something like original creation."[81] His Nocturne, Op. 35, for example, is unpretentious and generally free of virtuosic display. In ABA form, it begins with a simple main theme supported by an appropriately restrained accompaniment. Yet the work, in F-sharp major, is harmonically sophisticated: the second eight-measure phrase modulates predictably to the dominant, but then flirts with chords of D minor and B-flat major before returning to the tonic and a restatement of the principal melodic idea (example 28). A contrasting section in B-flat minor offers increased movement before returning to the A section. In the latter, the one concession to
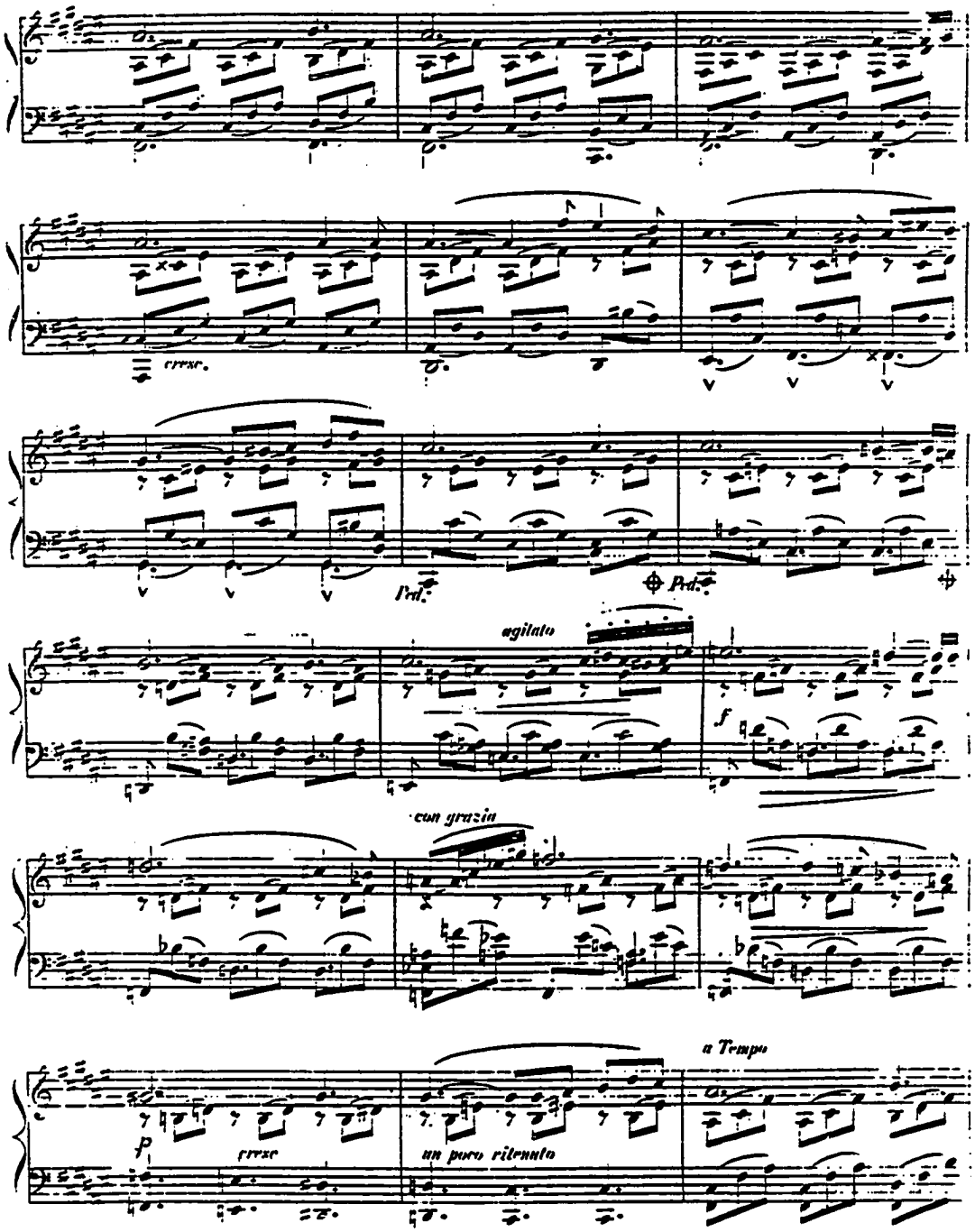
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[79]His Sonata in C minor, Op. 56, receives qualified praise in William S. Newman, The Sonata Since Beethoven, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), pp. 496-98.

[80]His trio was performed by the German Trio in Boston on 9 February and 27 March 1857, the latter performance taking place while the pianist was in that city (Programs, Music Department, Boston Public Library [**M.184.15]); Thalberg never performed it publicly himself in America.

[81]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/2 (11 October 1856), 14; see also his review of Viola in The Harbinger 5/14 (11 September 1847), 218.

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Example 28. Thalberg, Nocturne, Op. 35, measures 17-34.



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virtuosity appears in the consistent tremolo setting of the material. It is subordinate, however, to the musical ideas; the second A section begins tenderly and gradually builds to a powerful climax.

While in the United States, Thalberg frequently performed his Tarantella, Op. 65. Almost a perpetual-motion study, it requires facile fingerwork but does not have the demanding, complicated textures of his more difficult pieces (example 29). Dwight was "charmed" by it and believed that "the marvellous rapidity, delicacy and delirious ecstacy of which, as he plays it, surpassed all the Tarentellas we have heard."[82]
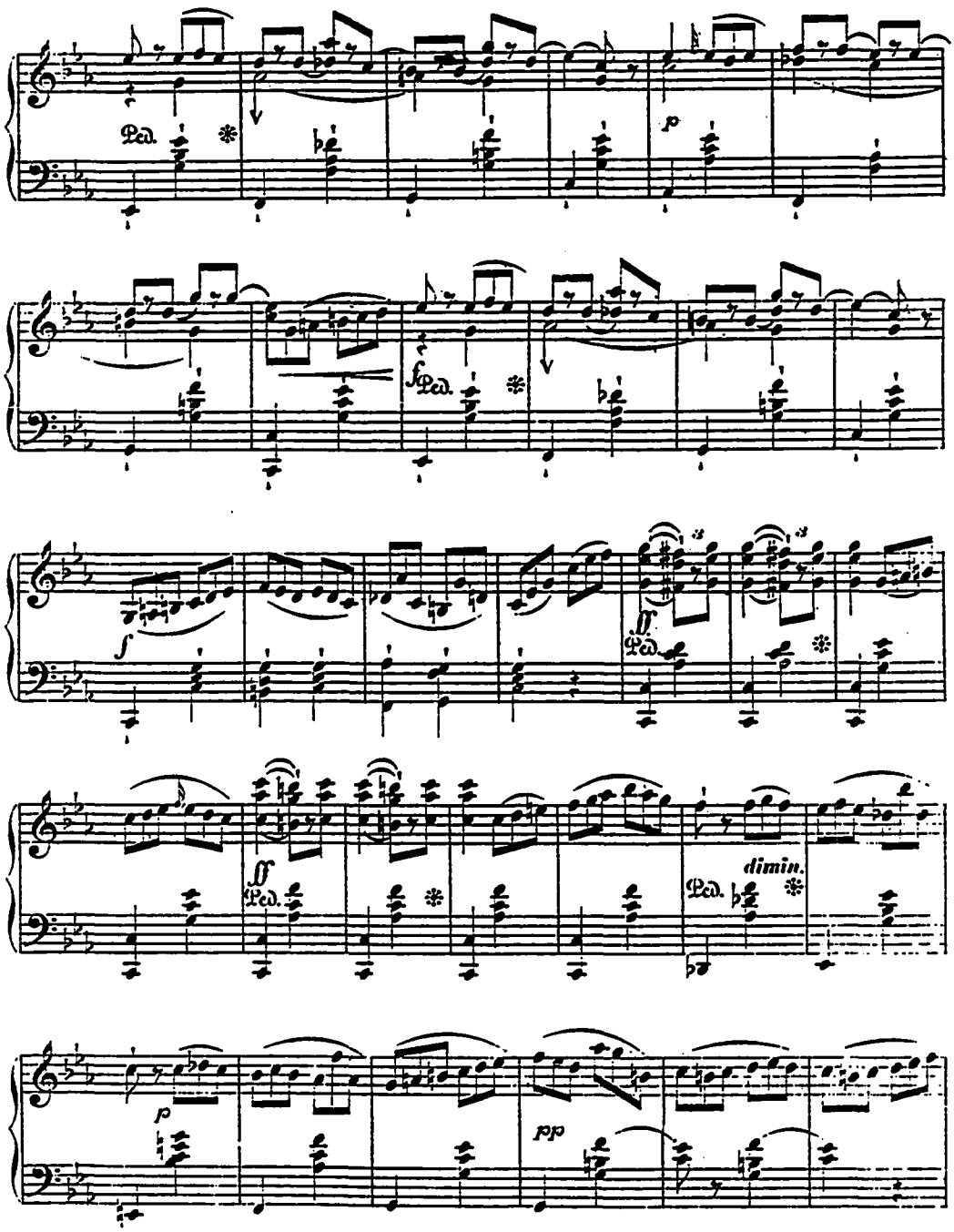
His Thème original et etude in A minor, Op. 45 (usually subtitled "Repeated Notes"), is a more serious effort than the Tarantella. In it Thalberg transforms a modestly interesting theme (example 30) into a virtuosic challenge. The melody is subdivided into repeated triplets and alternates between the hands (example 31). Merely to perform the notes is difficult enough, but to infuse the melodic line with a supple contour requires a true virtuoso. Unlike the three-handed effect Thalberg achieved by the use of both thumbs, this etude is clearly more difficult to

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[82]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 126. He also referred to it as "his exquisitely, feverishly delicate, delirious Tarantella" (10/15 [10 January 1857], 119).

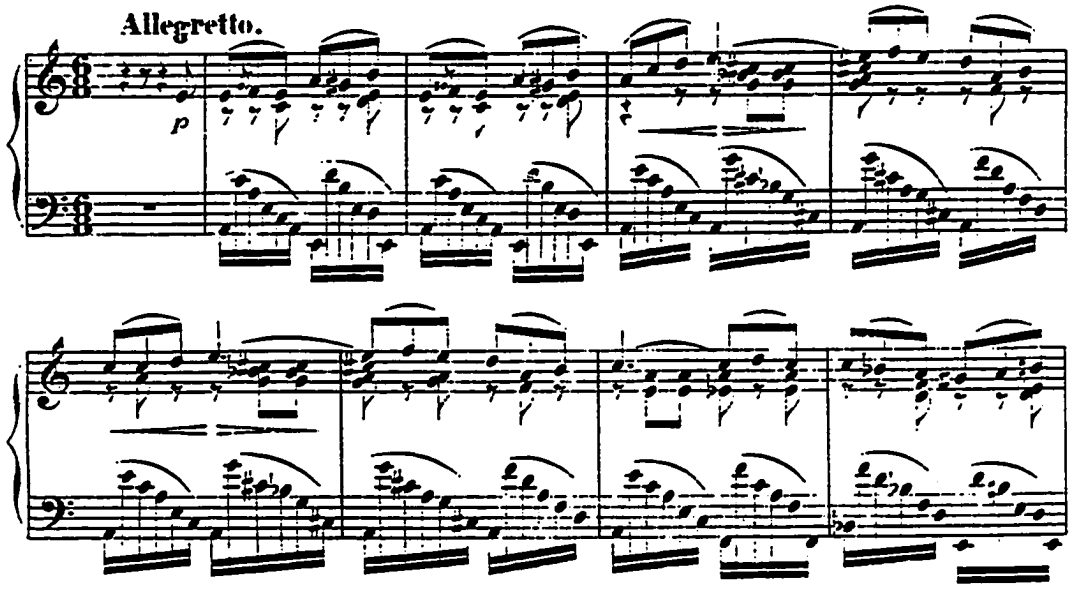
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Example 29. Thalberg, Tarantella, Op. 65, measures 66-97.
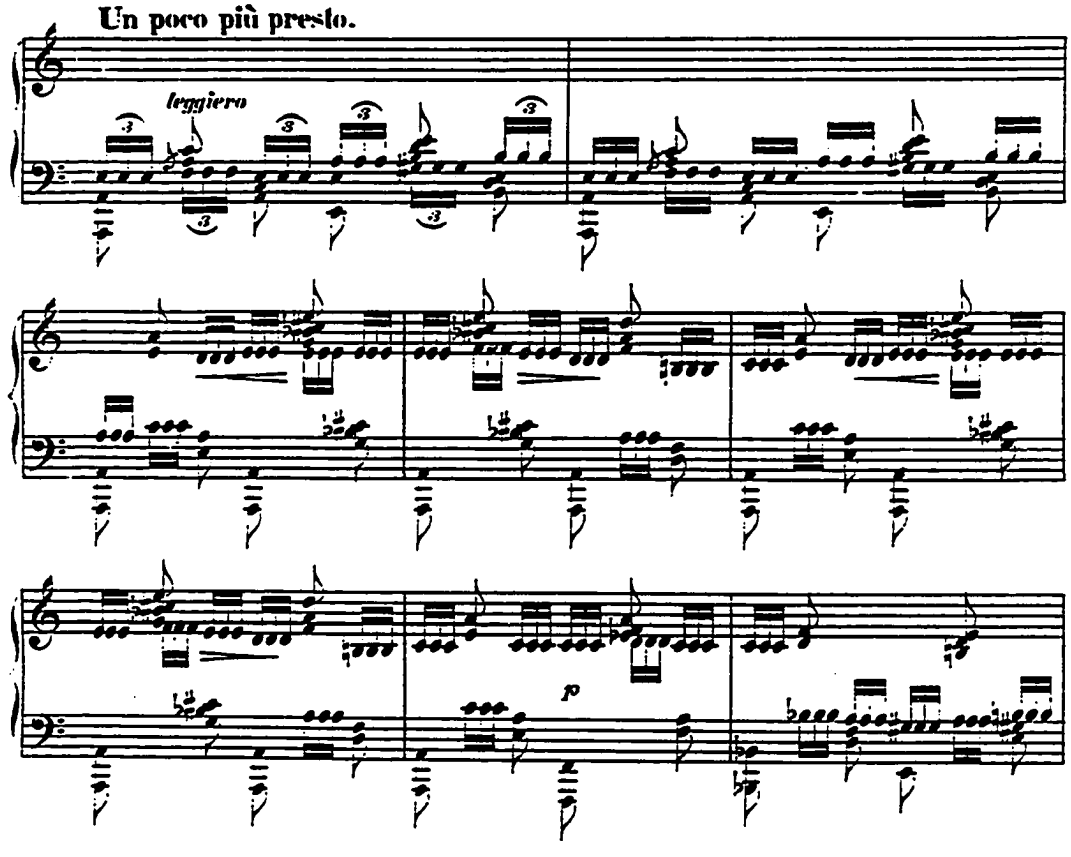


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Example 30. Thalberg, Thème original et etude, Op. 45, measures 27-35.



Example 31. Thalberg, Thème original et etude, Op. 45, measures 68-75.



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perform than it sounds. Dwight considered it one of the "most poetical and delicate of his productions,"[83] and it was one of the two works by Thalberg that Anton Rubinstein played on his American tour,

When Thalberg's music is remembered today, it is the fantasias which receive all the attention. Yet these works, so typical of the period, are perhaps the least likely to engage today's listener. Their grandiose effects and overtly emotional appeal are no longer fashionable, and their existence in limbo between arrangement and original composition make their artistic value suspect. The smaller, less pretentious works of Thalberg may be the best introduction to his music. Dwight, as quoted above, had consistent praise for them. In general, he found "a certain grace and flavor to these little things of Thalberg's own, which, though not indicating a great creative genius, yet place him amongst the minor poets of the piano."[84]

While in America, Thalberg composed and had published at least four works. Three were variations on popular songs --"Home, Sweet Home," Op. 72; "The Last Rose of Summer," Op. 73; and "Lilly Dale," Op. 74--and one was a set of concert

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[83]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 134.

[84]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 126.

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waltzes titled Souvenir d'Amériques (without opus number). While Herz had been phenomenally successful with his setting of "The Last Rose of Summer," Thalberg was equally so with his version of "Home, Sweet Home." He wisely chose what was probably the most popular song in America and placed it in a typically Thalbergian setting. Because of the tune's popularity, all members of his audience could immediately understand it[85] and could bring to it many memories.[86] Reports of his performances are unashamedly sentimental. One writer claimed that the piece as performed by Thalberg "filled our soul with melody and drew a mist over our eyes."[87] Another was more effusive:

> But oh! wonderful power of Genius! Thalberg again got possession of me. As he played, all the beauties and enticements of a beautiful and enticing home crowded up before me--even down to the very poker and tongs--(fact; don't laugh!)--and--beautiful provision of Nature--the tears stood in my eyes till all of that audience were shut out; and there I sat in that lovely home--and Thalberg playing to me.[88]

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[85]A New Orleans writer, in reporting on Thalberg's performance of "Home, Sweet Home" and on Vieuxtemps's of "Yankee Doodle," claimed: "It was a triumph, because everybody understood them, and, therefore, were able to appreciate the delicate beauty and surpassing skill which marked the exectuion of these airs" (New Orleans Daily Delta, 19 February 1858).

[86]One critic described the response of a Boston audience to Thalberg's performance of the piece: "While the most deathless silence prevailed, the remembrances that it carried to many hearts brought into requisition numerous handkerchiefs, and thoughts of the past came rushing to the memory over which the grass of forgetfulness has almost grown green" (Boston Post, 12 January 1857).

[87]Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette, 16 June 1857.

[88]Auburn (NY) Daily Advertiser, 17 June 1857.

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The piece sounded easy enough so that most amateurs attempted it; as mentioned in the previous chapter, it became a bestseller. Again, however, the sound of the music and the grace with which Thalberg performed it undoubtedly deceived many listeners. Even played at its moderate tempo, the work requires frequent shifting of the hands that must be executed quickly and delicately (example 32).[89]

Thalberg's settings of "The Last Rose of Summer" and of "Lilly Dale," the latter a song written by H. S. Thompson and published in 1852, are not particularly inspired, with the exception of a variation of the first song for the left hand alone. His Souvenir d'Amérique, a work he played frequently as an encore,[90] may lack sufficient unity among the various waltz strains, but it contains some charming moments. The fourth strain, for example, is playful with passagework for the right hand containing chromaticism that floats over a diatonic framework (example 33). Dwight thought the waltzes "have a fascinating grace and brilliancy, that places them along with those of Strauss, Labitzky and Lanner."[91] The work is gratifying

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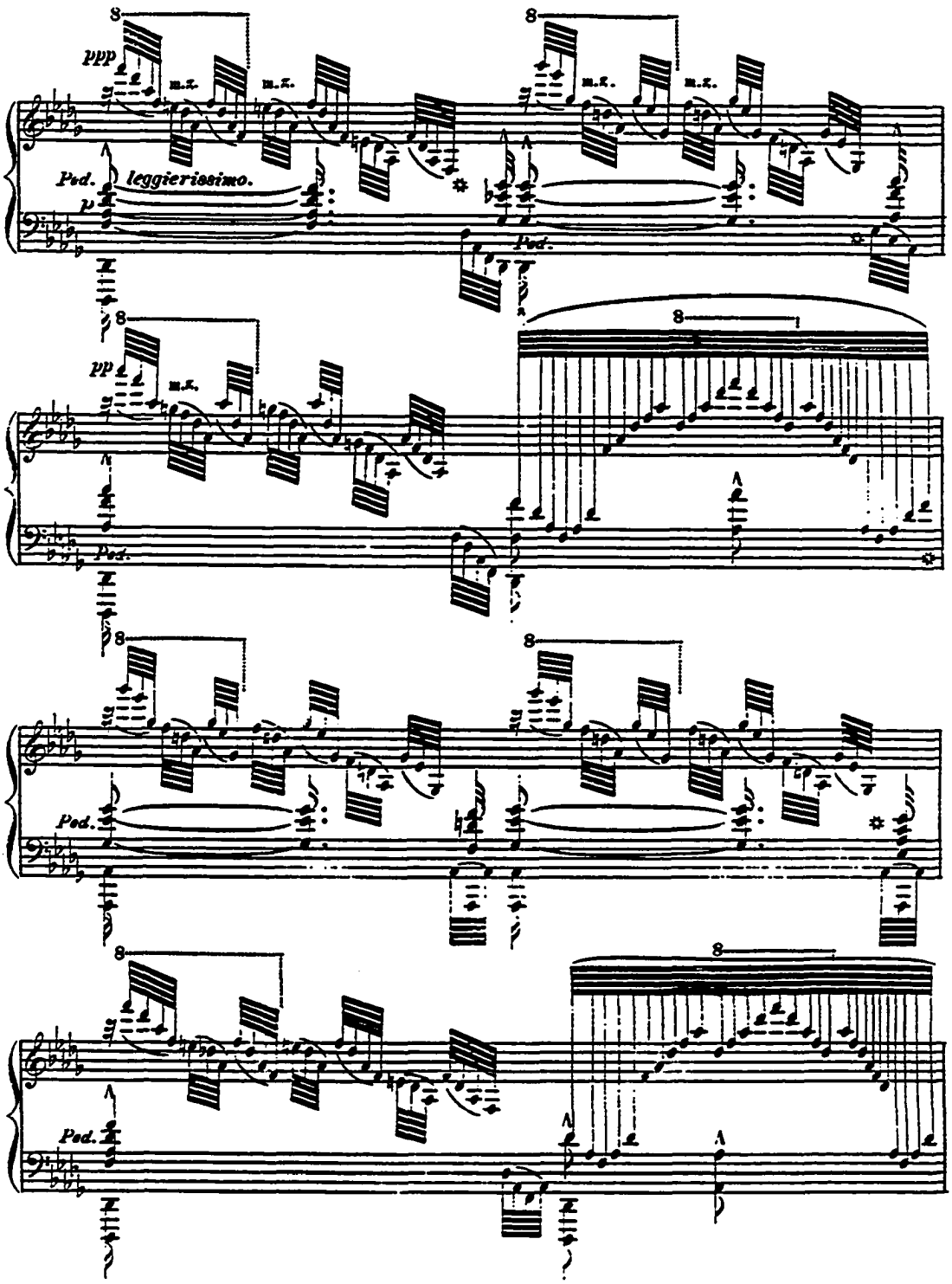
[89]Loesser, however, described Thalberg's setting as "a party-dress version" of the song and thought it was the "inkiest-looking harmless short piece ever printed" (Men, Women and Pianos, p. 502).

[90]The work is often titled "Concert Waltzes" in programs. The introduction and first strain are identical to those in in the previously published Valse mélodique, Op. 62, but the rest of the work is apparently new.

[91]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/25 (21 March 1857), 198.

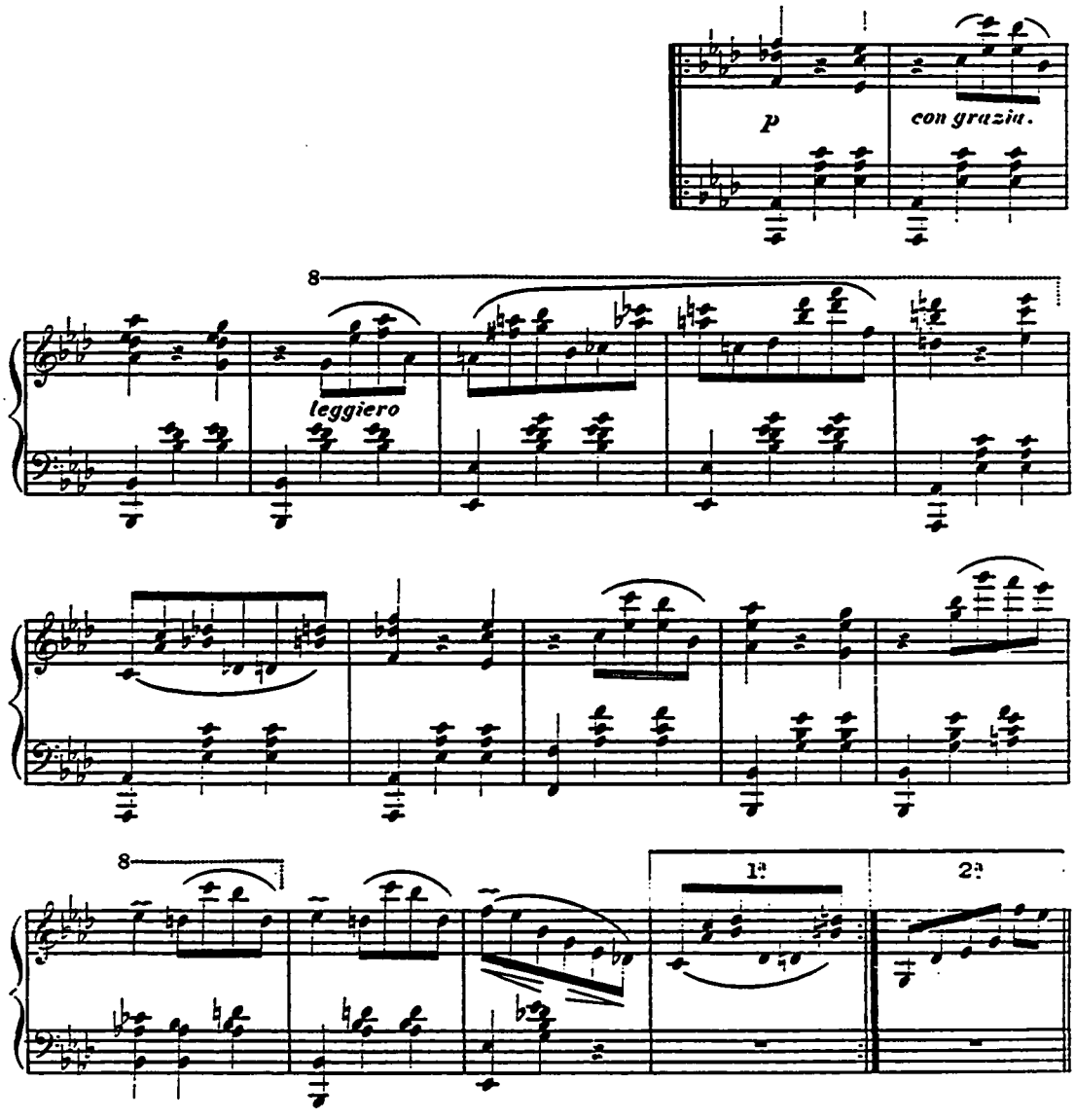
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Example 32. Thalberg, Home! Sweet Home!, measures 51-54.



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Example 33. Thalberg, Souvenir d'Amérique, Strain 4.



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pianistically and only moderately difficult;[92] it perhaps could be revived today.

In his music Thalberg explored the new technological capabilities of the piano in the emphasis on a singing tone, the crucial role of the pedal, and the use of expanded sonorities. His imaginative technical innovations were copied by so many that his own works came to be considered clichés. As early as 1841 he could write to his friend Ferdinand Hiller: "I would like you to hear the new improvements that I have introduced in the method of using the thumb in the middle voice, of which I am the inventor and exploiter, but unfortunately not the monopoliser."[93] And in 1852 Lenz could state: "The piano playing of the present day, to tell the truth, consists only of Thalberg simple, Thalberg amended, and Thalberg exaggerated; scratch what is written for the piano, and you will find Thalberg."[94]

Because Thalberg's music falls short of a few of his greater contemporaries such as Schumann and Chopin, it is

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[92]As Dwight observed: "They are difficult for waltzes, but not difficult for Thalberg music" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/25 [21 March 1857], 198).

[93]Letter of 17 June 1841, in Sietz, Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel, p. 47.

[94]Wilhelm von Lenz, Beethoven et ses trois styles (St. Petersburg: Bernard, 1852), p. 8; English translation in Suttoni, Piano and Opera, p. 207.

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undeservedly ignored today. The present obscurity of his works would surprise at least one contemporary critic:

> This much is certain: Thalberg, judged by his works and by his reputation, will be remembered as one with whom the Fairy Inspiration dwelt in happiness and content; as one who, in an age of tinsel and vulgar display, had confidence in himself and the community of truthful spirits.[95]

A critic like Dwight, who acknowledged that musical profundities were not to be found in Thalberg's music, could understand that its aim is

> to please . . . to make a music which should illustrate the possibilites of the piano, in a way to strike and astonish, but above all to please the general ear of music lovers.[96]

Dwight was able to enjoy

> the all-pervading taste and sense of fitness everywhere, . . . the symmetry, the architectural balance and completeness of the whole work . . . without asking ourselves what it is not, and whether it can satisfy the passion for undying beauty that torments deep natures. Go to Beethoven for that. Accept this in its way--until you shall grow tired of it.[97]

Perhaps Mendelssohn had the best perspective on Thalberg, appropriate also for other virtuosos:

> He wishes to be nothing more than what he is--a really éclatant virtuoso; and when a man does perfectly what he does one cannot wish him to be but what he is.[98]

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[95]New-York Daily Times, 11 November 1856, p. 1.

[96]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 125.

[97]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 126.

[98]Letter to his sister Fanny, 29 December 1838; English translation in Suttoni, Piano and Opera, p. 163.

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Gottschalk, Mason, and Other Assisting Artists

Just as he carefully planned Thalberg's itinerary, Ullman cleverly rationed a continuously changing roster of assisting artists to help maintain interest in the pianist's almost endless string of concerts. The New-York Daily Times was especially impressed by both the quantity and quality of the performers engaged by Ullman; after Thalberg had been in the United States four months, it stated:

> There is a prodigality about these entertainments which exceeds anything we have experienced in this country. In the face of unequivocal success, Mr. Thalberg modestly places himself in the background, and secures the services of a number of artists, each of whom is entitled to consideration and patronage from the public. The managerial tact displayed in thus conserving the special feature of the entertainment--the performance of Mr. Thalberg--is remarkable as it is liberal.[99]

Ullman's master stroke in scheduling guest artists was the combination in ten concerts of Thalberg and Gottschalk.[100] Ullman cannily withheld Gottschalk until

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[99]6 March 1857, p. 4. At least one Boston correspondent disagreed: "He has joined to himself a variety of accessories in the way of singers and reciters, which however well in their way, have generally seemed to be in his. A great artist, such as he, might dispense with helps like these" (Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 15 April 1857).

[100]Gottschalk performed at the following concerts of Thalberg: 20 and 21 November 1856 (New York), 10 and 13 December 1856 (Philadelphia), 20 December 1856 (Washington), 22 and 23 December 1856 (Baltimore), 29 December 1856 (Brooklyn), 27 January 1857 (Albany), and 28 January 1857 (Troy).

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Thalberg's sixth appearance in New York, his fifth in Philadelphia, his fourth in Baltimore, and his third in Albany and Troy. Although Gottschalk had not yet reached the height of his popularity in the United States, he was nevertheless recognized as one of the leading American pianists. His performances of Thalberg's two-piano fantasy on Norma[101] with the composer created almost as much a sensation as the Liszt-Thalberg joint appearance two decades earlier, but without the underlying tensions and acrimony.[102]

Thalberg reciprocated by appearing at one of Gottschalk's farewell concerts in New York on 26 December 1856, for which occasion Gottschalk composed his two-piano

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[101]Gottschalk had already performed the work in the spring of 1856 in New York with Candido Berti and possibly earlier; he performed it again in New York in 1862 with William Mason (Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York," pp. 189, 191, and 360). In fact, the work was extremely popular with pianists. Liszt performed it with Hallé (Hallé, Autobiography, pp. 105-6) and Julius Benedict (Walker, Liszt, p. 243); Benedict and Hoffman performed it in 1850 in New York at Jenny Lind's American debut (Hoffman, Some Musical Recollections, p. 111); Dresel and Jaell performed it in Boston in 1853 (Dwight's Journal of Music 2/14 [8 January 1853], 112); and Timm and George W. Morgan performed it in New York in 1864 (Minor, "Piano Concerts in New York," p. 419).

[102]The New-York Daily Times (22 November 1856, p. 1) stated after their first two joint appearances: "Every one was glad to see this cordial feeling existing between two great artists."

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fantasia on Il Trovatore.[103] Richard Hoffman recalled hearing the first performance and claimed that the piece

> was wonderfully effective and created the most tremendous furore and excitement. A remarkable double shake which Thalberg played in the middle of the piano, while Gottschalk was flying all over the keyboard in the "Anvil Chorus," produced the most prodigious volume of tone I ever heard from the piano.[104]

A rural correspondent to a Burlington, Vermont, newspaper, who was fortunate enough to attend the concert, gave his account:

> Truly it was a great excitement to hear Thalberg and Gottschalk playing together, and the composition was difficult enough to call out all their powers of execution. The part played by Mr. Gottschalk was perfectly tremendous, and when we heard his piano crash from one end of it to the other in those incessant chord[s], for both hands, from bass to treble, backwards and forwards, over and over again, as he neared the conclusion, we could not wonder at the extreme pallor of the composer as he rose from the instrument, and though the "encore" which made them repeat it, was of course the greatest compliment the audience could pay, yet it seemed to us a very cruel one. Mr. Gottschalk appears too slight for such great physical effort.[105]

Gottschalk performed his fantasy during the rest of his career, usually indicating on the program the circumstances

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[103]The work does not survive; see Doyle, Gottschalk, pp. 302-3; and Robert Offergeld, The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, prepared for Stereo Review (New York: Ziff-Davis, 1970), p. 31.

[104]Some Musical Recollections, pp. 130-31.

[105]Burlington (VT) Daily Free Press, 7 February 1857.

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surrounding its first performance.[106] Gottschalk gained prestige from his appearances with Thalberg, and Thalberg gained a popular attraction for his concerts. Because both pianists profited from their joint appearances, the relationship between them was probably amicable, especially since it lasted for over two months. But Gottschalk must have rankled at the unqualified success that Thalberg was enjoying. He had yet to receive such success in his own country and was surely jealous of the attention paid to a foreigner by his countrymen. With Thalberg virtually monopolizing the market for piano concerts in the East,[107] it is probably no coincidence that in February 1857 Gottschalk left the United States for his second trip to

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[106]Gottschalk repeated the work almost immediately, performing it with Emile Guyon at a concert of the New York Philharmonic Society (10 January 1857) and a concert of his own in New York (13 January). Over six years later, a program for a concert of his in Philadelphia on 28 October 1863 stated: "This Piano Duet was composed expressly by Mr. Gottschalk for Mr. L. [sic] Thalberg and himself, and performed with Extraordinary Success by these two Great Pianists" (John A. McAllister Scrapbooks, vol. 17, p. 107, Library Company of Philadelphia).

[107]Until his first of several farewell concerts in New York beginning on 26 December 1856, Gottschalk's only appearances in that city during the 1856-57 season had been at Thalberg's concerts.

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Cuba and from there to other locations in the West Indies.[108] And perhaps it is no coincidence that at the same time he began his diary, which is curiously silent about Thalberg, in an effort to deal with his role as prophet in his own country.

The only other native American pianist with whom Thalberg performed (on several occasions) was William Mason. Except for two New York concerts, Ullman scheduled all of Mason's appearances in Boston and other New England cities where the pianist had a strong reputation, having begun his career there and because of his family name.[109] (Ullman had just as wisely used Gottschalk only outside of New

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[108]For information on Gottschalk's tours in Cuba and the West Indies, see Rubin, Gottschalk in Cuba; and Donald Thompson, "Gottschalk in the Virgin Islands," Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research 6 (1970), 95-104. Rubin's hypothesis that Max Maretzek was responsible for Gottschalk's departure for Cuba because he "wanted nothing to interfere with Thalberg's prospective financial success in New York" (p. 65) is unfounded since Maretzek had absolutely no business connections with Thalberg. Thompson believes Maurice Strakosch arranged the tour, but there seems to be no reason to doubt Strakosch's own word that it was Gottschalk's idea to tour there with Adelina Patti (Strakosch, Souvenirs, p. 16; English translation in "Strakosch and Patti," p. 27).

[109]Mason performed at the following concerts of Thalberg, all in 1857: 16 January (Boston), 20 January (Boston, matinee), 20 February (New York, Benefit of St. George's Society), 27 February (New York, matinee), 13 March (New Haven), 3 April (Worcester), 6 April (Lowell), 10 April (New Bedford), and 15 April (Hartford, matinee and evening). The importance Mason placed on these appearances is illustrated by his performing with Thalberg in New Haven on 13 March after marrying Mary Webb, the daughter of Lowell Mason's associate George Webb, the day before in Boston (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/7 [4 April 1857], 102).

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England, where he was slower in gaining popularity.) Most critics were proud of Mason's ability to perform on a level with Thalberg in his Norma fantasy, although some admitted Mason was not quite Thalberg's equal. Dwight, for example, praised Mason but with reservations:

> Wonderfully well was the whole thing executed, the younger pianist bearing his banner proudly side by side with the winner of a thousand battles. The difficulties were about equally shared between them, and the ensemble was quite perfect. Yet on Thalberg's side there was the still finer touch, and what was clear before, stood out all the clearer and the bolder when his fingers took their turn. Once a rapid chromatic run, the whole length of the key-board, was executed by each in turn. Mason drew it fine, but Thalberg drew it finer.[110]

Another critic who thought their joint performance "was a model of precision and grandeur" nevertheless believed that "Mason was more stiff at the piano, and wants a great deal of the ease and confidence which as much as anything else makes Thalberg the man he is."[111]

Thalberg had heard and probably met Mason while the latter was studying in Europe (1849-54). In 1857, an anonymous writer recalled attending a rehearsal of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston several years past, at which time Lowell Mason showed him a letter from Thalberg which stated: "Your highly gifted son, William, is, in my

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[110]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 133.

[111]Lowell Daily Evening Advertiser, 7 April 1857.

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judgment, the best pianist of his age in Europe."[112] The two pianists renewed acquaintances shortly after Thalberg's arrival in the United States (see figure 25). While waiting for his concerts to begin, Thalberg spent some time in West Orange, New Jersey, at the home of one of Mason's brothers, most likely Lowell Mason, Jr. It was there that Mason claims to have become

> well acquainted with him and his method of practice. In this way he was virtually one of my best teachers, although no regular lessons were received from him. Moreover, in several of his concerts I played with him his duo for two pianofortes on themes from "Norma," and these were occasions of great artistic profit.[113]

Ironically the New-York Daily Times believed Mason and Gottschalk had paved the way for Thalberg's enormous success:

> There is, we believe, a genuine appreciation of piano-playing in New-York. Of late our public has been educated to a high point of musical perception in this branch of art. We can boast two pianists who even in the present excitement may be remembered with fondness and justice; who have contributed in an enormous degree

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[112] Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 1 May 1857.

[113] Mason continues: "One learned much, also, from hearing him practise. His daily exercises included scale and arpeggio passages played at various rates of speed and with different degrees of dynamic force. These were always put into rhythmic form, and the measures, sometimes in triple and sometimes in quadruple time in many varieties, were invariably indicated by means of accentuation. Dynamic effects, such as crescendos and diminuendos, also received due attention. In short, as it seems to me, he made it a point--as well in the cultivation and development of physical technic as in his public performances--to play musically at all times" (Memories, pp. 211-13).

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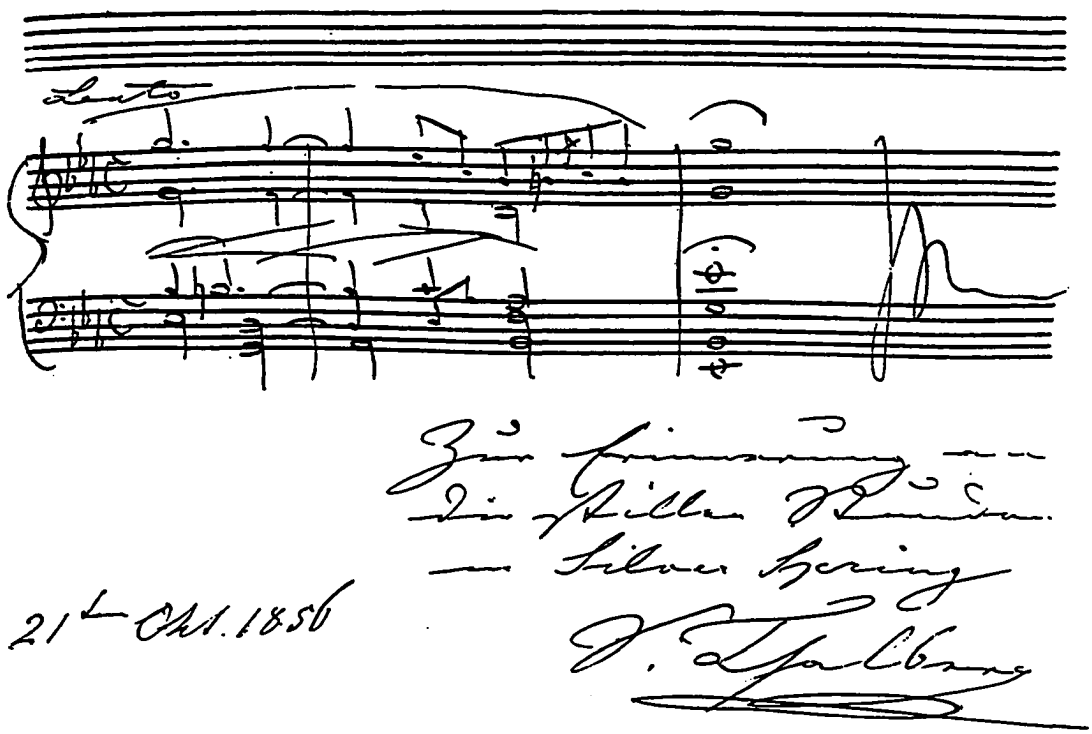


Fig. 25. Thalberg, Album Leaf, 21 October 1856.
(Mason, Memories of a Musical Life)

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> to the success which attends and which awaits Mr. Thalberg. Messrs. Gottschalk and Mason are artists of whom any city may be proud,--the one with his poetic languor and fitful inspiration; the other with his grand massive grasp of classic thought and graceful utterance of manly sentiment. Of the two we may boast of neither at the present moment, for Gottschalk has surrendered himself to a pirate crew of pupils, and Mason has thrown himself into Chopin and is not likely to appear above the surface for some time to come. We should have forgotten all about the twain, had we not seen their enthusiastic faces at these concerts, beaming genial reciprocity on the great artist whom they honor with true artist's pride.[114]

Another performer who appeared with Thalberg and was by then considered an American was the violinist Joseph Burke.[115] After touring with De Meyer, Burke had briefly teamed up with Richard Hoffman (1847-48), performed on Jenny Lind's American tour (1850-52), and appeared with the New York Philharmonic. His performances with the latter included the American premiere of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in 1849.[116] He had already begun his gradual retirement from performing by the time Thalberg arrived. Indeed, the announcement for his first appearance on a Thalberg concert stated that "since the departure of Jenny

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[114]14 November 1856, p. 4.

[115]Between 16 February and 7 March 1857, Burke made a dozen appearances with Thalberg in New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg, including one matinee in New York.

[116]He made at least six appearances with the New York Philharmonic, one each in 1846, 1849, 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1856; three appearances were performances of the Mendelssohn Concerto (Krehbiel, Philharmonic Society, pp. 92-113).

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Lind, [he] has not taken part in any concerts except those of the Philharmonic Society."[117] Burke resurrected some of his old repertory for these concerts--Bériot's Tremolo and Air varié, Prume's La Mélancolie--but performed three times with Thalberg the pianist's Duo on Les Huguenots and, on a matinee performance, Beethoven's Archduke Trio with Thalberg and Carl Bergmann. Burke's playing had obviously declined on account of his lack of practice; yet he still maintained his ability to communicate to his audience. The Times considered him

> an admirable violinist, who has allowed himself to get disconsolately rusty since the days of Jenny Lind, but who still plays with a tender sweetness which finds its way to the common heart.[118]

In addition to such special guest artists as Gottschalk, Mason, and Burke, Thalberg's concerts always included at least one singer, usually two or three. The first one to appear with Thalberg was Cora de Wilhorst.[119] As the daughter of the prominent New York banker Reuben Withers, she had been trained in music as an accomplishment

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[117] New-York Daily Times, 11 February 1857, p. 6.

[118] New-York Daily Times, 19 February 1857, p. 1. Of his first performance of the Duo on Les Huguenots the same paper (27 February 1857, p. 5) remarked charitably: "Mr. Burke will feel himself more at home in the music on another performance."

[119] She appeared sporadically with Thalberg from 10 November 1856 through 16 January 1857, when her contract with Ullman expired; she then appeared successfully in opera for a short time under Maurice Strakosch (Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 105).

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without the goal of appearing in public. Upon marrying, she was encouraged by her husband, the German Count de Wilhorst, who was suffering temporary financial difficulties, to pursue a professional singing career, much against her family's wishes.[120] She had just begun her career in earnest before Thalberg's arrival. Apparently she had a good voice, but her lack of professional experience showed:

> Madame De Wilhorst, although comparatively an amateur, displays such budding excellence that we almost forget she is newly transplanted from the drawing-room to the concert hall. Perhaps she forgets it herself, for if we are not mistaken she recognizes (visibly) more than one familiar face in the crowded salle.[121]

Elena D'Angri, a contralto brought over by Ullman in the fall of 1856, made her American debut at a Thalberg concert (27 November 1856). Born in Corfu in 1824, she had already achieved success in the opera houses of Italy, France, and England.[122] Dwight found her voice to be "the richest, strongest, and most even in its quality, that we

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[120]See the brief biographical sketches of her in the Albany Atlas and Argus (22 November 1856) and the Washington Daily Union (1 January 1857) and in Oscar Thompson, The American Singer: A Hundred Years of Success in Opera (New York: The Dial Press, 1937; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), pp. 63-65. According to Thompson, De Wilhorst appeared in opera through the end of the 1850s, when she was then able to retire from the stage because of a fortune acquired by her husband.

[121]New-York Daily Times, 14 November 1856, p. 4.

[122]See Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 26 September 1857, p. 268.

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have heard since Alboni's."[123] Fry had high praise for her,[124] and she appeared in the revised version of his Leonora at the New York Academy of Music in 1858.

Both De Wilhorst and D'Angri sang principally excerpts from Italian opera. Their selections were complemented by the soprano Bertha Johannsen, whose specialty was German opera. She had made her American debut in German opera at Niblo's Saloon in the fall of 1856 and appeared in the first complete American production in German of Beethoven's Fidelio in December of that year before joining with Thalberg in February of 1857. In addition to opera excerpts, she offered performances of Lieder by Abt, Kücken, Schubert, and Taubert in which she at least occasionally accompanied herself at the piano. One New York journal considered her "an artist of the first order"[125]

With these singers and other assisting artists (including baritone Filippo Morelli, bass John Frederick

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[123]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/15 (10 January 1857), 118.

[124]See New-York Daily Tribune, 28 November 1856, p. 5; and William Treat Upton, William Henry Fry: American Journalist and Composer-Critic (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), p. 292.

[125]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/8 (18 April 1857), 118.

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Rudolphsen,[126] and trumpeter Louis Schreiber),[127] Thalberg's concerts provided a variety of attractions aimed at pleasing a wide range of listeners. Such programs were still the custom of the time, but at least a few critics were beginning to object to such miscellaneous compilations, especially when the same few popular pieces were offered again and again. Dwight, for example, complained:

> It may be shrewdly planned to catch the multitude, but to a frequent concert-goer these unconnected, for the most part, common-places of Italian opera, interspersed so largely between the real points of interest in a concert, and apropos to nothing, get to be somewhat tedious.[128]

Another Boston writer agreed and believed the repertoire was not deserving of the performers:

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[126]See the entry for Rudolphsen in F. O. Jones, A Handbook of American Music and Musicians (Canaseraga, NY: F. O. Jones, 1886; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), pp. 149-50.

[127]For even greater variety, Ullman engaged for a number of performances Mrs. E. L. Davenport and later Julia Bennett Barrow to recite poetry. Ullman claimed precedents in Paris and Germany for such recitation, but it was generally not well received in the United States. Even though one journal found "the declamation of Mrs. Davenport . . . quite a relief after all the piano playing and singing" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/4 [21 Feburary 1857], 51), a correspondent to Dwight was not so pleased: "Mrs. Davenport ranted, and gasped, and whispered, and mouthed out Longfellow's 'Skeleton in Armor.' Of the first two-thirds I caught only now and then a word, but towards the end I consoled myself for the bad delivery by the beauty of the poem. I do not think our public would be much offended if this part of the performances were omitted" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/21 [21 February 1857], 164).

[128]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 132.

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> The programme was popularly made up, and pleased the general ear unquestionably: its selections however were very hacknied [sic], and outside of Mr. Thalberg's individual performances had little of interest or satisfying merit, for cultivated and discriminating tastes. Trumpet solos on old and worn out airs, rataplans, drinking songs, bravura waltzes and coarse Spanish ballads, now that the charm of their novelty has departed, may serve very well as answers to thankless encores; but to make up the materiel of what, considering the high character of the artists performing, should be a rich art entertainment, are decidedly inadequate either as meeting the requirements of a cultivated musical community, or as a substantial remuneration for the dollar expended.[129]

Orchestras and Beethoven Concertos

During his first season Thalberg performed on several occasions with an orchestra (three times in New York, four in Boston, and once in Philadelphia and Brooklyn).[130] Although most advertisements for his concerts list a conductor--such as Jaime Nunó or Signor Abella for his first appearances--this rarely indicates the presence of an orchestra but merely identifies in an inflated manner the

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[129]Boston Evening Transcript, 25 March 1857.

[130]A few additional concerts included an orchestra, but Thalberg did not perform with it.

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piano accompanist.[131] When Ullman undertook the added expense of hiring an orchestra, he invariably called attention to its presence. He did so with a special flair for the pianist's first appearance with orchestra in New York (after seven concerts already in that city):

> Although no effort has been spared to give every satisfaction to the public, both in the selection of the best available talent and in the care bestowed upon the general arrangements of Mr. Thalberg's Concerts, yet no idea could be entertained of the magnitude of the success that has attended them. This very success induces an increase of those efforts, with a view to impart every possible éclat to the Second Series. It has, therefore, been determined to give to Mr. Thalberg's entertainments, which have previously partaken of the character of Musical Soirées, that form, which will justly entitle them to the appellation of
>
> GRAND CONCERTS. . . .
>
> A GRAND ORCHESTRA
> has also been engaged. . . .
>
> In so doing, the nightly expenses will be doubled; but Mr. Thalberg, feeling the obligation he has incurred, and desirous of expressing his sense of the personal favor with which he has been received, knows

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[131]This use of the term conductor has occasionally caused confusion. In his excellent article on Nunó, Robert Stevenson, for example, claims the Spanish musician conducted the orchestra in Thalberg's first series of concerts, in which he was actually the piano accompanist ("Jaime Nunó after the Mexican National Anthem," Inter-American Music Review 2/2 [Spring-Summer 1980], 103). Nunó composed the Mexican national anthem and had emigrated to the United States prior to his appearances at Thalberg's concerts.

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> of no other method of doing so than by adding to the musical attraction of his concerts. . . .[132]

Another clue to an orchestra's presence is the customary performance of one or more works by the orchestra alone. Thalberg's New York concert of 27 November 1856 at Niblo's Saloon, for example, included the overtures to Oberon and William Tell and the march from Tannhäuser. At the Boston concert of 10 January 1857, an orchestra led by Carl Zerrahn performed the overtures to Der Freischütz and William Tell, the march from Le Prophète, and the slow movement from Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.

Although Thalberg had composed a piano concerto early in his career, his repertory with orchestra in the United States consisted solely of the first movements of

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[132]New-York Daily Times, 22 November 1856, p. 6. The Times (28 November 1856, p. 1) praised Ullman's actions and acknowledged his astuteness as a manager: "We all know that Mr. Thalberg's first series of concerts were triumphantly successful, and that, in a pecuniary point of view, they far exceeded even Mr. Thalberg's expectations--who is accustomed to triumphs. Most managements would, under such circumstances, have continued in the old course, and reaped the full harvest of success down to the very stubble. But, with commendable shrewdness, Mr. Thalberg's management has avoided this exhaustive husbandry, and in the very hey-day of prosperity has added new attractions to strengthen and perpetuate the immediate and assured triumphs. . . . Policy like this can never be without its reward."

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Beethoven's Third and Fifth Piano Concertos.[133] His performances generally received excellent reviews. White in the Courier and Enquirer believed the Third Concerto "was given by the performer with absolute precision and most delicate appreciation of its significance," and was in raptures about Thalberg's cadenza.[134] The Times, however, thought the performance

> lacked largeness, breadth and force. It was chaste and exquisite, like all his performances, but rough vigor and fire are needed for the just interpretation of Beethoven, especially when there is orchestral

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[133]During his first season Thalberg performed the first movement of the Beethoven Third Concerto in New York (*27 and *29 November 1856), Philadelphia (*27 December 1856), Boston (10 January and 31 March 1857), and Brooklyn (7 March 1857), and the first movement of the Fifth in New York (2 December 1856) and Boston (*13 January and *4 April 1857). Of these nine performances, five (indicated by asterisks above) are identified in advertisements as including only the first movement. The remaining four were not billed as incomplete performances, but reviews of three of those indicate that they were. The review of the Brooklyn concert does not state either way, but it seems unlikely that it was complete.

[134]"At the close he gave a cadenza of his own; and such a cadenza! It was itself a concerto. It was based upon the counter theme of the movement, which was worked up in a style so elaborate and yet at the same time so consonant with the spirit of the music to which it was an addendum, as almost to raise the performer to the rank of the original composer. Its brilliancy and its intricate difficulty were no less striking" (New York Courier and Enquirer, 28 November 1856, quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 10/10 [6 December 1856], 76; for a similar opinion see Boston Evening Transcript, 1 April 1857).

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> accompaniment, and these are certainly not the characteristics of Mr. Thalberg's playing.[135]

Fry of the Tribune did not even bother to give his opinion of the performance because he believed "an orchestra at a pianist's concert is particularly and generally out of place." Because of the recent developments in piano music, especially those made by Thalberg, he saw no reason to have an orchestra

> putty up the cracks of pianism, when the new lights have orchestrized the piano, doubled its volume, its expression and its interest, and made it, according to its circle, perfect. There is no logic in an accompanied concerto now.[136]

Both concertos had already received complete performances in the United States--the Third as early as 1842, the Fifth not until 1854[137]--but neither had been performed frequently. Critics were pleased then to hear the works, and given Dwight's affection for the music of Beethoven, he was not surprisingly the most elated. To Thalberg's credit, he was also the most enthusiastic of the pianist's performances. Of the first Boston performance of the Third Concerto, he wrote:

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[135]New-York Daily Times, 28 November 1856, p. 1. The critic believed that the cadenza was "a marvelous piece of dense mechanical amalgamation, but there we think its merit ends."

[136]New-York Daily Tribune, 28 November 1856, p. 5.

[137]The Third Concerto had been introduced in America in 1842 in Boston by John Liptrott Hatton, the Fifth in Boston in 1854 by Robert Heller (Johnson, First Performances in America, pp. 47-48).

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> The memorable feature of the concert was the Beethoven Concerto, played right under the statue of the composer, by one of the world's two first pianists, and with full orchestral accompaniments. And yet it was a cruel disappointment to be cut short with only the first movement of the Concerto in C minor, after the whole had been announced, and after that first movement had proved so witchingly beautiful, that it was hard to tear oneself from the enjoyment of so pure a work of Art, especially as such a chance of perfect interpretation on the pianist's part might never come again. But Thalberg's execution was a miracle of perfection. . . . Thalberg played it not only with the utmost precision, force and clearness, but with the finest light and shade, bringing out with exquisite feeling and accent all those little melodic phrases which in Beethoven's music melt out of the tone mass. . . . But what held the audience in breathless delight for some minutes was the long and elaborate cadence introduced by Thalberg at the orchestral pause near the end. It was marvellously ingenious and beautiful, an abstract, in fact, of the entire movement, as if it had caught its own image in miniature in a distant mirror. . . . Certainly it was clearly settled that evening that Thalberg can appreciate and can play Beethoven.[138]

Thalberg's first Boston performance of the Fifth Concerto (see figure 26) was less satisfying, but the pianist was not completely to be blamed:

> Mr. Thalberg played it in the same chaste classical style as the other; only perhaps a little less carefully; and there was no marvellous cadenza to astound the general audience. The orchestra had shrunk to a thin shadow--only two first violins--the effect of

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[138] Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 126.

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BOSTON MUSIC HALL.

S. THALBERG'S

FOURTH AND LAST CONCERT,

(BUT ONE,)

ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 13.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Management has to apologise to the public for the reduction in the number of the Orchestra of this evening. In spite of every exertion on the part of Mr. Zerrahn, it has been impossible to obtain leave of absence from the different theatres for a larger number of musicians. This apology is not offered on account of any material deficiency—(there being twenty-one of the Boston leading musicians in the Orchestra,) but simply for the purpose of avoiding any reproaches of bad faith on the part of the management; and as a proof of this assertion, it is respectfully announced that

SIGNOR MORELLI,

On application having been made to him, has kindly consented to appear this evening, although not previously announced.

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

1. OVERTURE.....“Martha,”.....Flotow

BY THE ORCHESTRA.

2. CAVATINA.....“Romeo and Giulietta,”.....Bellini

MADAME D'ANGRI.

3. CONCERTO IN E FLAT, “Part First.”.....Beethoven

(With Full Orchestral Accompaniment.)

S. THALBERG.

4. ROMANZA.....“Amor funesto,”.....Donizetti

SIGNOR MORELLI.

5. VARIATIONS DI BRAVURA.....Rossini

Expressly Composed for and Sung by

MADAME D'ANGRI.

6. FANTASIA.....“Semiramis.”.....Thalberg

S. THALBERG.

PART II.

7. OVERTURE.....Kalliwoda

BY THE ORCHESTRA.

8. ARIA.....“Saffo,”.....Mercadante

MADAME D'ANGRI.

9. A.—FINALE. Lucia di Lamermoor. } .....Thalberg
   B.—SERENADE. Don Pasquale. }

S. THALBERG.

10. TARANTELLA.....Rossini

SIGNOR MORELLI.

11. ARIA.....“L'Italiana in Algeri,.....Rossini

MADAME D'ANGRI.

12. FANTASIA.....“Elisir d'Amore.”..... .Thalberg

S. THALBERG.

13. ALEXANDER MARCH.....

BY THE ORCHESTRA.

DIRECTOR OF THE ORCHESTRA, = MR. ZERRAHN.
CONDUCTOR. = = = = = SIGNOR ABELLA.

The Pianofortes used on this occasion are from the manufactories of Chickering and Sons, Boston and Erard, Paris. New York Depot at C. Bruning, 701 Broadway.

Fig. 26. Program, Concert of Thalberg, Boston, 13 January 1857. (Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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> sickness and other accidents. Of course this lent a chill to it.[139]

Thalberg's skilled performances of Beethoven caused Dwight to want even more. The critic regretted that Thalberg's

> brilliant pianism does not see for itself a higher and more glorious calling in subordinating itself more frequently and as a chief duty to the unfolding beauties of inspired works like those of Beethoven.[140]

While Dwight and other critics rejoiced at hearing the works, at least one writer was discouraged because he thought audiences were indifferent to the better quality of music:

> But how infinitely does all the pleasure which I derive from his operatic airs, enveloped in halos and sparking notes, and runs, and arpeggios, fall short of the deep, heart-felt satisfaction with which I have listened to Clara Schumann's performance of the deep, soul-filling works of Beethoven, Chopin, Mozart! Why is it that so few can feel the difference? Why will mere glitter so far outweigh solid gold with the multitude? At one of Thalberg's concerts he gave us a movement from Beethoven's Concert in E flat. That one movement, with orchestral accompaniment, was worth all the rest together, singing and all, yet it fell dead upon the audience, while I drank it in as the mown grass does

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[139]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 127. In the program Ullman apologized for the reduced size of the orchestra and explained: "In spite of every exertion on the part of Mr. Zerrahn, it has been impossible to obtain leave of absence from the different theatres for a larger number of musicians." The Boston Post (14 January 1857) thought the apology was "hardly required, however, as the orchestra, twenty-one in number, performed with general acceptance, barring some faults that did not materially affect the tout ensemble."

[140]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 126.

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> the rain. A great soul was speaking to mine, and I communed with him.[141]

Thalberg's concerto performances were important for familiarizing American audiences with works still too little known. For the pianist, the performances were significant because they constituted his first venture outside the repertory of his own music. He continued this expansion of his repertory several months later in his series of matinees.[142] In addition, these performances verified beyond any doubt his preeminence as a pianist and musician:

> After the clear, chaste and feeling expositions of classical music that [Thalberg] has granted to us during his two visits, his claims to be recognized as something more than a mere virtuoso performer on his instrument can scarcely be questioned and need no advancement at our hands.[143]

Ullman, Strakosch, and the New York Academy of Music

Producing opera in New York was a risky undertaking. No impresario had been financially successful at it for more than a season or two before he either left the field or was forced to regroup. Ullman had had his eye set on producing opera from his first exploits with Herz. By the time he

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[141] Dwight's Journal of Music 10/21 (21 February 1857), 164.

[142] See the following chapter for a discussion of Thalberg's matinees.

[143] Boston Evening Transcript, 6 April 1857.

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began managing Thalberg, he had yet to achieve his goal; the closest he had come was the combination of Herz and soloists from the Astor Place Opera House. In the spring of 1855 he had imported the French soprano Anna de la Grange[144] and made a serious bid for the management of the newly built Academy of Music (opened in 1854) in New York for the 1855-56 season.[145] William H. Paine, a major stockholder of the Academy, was awarded the lease, however, and Ullman served Paine as a manager.[146] The following season Ullman began his association with Thalberg, and Max Maretzek, who had been brought to America in 1848 by Edward P. Fry to conduct opera at the Academy, became manager of the opera.

In addition to its instability, the New York operatic world was filled with intrigue. A few days before Thalberg's concerts began, Ullman was struck down in the street across from Niblo's Saloon by a slingshot. The Herald reported:

> Mr. Ullman suspects a general Man Friday of Max Maretzek to be the party who made this monstrous attack upon him, and he supposes that it proceeded from jealousy and artistic rivalry, and also from the fear that Ullman and Thalberg were about to undertake

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[144]Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 93.

[145]Dwight announced in July that Ullman was successful in his attempt to secure the lease (Dwight's Journal of Music 7/15 [14 July 1855], 117).

[146]Max Maretzek, Sharps and Flats (New York: American Musician Publishing Co., 1890; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1968), p. 17; and Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 98. Lerner describes the season as "artistically undistinguished" and "financially disastrous."

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> something in relation to the Opera, and in opposition to the interests of Max Maretzek. . . . Mr. Ullman says he was warned a week ago . . . that it was the intention of a certain person to attack him.[147]

The Sun reported that it "is not the first time this gentleman has been assaulted in New York.[148]

Whether Maretzek was responsible for the act or not, he would have been right to be concerned about competition from Thalberg's approaching concerts. The great quantity and phenomenal success of his concerts proved disastrous for the Academy's opera season. By the middle of December the Herald stated:

> There has been quite a struggle in musical circles during the past month between Thalberg's manager, Ullman, and Maretzek at the Opera. The Thalberg party has the success and the dollars, and Maretzek has beaten a retreat to Havana, giving Thalberg a clear field.[149]

Ullman's desire to produce opera was no secret, although he made no attempt to present it during the early months of Thalberg's tour. At the end of December, however, a New York correspondent to Dwight mentioned that there was a "rumor afloat that [Thalberg] intends taking charge of an opera troupe . . . and conduct the performances himself."[150]

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[147]New York Herald, 9 November 1856, p. 1.

[148]New York Sun, 10 November 1856.

[149]New York Herald, 13 December 1856, p. 4.

[150]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/13 (27 December 1856), 100.

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However unlikely it was that Thalberg would do any conducting, there was at least a grain of truth in the rumor. With the conspicuous financial success he was enjoying with Thalberg, Ullman was finally able to win the bid for the lease of the Academy in February 1857 for the following season, but only with the backing of the pianist. Maretzek supplies an account of the agreement between Ullman and Thalberg in regard to the lease:

> On the twenty-fourth day of February, 1857, Mr. Bernard Ullmann [sic] and Sigismund Thalberg became the lessees of the Academy, but before the expiration of one week Mr. Thalberg, for the sum of $1 paid in hand, 'did sell, assign and transfer all his rights, titles, etc.,' of said lease to Mr. Ullmann. The fact is that Mr. Thalberg, perceiving that all the monetary burdens of the enterprise would fall upon him alone, did not 'sell for $1 his rights, etc.,' but bought his release from Ullmann by advancing to his penniless partner a few thousand dollars, to enable him to begin operations.[151]

Ullman also allied himself for the first time with Maurice Strakosch, previously his "confirmed enemy."[152] Strakosch had produced a four-week opera season at the Academy beginning in late Januery, which was successful enough for him to follow it immediately with another. At that time his troupe included Teresa Parodi, Cora de Wilhorst, whose contract he had just taken over from Ullman, and his wife, Amalia Patti Strakosch. It is not precisely

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[151] Sharps and Flats, p. 37.

[152] Ibid.

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clear when Ullman and Strakosch officially became partners, but they consolidated forces in a number of concerts almost immediately after Ullman and Thalberg won the lease. The first four such combined appearances--two in New York (3 and 5 March 1857) and two in Brooklyn (27 February and 7 March)--were typical Thalberg concerts with the usual array of assisting artists, but with the addition of Parodi and Amalia Strakosch. Three later appearances in New York and Brooklyn (10, 12, and 19 March) were combination "Grand Concert and Oratorio," comprising a performance of Rossini's Stabat Mater by members of the Academy's opera company and a concert in which Thalberg participated. The two final New York appearances of the season by the pianist were likewise the two final performances of the season of the Italian Opera at the Academy (20 and 21 March); the first was a benefit for Strakosch.

In his involvement with the Academy of Music, Thalberg essentially supplied Ullman with much needed capital and with his name, which endowed the joint venture with instant respectability and the prospect of success.[153] The pianist probably did not participate in any plans for the operatic productions at the Academy. This combination of Thalberg,

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[153]A New York correspondent to Dwight believed that "Mr. Thalberg's personal popularity is very great here, and will certainly have considerable effect in ensuring the success of his speculation" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/24 [14 March 1857], 189).

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Ullman, and Strakosch was to have further reaching consequences. Within a month Thalberg began his first western tour under the management of Strakosch in the company of Parodi and Amalia Strakosch. Ullman and Strakosch, with the income derived from Thalberg's concerts, were able to survive the financial panic of 1857 and the opera season of 1857-58.[154] As a result they retained the lease of the Academy for three years, an unprecedented length of success in the New York operatic world.

New England

After his final concerts of the season in New York in association with Strakosch's troupe, Thalberg began another series of concerts in Boston on 23 March 1857 and the surrounding area. Within three weeks he made eight appearances in Boston (excluding matinee and school concerts) and eighteen in neighboring cities. In several of the cities, including Hartford, Providence, Worcester, Lowell, New Bedford, and New Haven, he made at least two

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[154]See chapter XVI for a discussion of the 1857-58 season.

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appearances with the admission price reduced to fifty cents for the second concert.[155]

A newcomer to the troupe for these concerts was the young Theodore Thomas, who was under Ullman's management as concertmaster of the orchestra at the Academy of Music.[156] In that capacity he was in Boston for appearances of a German opera troupe, including a performance of Fidelio, hastily assembled by Ullman.[157] He made thirteen apperances at Thalberg's concerts as a soloist in New England but performed only once in Boston. In each concert he either performed a solo, such as Bériot's Tremolo, or Beethoven's Archduke Trio with Thalberg and Carl Bergmann. Dwight found Thomas to be "an excellent violinist, firm and true,"[158] and another Boston critic was "delighted with the new violinist, who, though apparently very young, exhibits great talent."[159]

The cellist and conductor Carl Bergmann, who performed

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[155]Tickets for most Thalberg concerts in the East were $1.00 or $1.50 according to location, with most seats reserved. The two concerts in New Haven and the last two of four in Providence were given as matinee and evening concerts on the same day.

[156]Theodore Thomas, Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography, ed. George P. Upton, 2 vols. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 1:45.

[157]Dwight considered the performance of Fidelio a "very bad performance of the very best of music" (Dwight's Journal of Music 11/1 [4 April 1857], 5).

[158]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/1 (4 April 1857), 7.

[159]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/7 (4 April 1857), 102.

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the Archduke Trio with Thalberg and Thomas, was the former conductor of the Germania Musical Society, which had disbanded in 1854.[160] The following season (1855-56) he had joined with Thomas and William Mason in the presentation of chamber concerts in New York and had served as conductor of the New York Philharmonic Society; the latter post he held, sometimes jointly with Theodore Eisfeld, with slight interruptions until 1876.[161] He conducted the appearances of the German opera in Boston for Ullman as well as Thalberg's two concerto performances in Boston in the present series. In all, he led five of Thalberg's nine concerto performances, having already conducted the pianist's first concerto appearances in New York.[162] In addition to his trio performances with Thomas and Thalberg, in which his cello "was as potent as ever in its sphere,"[163] he also served as piano accompanist at several of the

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[160]For information on Bergmann, see H. Wiley Hitchcock, "Bergmann, Carl," The New Grove, 2:550; and Charles N. Boyd, "Bergmann, Carl," Dictionary of American Biography, 2:216.

[161]He conducted the Society during the 1855-56 and 1858-59 seasons, then jointly with Theodore Eisfeld from 1859 to 1865, and solely from 1865 to 1876 (Krehbiel, Philharmonic Society, pp. 112-43).

[162]He also conducted at other concerts of Thalberg which did not include a concerto.

[163]Boston Evening Transcript, 30 March 1857. Dwight reminisced: "Our old friend Bergmann's violoncello it did one good to hear again" (Dwight's Journal of Music 11/1 [4 April], 7).

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concerts in the smaller New England cities.

Thalberg's Boston concerts included two concerto performances, an appearance at a Handel and Haydn Society concert,[164] and a concluding series of four fifty-cent concerts. Originally the concert of 4 April 1857 was announced as Thalberg's farewell appearance in Boston. This drew a large crowd, "every eligible place in the body of the house being occupied, and even the platform encroached upon," with "hundreds of disappointed ticket applicants."[165] Not until this concert did a "Card of the Management, scattered over the seats [announce], with grave reasons and gracious revelations of the mysteries of management, a

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[164]This was Thalberg's second appearance at a Handel and Haydn Society concert and one of several Sunday night concerts in which he participated. At this time, Sunday concerts were allowable only if they presented sacred music, although the qualifications for "sacred music" were lax. Thalberg could conveniently offer for such concerts his Fantasia on Moses, based primarily on the prayer from Rossini's opera, and his Fantasia on Les Huguenots, based primarily on the chorale "Ein' feste Burg" as used in Meyerbeer's opera. Also deemed appropriate were his own Andante and Marche funèbre. Sunday concerts had an additional restriction of not allowing applause. At Thalberg's first guest appearance at a Handel and Haydn Society concert (18 January 1857), "so great was the enthusiasm of the audience that considerable exertion was required on the part of many to resist a strong temptation to overstep the conventional rule recognized for Sunday evening entertainments, and manifest their delight in manual demonstrations" (Boston Post, 19 January 1857).

[165]Boston Evening Transcript, 6 April 1857; and Boston Post, 6 April 1857.

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series of three "Half Dollar Concerts."[166] Ullman explained, given the size of the Boston Music Hall and the city's "widely diffused . . . love of good music," that fifty-cent concerts might be feasible, but few managers would "dare . . . to play in one city at a lesser rate than in another," and that in lowering prices the artist "fears to advertise his want of success."[167] Since the latter reason was clearly not the case for Thalberg, he was able "to comply with a request that has repeatedly been made to him" to offer concerts at reduced prices. This practice, which he followed in the neighboring cities, naturally proved popular,[168] but it created problems in the western tour when prices returned to their normal level or even higher.[169]

How long Thalberg originally planned to remain in the United States is not clear. In an effort to maintain attendance, concert advertisements frequently indicated that

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[166]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/2 (11 April 1857), 14. This "card" caused "much talk, wonder and amusement," according to Dwight.

[167]Boston Evening Transcript, 6 April 1857.

[168]A report of his second fifty-cent concert in Boston stated: "Notwithstanding the quick recurrence of this gentleman's concerts, the interest in his wonderful performances does not seem to abate . . . if we may judge from the large and brilliant audiences that still throng the Music Hall, under the new scheme of admission price adopted by the management" (Boston Evening Transcript, 10 April 1857).

[169]See chapter XIII.

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he would soon be returning to Europe. For his first appearance in Albany and Troy during his third week of concerts, notices claimed that these two cities were "the only cities which he will be enabled to visit, with the exception of Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore, previous to his return to Europe."[170] But by 3 December 1856 concert advertisements mention in passing his plans to visit "the West and South."[171] By late January another announcement appeared:

> It has now been decided that Mr. Thalberg, after having given a limited number of Farewell Concerts in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York, and Boston, will depart for the West in March and sail for Europe in May next.[172]

By the time he left Boston in mid-April, his western tour was planned to last through the end of June, and it was assumed he would be on hand the following season for his operatic venture at the Academy of Music. It looked as if Thalberg would become a musical institution in America.

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[170] Albany Atlas & Argus, 20 November 1856; and Troy Daily Times, 21 November 1856.

[171] New-York Daily Times, 3 December 1856, p. 6.

[172] Philadelphia Public Ledger, 27 January 1857.

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CHAPTER XI

MATINEES AND SCHOOL CONCERTS

By the mid-nineteenth century, afternoons had become popular in Europe, especially in London, for concerts involving several solo performers or devoted to chamber music; evenings were then free for operas, symphonic concerts, and theater productions. Matinees were also introduced in the United States, most importantly by Theodore Thomas and William Mason, who began their matinee series in 1855.[1] Therefore, when an announcement appeared shortly after Thalberg's arrival that he was contemplating giving matinees, the concept was not entirely new.[2] What did prove to be novel about them was that Thalberg was the sole performer, only occasionally presenting a piece with guest artists. To be sure, Liszt had given solo recitals almost two decades earlier in Europe, and a few pianists had given solo recitals in America, but Thalberg was the first visiting virtuoso to do so here.

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[1]For information on the Mason-Thomas matinees and a complete listing of their programs, see Graber, William Mason, pp. 68-77 and 159-83.

[2]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/21 (18 October 1856), 321.

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In addition to his being the single performer, Thalberg's matinees had two other important features: they were held in smaller halls, which allowed a closer inspection of Thalberg's technique, and they included works by other composers. Both characteristics were evident in his first two matinees, which took place in Boston (17 and 20 January 1857) and for which a private subscription was formed. The recitals were held in the salon of Chickering & Sons with only about a hundred people present. The intimate atmosphere provided by the small hall and the select audience was an advantage widely acknowledged. Dwight, for example, claimed that "this was the true way to hear him; here, after all, one seemed to hear him for the first time, for he played as if he were at home, with only sympathetic listeners."[3] Another critic confirmed the relaxed attitude of the pianist:

> Thalberg was like a genial host, giving joy to his guests--now revelling in his own creations, and, in the intervals between the pieces, mingling among his

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[3]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 134.

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audience as the unpretending and accomplished gentleman.[4]

The sociable environment of the matinees may have increased the enjoyment of the audience members, but it was their proximity to the performer that occasioned for many a reassessment of Thalberg's skill. As one critic wrote:

> Great as has been our admiration of this artist's performances, the opportunity offered yesterday by the size of the hall for a good eye and ear analysis of their beauties assured us of our having as yet undervalued them. Their constructive elegance, with the astonishing accuracy, nicety and unblemished finish attending their execution, were only half appreciated before.[5]

The greater variety in repertory also pleased the critics. At the first matinee Thalberg performed Mendelssohn's "Frühlingslied" and "Volkslied" from Lieder ohne Worte, and at the second William Mason performed with Thalberg the latter's Fantasia on Norma, which Dwight found "astonishing." The real treats for Dwight, however, were two nonvirtuosic pieces:

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[4]Boston Post, 19 January 1857. Another Boston paper mentioned an "interval of conversation" between Thalberg's performances (Boston Evening Gazette, 24 January 1857). Salaman described a similar atmosphere at Liszt's first "recitals" in London in 1840: "At these recitals Liszt, after performing a piece set down in his programme, would leave the platform, and, descending into the body of the room, where the benches were so arranged as to allow free locomotion, would move about among his auditors and converse with his friends, with the gracious condescension of a prince, until he felt disposed to return to the piano" ("Pianists of the Past," p. 314).

[5]Boston Evening Transcript, 21 January 1857.

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> His transcription of Beethoven's "Adelaide," and of the Quartet from I Puritani, (simply played from his book: L'Art du Chant appliqué au Piano,) gave us the most unalloyed delight. It was the perfect transfer of a vocal melody (without any of the personal drawbacks) to the strings of an instrument. We fear we shall never wish to hear "Adelaide" sung again, for it never sang itself so purely, so tenderly and sweetly as under Thalberg's fingers.[6]

The success of the private matinees in Boston convinced Thalberg and Ullman of their commercial potential. Soon after their return to New York, Ullman announced with much fanfare a series of three subscription matinees to be given by Thalberg in that city. Ullman's publicity notice included the exaggerated claim that "it always [had] been a favorite wish of Mr. Thalberg's to introduce and permanently establish the Matinée Musicale in this country, as he [had] done in Europe."[7]

Ullman's ploy was that if the matinee was a standard feature in European musical life, America could not be considered so sophisticated as Europe until it had also adopted that form of entertainment. This was a sensitive point with many Americans and may have contributed to the success of the matinees. But there were more practical considerations that led many to attend the afternoon concerts, which Ullman took great care to enumerate:

> When Mr. Thalberg consulted his friends about the expediency of giving Matinées, it has been not unfrequently observed to him that in a commercial

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[6]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 134.

[7]New-York Daily Times, 16 February 1857, p. 5.

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country like this, the Matinée which naturally ought to take place about the middle of the day, could not be so extensively patronized as in Europe, where the aristocracy resort to it as the means of whiling away a few unengaged hours. This is a mistake. Matinées in Europe are fashionable, but not quite so exclusive as is generally supposed; they are principally attended by professional people--by young ladies from seminaries--by clergymen--by families living out of town--by ladies, who can go there unattended, and above all by those persons whose delicacy of health, infirmity or age renders an exposure to the night air unadvisable.

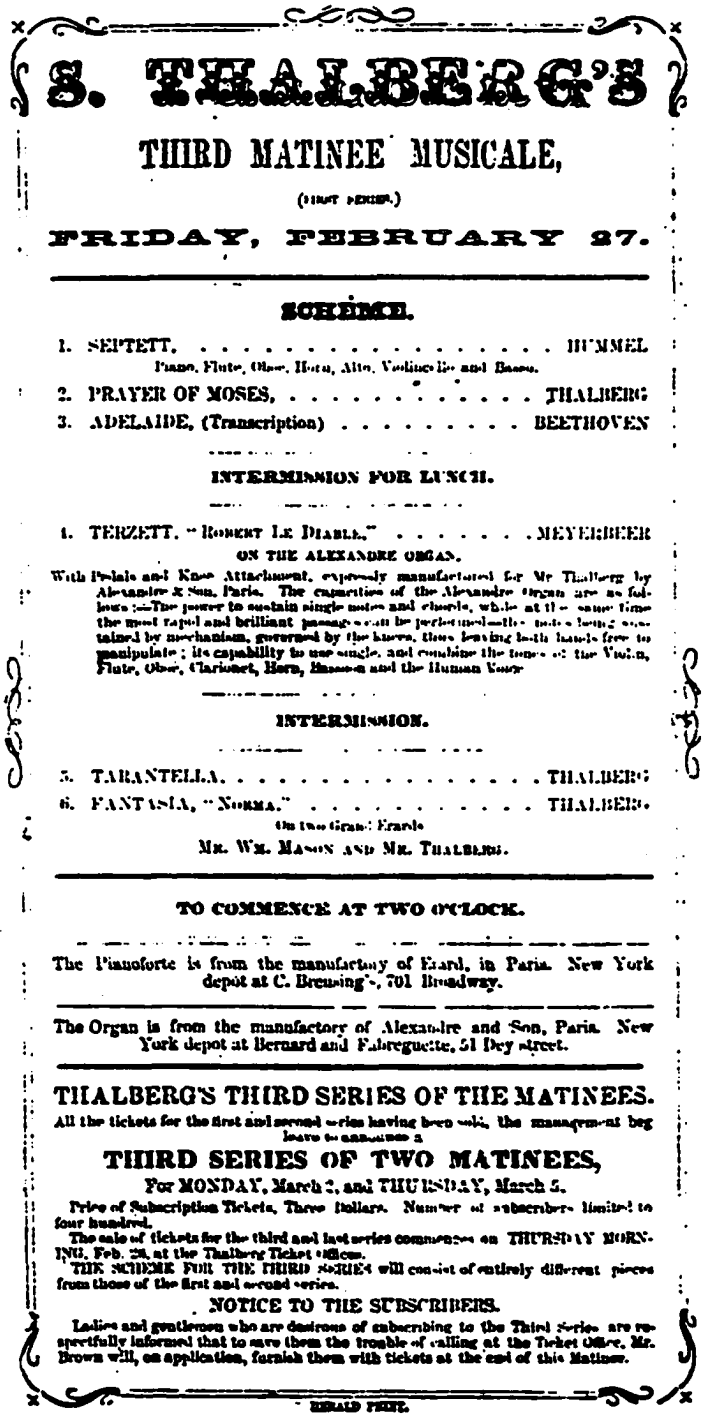
In the large American cities there are also a large number of merchants whose families reside within a convenient distance of the metropolis; many professional people here are as little bound down to any particular business hours as in Europe; the multiplicity of finishing schools for young ladies is without a parallel in either London, Paris, or Vienna. The latter part of the day is, during the Winter season, monopolized by late dinner and evening parties; and if, finally, it is considered that the climate in America is subject to far more sudden and violent changes--so dangerous to delicately-framed constitutions--than that of Europe, Mr. Thalberg may be fully justified in believing, that, if he might not entirely succeed in his project, the Introduction of the Matinée, (commencing at about 1 o'clock,) may be well worth a trial.[8]

Ullman's final moment of doubt in the above statement was ill founded. The series of three matinees at Dodworth's Saloon (see figure 27), with subscriptions selling for five dollars and limited to four hundred people, was completely sold out, and a second series of two matinees for three dollars was announced on the day the first series began. Eventually, a third series of two matinees was added, and four single matinees were given to accommodate those people

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[8]New-York Daily Times, 16 February 1857, p. 5.

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S. THALBERG'S

THIRD MATINEE MUSICALE,

(FIRST SERIES.)

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

SCHEME.

1. SEPTETT. . . . . HUMMEL
   Piano, Flute, Oboe, Horn, Alto, Violincello and Basso.
2. PRAYER OF MOSES, ... THALBERG
3. ADELAIDE, (Transcription) . . . . . BEETHOVEN

INTERMISSION FOR LUNCH.

4. TERZETT, "ROBERT LE DIABLE," . . . . . MEYERBEER
   ON THE ALEXANDRE ORGAN.

With Pedale and Knee Attachment, expressly manufactured for Mr Thalberg by Alexandre & Son, Paris. The capacities of the Alexandre organ are as follows:—The power to sustain single notes and chords, while at the same time the most rapid and brilliant passages can be performed—the notes being sustained by mechanism, governed by the knees, thus leaving both hands free to manipulate; its capability to use single, and combine the tones of the Violin, Flute, Oboe, Clarionet, Horn, Bassoon and the Human Voice

INTERMISSION.

5. TARANTELLA. . . . . THALBERG
6. FANTASIA, "NORMA." . . . . . THALBERG.
   On two Grand Erards
   MR. WM. MASON AND MR. THALBERG.

TO COMMENCE AT TWO O'CLOCK.

The Pianoforte is from the manufactory of Erard, in Paris. New York depôt at C. Bruning's, 701 Broadway.

The Organ is from the manufactory of Alexandre and Son, Paris. New York depot at Bernard and Fabreguette, 51 Dey street.

THALBERG'S THIRD SERIES OF THE MATINEES.

All the tickets for the first and second series having been sold, the management beg leave to announce a

THIRD SERIES OF TWO MATINEES,

For MONDAY, March 2, and THURSDAY, March 5.

Price of Subscription Tickets, Three Dollars. Number of subscribers limited to four hundred.

The sale of tickets for the third and last series commences on THURSDAY MORNING, Feb. 26, at the Thalberg Ticket offices.

THE SCHEME FOR THE THIRD SERIES will consist of entirely different pieces from those of the first and second series.

NOTICE TO THE SUBSCRIBERS.

Ladies and gentlemen who are desirous of subscribing to the Third Series are respectfully informed that to save them the trouble of calling at the Ticket Office, Mr. Brown will, on application, furnish them with tickets at the end of this Matinee.

HERALD PRINT.

Fig. 27. Program, Matinee of Thalberg, New York, 27 February 1857. (William Mason Scrapbook, Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

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who could not subscribe to a series. A final soiree musicale was presented that followed the scheme of the matinees but was given in the evening.

Despite the considerable list of persons who Ullman thought should be available to attend the matinees, by far the largest percentage of subscribers were "unattended" women.[9] A review of the first New York matinee claimed that "there were so few gentlemen that they might well count for nothing."[10] One newspaper, commenting on the success of the series, stated matter-of-factly that the matinees appealed "solely to the lady votaries of fashion" and continued:

> The ladies are delighted beyond belief, and they vow that Thalberg was never half so divine before--that they never so fully, so thoroughly appreciated his playing as at his delightful matinees.[11]

Another paper concurred on the appeal of the matinees

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[9]When Thalberg and Vieuxtemps announced a matinee in New Orleans, the Mobile Daily Register (17 February 1858) pleaded for one in their city, arguing that "no doubt it would pay extremely well, as there are hundreds of ladies who would like to hear these artists as often as possible, and do not wish to be under obligations to their gentlemen friends; for at the matinées ladies can go alone!" See the discussion in chapter V on the necessity for a woman to have an evening escort.

[10]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/22 (28 February 1857), 173. The New-York Daily Times (21 February 1857, p. 4) stated that "a few gentlemen of strong nerves and much leisure were the solitary representatives of the sterner sex." See also New-York Daily Tribune, 21 February 1857, p. 7; and Boston Evening Transcript, 17 March 1857.

[11]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 14 March 1857, p. 223.

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to women, but indicated they were musical ladies and not just followers of fashion:

> These morning reunions are especially attended by ladies, and amongst these there is scarcely one who is not or has not been in some measure a pianist. Necessarily a morning with Thalberg, with the certainty of hearing him play six or seven pieces, and the chance of encoring him twice or thrice--what gentleman can have the heart to refuse an encore from two hundred and fifty pairs of pretty and well-gloved hands--is an attraction which it would be perfectly impossible to resist.[12]

Regardless of the unassailable musical advantages of the matinees and their generally serious aspirations, Ullman did not trust the public to attend them solely for musical reasons. His gimmick was to have black waiters in livery serve refreshments consisting of chocolate, cake, and ice cream.[13] Isaac H. Brown, sexton of Grace Church and a noted social planner, was entrusted with the responsibility of the "comfort of the subscribers."[14]

Curiously, however, the refreshments were not

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[12]Boston Evening Transcript, 21 March 1857. At the first New York matinee, Thalberg "made a little speech to the ladies, and begged that they would name a piece and he would play it" (New-York Daily Times, 21 February 1857, p. 4).

[13]One review also mentions the recitation of poetry by an actress (Harper's New Monthly Magazine 14 [May 1857], 849-50).

[14]New-York Daily Times, 16 February 1857, p. 5. A later advertisement stated: "Mr. Brown will be happy to attend to any wishes of the ladies" (New-York Daily Times, 23 February 1857, p. 6). For a summary of the services Brown supplied as the "factotum of upper tendom," see Dwight's Journal of Music 10/22 (28 February 1857), 172.

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originally publicized in the official advertisements.[15] Not until the reviews of the first matinee appeared did the public know of the refreshments and by then the first series had already been sold out.[16] Thus it appears that the matinees would have been a success without the culinary attractions and that Ullman underestimated the audience for serious music.

If not actually mentioned in detail by Ullman, the refreshments instantly became much written about, usually in a good-humoredly pejorative manner. One paper, for example, in reporting an overheard conversation, ridiculed both the fashion-seeking subscriber, of which there must have been a significant number, and the schemes of Thalberg (i.e., Ullman):

> Very Possible.--A lady on one of the Brooklyn ferry boats, commenting in our hearing upon Thalberg's first Matinée Musicale with much admiration remarked, "that the concert, with Brown present, and the negroes in

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[15]The announcement for the second matinee carried the notice that the aisles would be wider "so that the waiters may freely pass in and out handing round the lunch, which will be regularly served after Mr. Thalberg's third piece" (New-York Daily Times, 23 February 1857, p. 6). Beginning with the third matinee series, the program published in the newspapers indicated an "Intermission for lunch" (New-York Daily Times, 27 February 1857, p. 6).

[16]Dwight's New York correspondent, in reviewing the first matinee in New York, stated that the "startling announcement on the programme of an 'intermission for lunch' . . . raised great speculations as to whether Mr. Thalberg would take his lunch at that time, or whether there would be a bar" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/22 [28 February 1857], 172).

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> livery, and the chocolate, and the ice cream, made it one of the most delightful musical treats she had ever participated in." Brown--negroes in livery--ice cream and chocolate--at a musical concert! Julien [sic], hide your diminished head; Thalberg has eclipsed even your humbug![17]

No one, however, surpassed the sarcastic delight expressed by George William Curtis in his "Editor's Easy Chair" column of Harper's:

> It was a delightful thought of Thalberg's manager to mingle music, pound cake, Mr. Brown, daylight, chocolate, and bulgy black legs in dirty white stockings, in Dodworth's charming room. One was so entirely desirous of almond cake after hearing the Don Giovanni fantasia, or the Adelaide of Beethoven; and that desire became imperative necessity, when the cake was brought by one of the unhappy race in very clumsy shoes and breeches cut short at the knees, followed by a sable brother, with his dirty stockings covered by his dirty trowsers. The uniformity was striking; and the coup d'oeil was so like Willis's rooms, with liveried flunkies handing ices! It was most charmingly foreign; and the stockings added such a delicate flavor to the little cakes! Besides, the happy thought of the lunch, which was prepared in the little room opening immediately out of the hall, allowed the audience, as they bent forward to catch the zephyrs of music breathing along the keys, to hear also the rattling of cups and plates, and the cheerful voice and laugh of the African, as he arrayed his legs in the costume of aristocratic service. It is such a comfort to have things done well when they are done at all, and to show mankind that we know how to have morning concerts as well as any body. The stockings, too, were in such strict keeping with Thalberg.[18]

Curtis was clearly mocking the pretentiousness of the matinees, specifically their "charmingly foreign" (i.e.,

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[17]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 7 March 1857, p. 211.

[18]Harper's New Monthly Magazine 14 (May 1857), 849.

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European) character and the desire of at least some Americans to prove their sophistication to the world by having "morning concerts as well as any body."

As occasionally happened with Thalberg (and with De Meyer and Herz as well) the important musical features of his tour--in this case the expanded repertory of the matinees--was almost overshadowed by publicity gimmicks. Ullman did, however, draw attention to Thalberg's venture outside his usual repertory in his first announcement of the matinees. He explained that holding the concerts in a smaller hall with Thalberg as the sole performer, the pianist would

> be better enabled to illustrate the capability of the Piano-Forte through the introduction . . . of those chef d'oeuvres of the master spirits of Piano music, who, writing at a time when audiences were counted by scores and not by thousands, never intended that their works should encounter the glitter of innumerable gaslights and the excitement of a modern Evening Concert.[19]

This was not simply another example of Ullman's twisted reasoning. It was a common belief that works by such "classical" composers as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schubert were suited for the intimate salon and not the mammoth concert hall. Dwight commented, for example, that the selections of the first two Boston matinees were

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[19]New-York Daily Times, 16 February 1857, p. 5.

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"choicer and more varied than would serve the ends of a concert before two thousand people."[20]

Works by other composers that Thalberg performed in his matinees included:

Beethoven: Adelaide (transcription)
Sonata in C-sharp minor ("Moonlight")
Trio for violin, violoncello, and piano in B-flat Major, Op. 97 ("Archduke")
Trio for violin, violoncello, and piano in C major

Bellini: Quartet from I Puritani (transcription)

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor
Unidentified mazurkas

Hummel: Septet

Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte

Meyerbeer: Trio from Robert le diable (transcription)

Schubert: Ave Maria (transcription)
Lob der Tränen (transcription)
Ständchen (transcription)

Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore (transcription)

Detailed critiques of Thalberg's performances of this repertory are surprisingly few, consisting principally of reviews by Dwight and his New York correspondent "--t--." Dwight found Thalberg's rendering of Chopin's "Marche funèbre" to be "rather hurried,"[21] while "--t--," in a different performance, thought it "was exquisitely given, with all the breadth and grandeur in the first part, and

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[20]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 134.

[21]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/1 (4 April 1857), 7.

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delicacy and tenderness in the second, which it requires."[22] In the Chopin mazurkas, on the other hand, "--t--" believed there was a "harshness, a loudness, an utter want of gracefulness in their rendering."[23]

Concerning the works of Beethoven, the composer most revered by Dwight, the critic claimed he had never heard the scherzo of the Archduke Trio (performed with Thomas and Bergmann) played "with such energy and clearness, such effectivess in all its points."[24] He and "--t--" agreed that the first movement of the "Moonlight" Sonata received an unorthodox interpretation, being played, in the words of Dwight, "rather with exquisite grace and beauty than with that Beethoven-like depth and earnestness of feeling."[25]

Perhaps the most telling remark was that by "--t--" in describing Thalberg's presentation of Beethoven's works: "There was an uncertainty in Mr. Thalberg's performance of them, which gave one the impression that he did not feel at home in them."[26] Thalberg was certainly not accustomed to

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[22]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/22 (28 February 1857), 173.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/1 (4 April 1857), 7.

[25]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/26 (28 March 1857), 203.

[26]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/22 (28 February 1857), 173.

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performing works by other composers in public, however much he might have played them in private. He took, then, something of a risk in bringing them before the public, but it was an almost necessary risk to infuse his concerts with a much-needed variety.

Thalberg performed his transcriptions of the quartet from I Puritani, the trio from Robert le diable, and the "Miserere" from Il Trovatore (from his L'Art du chant appliqué au piano) on the Alexandre Organ, which was effectively introduced to America in these matinees.[27] Manufactured by Alexandre Père et Fils of Paris,[28] this was a reed organ described in Ullman's announcement as having "the power to sustain single notes and chords, while at the same time the most rapid and brilliant passages can be performed--the notes being sustained by mechanism, governed by the knees, thus leaving both hands free to manipulate"; Ullman also lauded "its capability to use singly and combine the tones of the violin, flute, oboe, clarionet, horn,

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[27]The instrument had already been demonstrated in New York the previous fall by Ranieri Vilanova and possibly by others (New York Musical Pioneer and Chorister's Budget 2/4 [1 January 1857], 52; and Dwight's Journal of Music 9/25 [20 September 1856], 199). Thalberg had previously performed on it just prior to his departure from Europe at a concert of the Philharmonic Society in Boulogne (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/4 [25 October 1856], 31); he also performed on it in a few concerts in the Midwest.

[28]For information on the firm, see Barbara Owen, "Alexandre," The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, 1:44.

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bassoon and the human voice."[29] The organ did not please "--t--," who claimed that "the music it produced sounded . . . very much like a common hand-organ of unusual power."[30] But he tempered his objections by admitting it was generally believed that Thalberg did not bring out its full force and that there were other performers in New York who could "show it off to far better advantage." Two correspondents to the New-York Musical Review and Gazette both thought that better instruments were made in America.[31]

The overwhelming success of the New York matinees encouraged Ullman to announce a series of two matinees in Philadelphia to be held in the foyer of the Academy of Music and limited to 500 subscribers. On the very day the first one had been scheduled, Ullman postponed the series until the end of the opera season, supposedly on the advice of many of the subscribers.[32] Only about one hundred tickets had reportedly been sold, and there was much speculation on the reason for the failure.[33] One journalist wondered whether Philadelphia's "music-loving citizens do not approve

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[29]New-York Daily Times, 16 February 1857, p. 5.

[30]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/23 (7 March 1857), 179.

[31]8/5 (7 March 1857), 67, and 8/7 (4 April 1857), 101.

[32]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 9 March 1857.

[33]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/16 (21 March 1857), 86.

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of melody by sunlight, or the eloquence and beauties of the piano-forte, contaminated by the mingling of the promised lunch!"[34] In fact, the previous fall a proposal for matinees by a Philadelphia society had led the Dollar Newspaper to caution that "music in the day time has never commanded a price in this city."[35] The Philadelphia Deutsche Musik-Zeitung suggested that humbug might work in New York but not in the Quaker City.[36] The Philadelphia matinees were never rescheduled.

Boston proved to be a more receptive city than Philadelphia. Two series of matinees and a "soiree and piano recital" (the latter with Carl Bergmann and Theodore Thomas) were given; unlike the first two matinees there, these were open to the public. Thalberg was spared charges of humbug in Boston, but a notice in the advertisement for the first series of matinees provoked an accusation of the more serious crime of elitism:

> Notice. Nearly nine-tenths of the tickets for the Matinees in New York, have been subscribed for by ladies belonging to the first families in the city. In view of the responsibility thus devolved upon the management, a correct address has been required from every subscriber--a determination which cannot but insure the utmost respectability of the audience, and

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[34]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/16 (21 March 1857), 86.

[35]Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper, 26 November 1856.

[36]1/12 (1 May 1857), 174.

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> must be appreciated by no one more than the subscribers themselves. The same regulation has been adopted for the Boston Matinees.[37]

Ullman had issued a similar announcement for the New York matinees that was ignored by the press. But in democratic Boston, which had rebelled against taxes on tea as well as De Meyer's dollar concerts, the attempt to restrict subscribers according to their social status unleashed condemnations more severe than New York's satirical views on refreshments.[38] At issue was whether music in the United States should be reserved for the elite, as many Americans thought it was in Europe, or available to all people regardless of social or economic rank. This issue touched a raw nerve in the Boston Daily Ledger, which was especially vehement against another example of "foreign snobism." It published a long article ridiculing the management that had so much responsibility "devolved" on it. The paper also urged the public to attend a benefit concert for Carl Zerrahn, the conductor of the Boston Philharmonic, arguing that Zerrahn needed support while Thalberg did not and that Zerrahn would welcome everyone. It predicted the type of person who might attend the matinees:

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[37]Boston Evening Transcript, 17 March 1857.

[38]As the New-York Daily Times (20 March 1857, p. 4) reported: "The Boston people are virtuously indignant at the insinuation that any but respectable persons go to Chickering's."

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> If you itch to be esteemed "respectable," and possess an "address" that you are not desirous of concealing from the police, you will of course go to the Matinees of M. Thalberg; for there you will fix yourself for good in the social scale, learn what is recerche [sic] in these affairs, and see the creme de la creme of society besides.[39]

Yielding to public pressure, Ullman apologetically withdrew the restriction as gracefully as possible:

> The management regrets that the wording of the original advertisement has been interpreted by a portion of the community in a sense at variance with its intention. It has been imagined that the object was to make the Matinees an exclusive entertainment, and preclude the public at large from attending them. To this the most explicit contradiction is given. To do otherwise would be an ill return for the kindness Mr. Thalberg has met in Boston. The management for its own justification begs to state, that it has simply complied with a suggestion emanating from the patrons of the Matinees given in another city, in consequence of a circumstance that occurred and rendered there this arrangement imperative.
>
> Many Boston friends of Mr. Thalberg, to whom the above explanation has been given have observed that a precaution of this nature was unnecessary in this city, and as public opinion appears to side with them, every restriction will in future be dispensed with, the management only reserving to itself the control usually exercised at all other concerts.[40]

The Daily Ledger positively gloated over Ullman's retraction and summarized its arguments against the European elitism:

> Do we live in a Democratic Republic, or are we in Europe? . . . in the morning papers . . . we learned that a very select matinee is to come off sometime, and somewhere in Boston. We learned from this article that

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[39]Boston Daily Ledger, 23 March 1857.

[40]Boston Evening Transcript, 24 March 1857.

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> the company who would be permitted to listen to the matinee of Mr. "Tellbug," "Humbug," or "any other bug" must be very select, and "could not come in" unless they sent in (to whom, pray?) "their correct" address, as a "guarantee of their respectability." The august "management" of the "Thalberg concern" have changed their key note, as we thought they would. We have had enough of foreign snobism, to learn to appreciate between the real and the ideal, and wish our visitors from abroad to learn, if they are susceptible of improvement, the difference between Republicanism and their own governement.
>
> . . . We are not unacquainted with the various "dodges" practised upon the "Yankees" by artists from over the waters, but this last attempt at refinement not only amuses, but convulses, the sensible portion of the American public with laughter.[41]

The Ledger also was incensed by the implied comparison between Boston and New York in Ullman's original policy, stating that just "because they may have 'got bit' at some one of their matinees in the emporium of murder and crime, it is no reason why they should proceed on a like supposition here in Boston."[42]

Not all the papers agreed with the criticisms of the Ledger. The Boston Evening Transcript, for example, had not chastised Ullman for his nondemocratic policies and in a review of the first matinee tried to minimize the importance of socialites among the subscribers:

> The assembly included a large majority of ladies, and as far as we can judge, we should say that those present were drawn from the intelligence and culture, rather than from the opulence, of Boston and Cambridge.

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[41]Boston Daily Ledger, 25 March 1857.

[42]Ibid.

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> The wealthy families were indeed well represented, but we are sure that were a list of the subscribers published, it would be found that the names of scholars, literary persons and artists, were largely in the ascendant.[43]

As a matter of fact, months before this Boston incident, Thalberg had initiated a series of free concerts for schoolchildren; these alone should have spared him the charges of elitism. The concerts were probably suggested or at least partly inspired by Lowell Mason, who had met the pianist in 1837 during his first European trip.[44] Mason must have renewed his acquaintance with Thalberg at the home of one of Mason's sons just after the pianist's arrival in the United States, and the idea of the concerts was possibly formulated there. In any event, it was not long before the papers reprinted a formal exchange of letters:

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[43]Boston Evening Transcript, 25 March 1857. Dwight described a Boston matinee audience as "not in any poor sense a 'fashionable' audience . . . but as intelligent, refined and musical an assemblage as one would wish to see" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/26 [28 March 1857], 203).

[44]While in London in June 1837, Mason wrote in his diary after attending a Philharmonic concert at which Thalberg performed: "Thalberg's playing far surpassed anything I have before heard." He heard him again, as well as Ignaz Moscheles and Julius Benedict, in the home of Moscheles; of the three he considered Thalberg's playing to be "certainly the most astonishing" (Lowell Mason, diary entries for 12 June and 26 June 1837, Music Library, Yale University; quoted in Carol A. Pemberton, Lowell Mason: His Life and Work [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985], pp. 103-4).

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St. Denis Hotel, Nov. 21, 1856

Dr. Lowell Mason--Dear Sir:--Desirous of doing what lies in my power for music while in this country, it would gratify me to afford the pupils of the public schools of this city an opportunity to attend some of my concerts. Knowing the deep interest you have always taken in the subject of musical education, and that it is owing chiefly to your instrumentality that music has to a large extent become a branch of common school study in the United States, may I request your assistance and advice in arranging a performance or performances for the children of the public schools of your city. With sentiments of the sincerest esteem, I am truly yours,

S. Thalberg.

New York, Nov. 26, 1856

Dear Sir--The idea of concerts by Thalberg for the children of the public schools is a most happy one. Having had the pleasure of meeting you in 1837, and of frequently hearing you play during that season, and having marked with deep interest your subsequent musical triumphs, I was fully prepared to welcome you to this country, (destined to become emphatically the land of song) and to rejoice in the very great yet deserved success which has here attended you. I do not know that I can be of any essential service; but certainly, whatever I may be able to do shall be most cheerfully done. With great respect, I am very truly yours,

Lowell Mason.

To S. Thalberg, Esq., St. Denis Hotel[45]

Other than officially introducing the pianist at his first school concert in New York[46] and informing the mayor of Boston of the forthcoming school concerts in that city,[47]

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[45]New York Herald, 29 November 1856, p. 4.

[46]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/12 (20 December 1856), 92.

[47]Boston Evening Transcript, 29 December 1856.

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Mason's role in these concerts was probably minimal. Because of his reputation as America's leading music educator, however, his name gave the ultimate imprimatur to the undertaking.

Thalberg's motive may not have been so pure as his letter suggests. Giving free concerts to children was certainly good publicity, and it created an image of an artist interested chiefly in the furtherance of his art. Ullman may have been as responsible for the concerts as Mason, for Henriette Sontag had given similar concerts in American under Ullman's management.[48] Thalberg's thoroughness in carrying out the plan--at least twenty concerts in ten cities--implies, however, he was sincere.[49] Before both Sontag and Thalberg, Jenny Lind had given free school concerts at the beginning of the decade,

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[48]Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 84. The Boston Daily Ledger (15 January 1857), which constantly criticized the high ticket prices for Thalberg's regular concerts, complained: "His agent is shrewd, perhaps, in allowing the scholars of the public schools to enjoy gratis the sweet music which he so marvellously produces; but we think he can well afford to allow the hard-working people of Boston, who love music, to enjoy his entertainments at a price within their means."

[49]Thalberg gave the following concerts for school-children: 2 December 1856 (New York), 13 December 1856 (Philadelphia), 18 December 1856 (Baltimore), 12 and 17 January 1857 (Boston), 5 and 11 February 1857 (Philadelphia), 16, 19, 26, and 28 February 1857 (New York), 5 March 1857 (Williamsburg, NY), 11 March 1857 (New York), 3 April 1857 (Providence), 7 April 1857 (Boston), 1 May 1857 (Wheeling), 11 May 1857 (Louisville), 23 and 26 February 1858 (New Orleans), and 4 June 1858 (Nashville).

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and the gesture was one of many acts of kindness that made her capture the hearts of Americans. Inevitably, Thalberg was compared to her in his similar endeavor:

> . . . She inaugurated a new era in the union of music and benevolence. The greatest of pianists . . . seems to follow in the same harmonious union. Modest, unaffected and kindhearted, he is not satisfied to be glorified as the chief of his profession, and to fill his purse and to revel in luxuries, but he thinks of ministering enjoyment to the poor children of the schools and those adults who have more taste for music generally than the means of gratifying it.
>
> . . . Most fortunate and most edifying is it when high genius is combined with moral worth, simple, unpretending and beneficent.[50]

Thalberg was not alone in this ministry, for he was frequently assisted by members of his concert troupe, including Elena D'Angri, Bertha Johannsen, and, later, Vieuxtemps; moreover, several of the theater or hall owners donated the use of their buildings for the occasions.

The midday school concerts were formal affairs with many city officials and school board members sitting on stage and offering various speeches of appreciation.[51] The only other adults allowed to attend were clergymen,

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[50]Christian Register, quoted in Boston Evening Transcript, 10 January 1857.

[51]At the close of the first school concert, the superintendent of the New York City schools thanked the performers, claiming the students would "never cease to cherish the recollection of this delightful scene, and to bless the day and the hour when they were permitted under such pleasing auspices, to listen to the highest triumph of musical art" (New York Herald, 3 December 1856, p. 4).

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musicians, doctors, and members of the press. The press was especially taken with the sight of so many children experiencing music and provided Thalberg with good publicity.[52] With the young audiences ranging in number from 2,000 to 5,000 per concert, Thalberg probably performed for more than forty or fifty thousand children, and "every urchin in the street" knew his name.[53]

Even though many of the students studied music,[54] at least one paper believed "the performances were a little too scientific for the greater part of the audience."[55] The students responded enthusiastically, however, to pieces based on such tunes as "Yankee Doodle," whether sung by Elena D'Angri or, as in New Orleans, performed on the violin by Vieuxtemps:

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[52]Of the first concert with 3,000 girls in attendance, the New-York Daily Times (3 December 1856, p. 4) stated: "A more beautiful sight we have never seen."

[53]New-York Daily Times, 21 January 1857, p. 2. In New York the superintendent of schools stated that 20,000 children had attended the concerts (New-York Daily Tribune, 12 March 1857, p. 6).

[54]According to the Philadelphia Public Ledger (13 December 1856), many of the public grammar schools of that city from which 2,000 girls had been chosen to attend Thalberg's first school concert were "under musical instruction, the pupils of the entire school forming a class and employing a teacher, for whose services they pay by their own contributions."

[55]Philadelphia Public Ledger, 15 December 1856. In regard to Thalberg's performance at a school concert, Dwight stated: "But of course it was too fine to excite them much" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 [24 January 1857], 134).

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> The parquette, dress circle, and boxes, were crowded by the girls in their gayest attire, whilst the second tier and gallery were crowded by the boys. . . . The boys in particular were uproarious, and insisted upon a repetition of everything until Vieuxtemps came out to play "The Carnival of Venice," as announced in the programme. The young rascals wouldn't have the Carnival, but shrieked from all parts of the house for "Yankee Doodle" in its stead. The great fiddler obligingly substituted the piece as requested, and gave it with all the exquisite variations for which he is so famous; and the boys were satisfied. It was altogether wonderful to hear what a quantity of whistle, shriek, and what enormous percussion of heel could be drawn from a crowd of small boys. As the girls could not indulge in the luxury of noisy applause, we could not tell what their particular preferences were, if they had any. . . .[56]

Thalberg's variations on "Home, Sweet Home" was also a favorite, for the children knew the song well and often sang it for the pianist and the other performers. When they heard Thalberg's version at one concert, their "ruddy faces lighted up with a deeper glow, and a smile of pleasure rippled over them, and the whole house was vocal with whispered ejaculations of delight."[57]

How much the students gained from these concerts is debatable, but contemporary sources uniformly praise their value. One paper thought the two concerts given in New Orleans "cannot have failed, we think, to plant in the minds

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[56]New Orleans Daily Crescent, 24 February 1858. At the second school concert in New Orleans, one of the superintendents "requested that applause should only be given by clapping the hands" (New Orleans Daily Picayune, 27 February 1858).

[57]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/12 (20 December 1856), 92.

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of many of those for whom they were intended the germ of much future fruitage, in the love of art, and in the rich enjoyment that flows from its culture."[58] Another writer believed the children would "have occasion to remember [the concert] as one of the brightest incidents of their childhood."[59]

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[58]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 27 February 1858.

[59]Boston Post, 13 January 1857.

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CHAPTER XII

INTERLUDE:

IMPRESARIOS

Thalberg's fast-paced itinerary, with its dramatic increase in the number and frequency of concerts over those of De Meyer and Herz, bears witness to the growing importance of the impresario as a vital force in the musical life of the United States. The planning and execution of such a complex tour was possible only through Ullman's knowledge of advertising and journalism, his familiarity with cities, concert halls, and transportation, and his contacts in the musical world gathered over a decade of experience. Suddenly the innocent days of leisurely crossing the country without a manager or with only a friend or relative serving as a secretary were gone. This change had been signaled a decade before when Herz first hired Ullman and when Zani de' Ferranti left his friend Sivori in the hands of the same man who was far more capable to perform the complicated duties of a manager. Bringing music to large parts of the nation had very quickly become a business as well as an art.

The age of the musical impresario had begun in the United States. What had been a fledgling American

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profession in the early 1840s was now almost fully developed. In addition to Ullman, by 1857 men like Maurice Strakosch and Max Maretzek had close to a decade or more of experience in managing performers, concert troupes, and opera companies and had honed their managerial skills. And when lesser European artists flocked to the United States in an effort to match the successes of a few star performers, lesser agents also appeared to manage and exploit them. Jenny Lind's uniquely triumphant tour directed by Barnum especially encouraged people to enter the managerial world. In 1855 Maretzek referred to these opportunistic managers as "those musical agents who had lately so plentifully cropped out of the manure Barnum had spread upon the soil of American humanity."[1] He claimed that while "the reputation of Jenny Lind was in the ascendant" neophyte managers "actually swarmed upon us as mosquitoes do in the months of August and September," for many desired to follow in Barnum's footsteps:

> The very call-boys in the theatres were ambitious of becoming Barnums. Not a hungry teacher of the piano, nor a theatrical check-taker, but had a longing to try his hand at the great game of sowing nothing and reaping dollars. There was not a dealer in concert-tickets but would have given the hair from his head to gather money by the speculation in operatic stars. Many really talented artists were induced, by the

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[1] Crotchets and Quavers, p. 198.

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> stories told them by embryo speculators of this stamp, to visit America, and necessarily fell into the trap laid for their attractions.[2]

Maretzek generally gives a cynical view of impresarios and musical agents in nineteenth-century America; to wit:

> All stratagems are fair either in love, war, politics, or theatrical management. . . .
>
> Art is by no means the principal thing to be cultivated by a management that would rejoice in attracting large audiences. . . .
>
> The word of a musical agent can never be taken without doubt. . . .
>
> Scandal is the system and secret of all management in the United States.[3]

Maretzek attributed that last aphorism to Ullman, about whom he had no kind words. Among other things, he severely castigated him for publishing Diez años de música en los Estados Unidos, a pamphlet which derides the taste of the American public and through which Ullman criticizes the very hand that had fed him for a decade.[4]

Maretzek's judgments of Ullman must be weighed carefully, for the two men were rival impresarios and frequently competed for the directorship of the New York Academy of Music. But Maretzek was not the only one to

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[2]Crotchets and Quavers, p. 184.

[3]Ibid., pp. 261, 43, 198, and 321-22.

[4]Ibid., pp. 309-20. Maretzek claims to have seen the pamphlet in 1852 in Cuba, where it was published, and to have purchased several copies. See Lerner, Bernard Ullman, p. 6, for a summary of his persistent yet unsuccessful search to examine a copy of it.

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criticize--or at least satirize--Ullman, who was an easy target. His calculating advertisements, for example, were described with razor-sharp precision by the Philadelphia Evening Journal:

> Suppose that Mr. Ullman is producing "William Tell." The "Amusements" column of this journal is entirely taken up with the announcement of the "colossal" event. Mr. Ullman assumes all sorts of attitudes towards the public. He prostrates himself before them. Tears are in his eyes, his lip quivers, and his whole frame is convulsed with sobs, as he refers to the pure and splendid character he has sustained in past time and asks to be informed whether he has done anything not to deserve their endorsement of his "William Tell" on this occasion.
>
> He woos most tenderly. He represents himself to be devoured by respect and love for this discriminating Philadelphia public, and seductively presses his claims to a place in its affections. He pictures "William Tell." He paints, in sparkling and gorgeous hues, the music and action, and the apparel of the stage. . . . He hints at the probable slovenliness and disrespect with which any other manager but Ullman would have produced Rossini's master-piece. He enumerates the gentlemen of the orchestra, the choristers, the costumers, the carpenters.
>
> He makes his "William Tell" a matter of conscience and duty with the community. With a sublime burst of eloquence he closes his appeal, not, however, before he has depicted, in graphic and agitating terms, the perils of not procuring seats early, and laid down a strict code of laws for cabmen, policemen, and the city authorities generally.[5]

The Philadelphia Deutsche Musik-Zeitung provides a glimpse of a day in the life of an impresario in another, more elaborate satire, cast as a scene from a play, complete

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[5]Quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 13/5 (1 May 1858), 39.

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with dialogue, scenic descriptions, and stage directions. Although Ullman is not specified as the impresario, the references to matinees and chocolate identify him as the model:

Artist's Life in America.

First Scene.

(Manager's Room in New York.)

About fifty newspapers lie scattered about, some on tables, some on chairs and on the rug. Scissors and a map of the United States of enormous size are kept separate on the sofa. Letters, posters of identical size, as well as a considerable number of telegram strips captivate so much the eyes and feet of anyone entering that one supposes to have landed in a huge waste-paper basket.

Manager on the sofa, five to six agents facing him, some sitting, some standing.

Manager (to one of the agents): Are the doctors taken care of?

Agent: I have five hundred invitations ready.

Manager: Send twenty for every concert.--How do things stand with the clergymen?

Agent: Everything is OK.

Manager: Ten of these men per evening are sufficient. Furthermore, send three free tickets each time to Mr. Cutman.

Agent: Who is that?

Manager: My God, you don't know the first barber in New York?--Exceedingly important. Three tickets!--How much is sold for tonight?

Agent: Not much--about a hundred tickets.

(a pause.)

Manager: Gentlemen, what do you think of the weather?

First Agent: Foul.

Second Agent: Rain.

Third Agent: Perhaps--

Manager (interrupting): I will not have anything to do with perhaps. Gentlemen, the concert tonight must be full. Take eight hundred tickets and distribute them with discretion.--The matinee tomorrow will, I hope, turn out well.

Agents (in unison): Very well!

Manager: I hear that last time the chocolate was not good. Speak to the caterer lest it happen again. It is too important. What is that?

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Agent: A telegram.

Manager (after reading): Things are bad in New Haven. Oh,--go down there tomorrow morning. We must have a good concert tomorrow night.

Second Agent: Is the oratorio still on for the day after tomorrow?

Manager: Of course, concert in the morning, oratorio in the evening.

Second Scene.

(Manager. Journalist.)

Manager: Good sir, I have just been thinking of you. Sit down. How may I be of assistance?

Journalist (very hard of hearing): I could not come.

Manager (very loud): How may I be of assistance?

Journalist: It is really all the same to me.

Manager (jumping up and shouting in his ear): What do you want?

Journalist: Two seats for tonight.

Manager (seemingly embarrassed): I naturally cannot refuse anything to you. But you are the only one. It will be exceedingly full. Over eight hundred tickets sold.

Journalist: Give me four.

Manager (gives him the tickets): What do you think of Frezzolini?

Journalist: Not much voice.

Manager (in ordinary tone): Yes, if you could hear her. (very loud) Great artist!

Journalist (standing up): Humbug! Good morning.

(A female singer enters.)

Singer: Good man, what are you thinking of? Sing in the morning, sing in the evening, today here, tomorrow there. I am no Leporello.

Manager: And I am no Don Juan!

Singer: I take your word for it.

Manager (rummaging in the papers): Well, what do you want, madame?

Singer: I cannot sing tonight.

Manager (smiling): My dear woman, you still seem not to have quite understood American conditions. You belong to those who think one can earn very much money here and yet work little. This is upside down. It is true one can make three times as much money here as over there, but one must do six times as much for it. Whoever wants to work merely as much as in Germany does much better to stay at home.

Singer: But I really cannot sing. I have a cold.

Manager: Let me read you a notice that has just come into my hands (reads). Mad.__ was reported hoarse

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again. It is indeed to be wished that all our singers would take as an example Madame La Grange who is never hoarse!

Singer (indignant): But that is--

Manager (smiling): Should I announce that you are sick?

Singer: I shall sing. (leaves in a fury)[6]

The above scene, if slightly exaggerated, is nevertheless probably close to the truth. The manager had to deal with temperamental artists, tried to manipulate the press, and was responsible for filling the house, with deadheads if necessary. Regarding the last technique, a Boston correspondent claimed that the "financial prosperity" of Thalberg's first concerts there had been

> achieved in spite of (possibly because of) very liberal distributions of free tickets to persons not likely to feel able to go at their own charges. It is said that he gave away a thousand the first night, and five hundred the second, and that after that the Hall filled itself with good paying people.[7]

Maretzek confirms that Ullman followed the practice of using deadheads and explains how they were chosen. In the fall of 1857, while Ullman was managing Thalberg and was lessee with Strakosch of the Academy of Music,

> three young employees, Mr. Henry Palmer, Mr. Jacob Grau, Mr. J. Gosche (all three afterward managers themselves), were daily occupied in selecting names

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[6]Deutsche Musik-Zeitung 2/11 (1 February 1858), 140. (Original text in German; translation mine.)

[7]New-York Daily Tribune, 23 January 1857, p. 5. A review of a Brooklyn concert by Thalberg stated that the hall "was about three-fourths filled: one-half of the audience being dead-heads, 'oyster-house critics,' and other genteel loafers of New York" (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 18 November 1856).

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from the city directory, and three boys in mailing free tickets to doctors, clergymen, politicians, and journalists, etc., in order to give the house an appearance of increasing popularity and a thriving business. In order to prove that I am not exaggerating, I hereby republish one of the circulars usually enclosed in the envelopes with the free tickets:

> New York Academy of Music, September 7, 1857.
> Dear Sir: By and with the consent of Mr. Maurice Strakosch, my partner, I have the pleasure of informing you that we have determined to continue during the present opera season the system introduced, with regard to the free list, at Mr. Thalberg's concerts. . . .
>
> B. Ullmann.[8]

An article titled "The Way to Give Concerts in America" had given advice as early as 1838 on how to fill a concert hall:

> When you announce your concerts, send at least one hundred and fifty tickets to the press--dine with the editors--call upon all lovers of music who don't know you. . . .
>
> While you are introducing yourself among the people to secure a good attendance at your concerts, give to a friend who has a wife and daughters <u>one</u> ticket, and he will be under the necessity of buying several more; be sure to give away enough to fill the concert-room, if you feel doubtful of your hold upon the public favor. This will cause a jam, and give you an opportunity to repeat your concert, and to announce that "those who purchased tickets for your first concert and were unable to get admission, will be admitted with the same at the second;" (this will be all <u>hum</u> of course.) . . .[9]

Although filling a hall with deadheads was a common practice, it had its drawbacks, as Maretzek explained:

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[8]<u>Sharps and Flats</u>, p. 38.

[9]<u>The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence</u> 1/19 (27 October 1838), 243-45.

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> Deadheads are the most severe critics, and . . . any person who once goes to the theatre on a free ticket will sooner agree to pay for a $10 supper at Delmonico's after the opera than ever again give the entrance fee of $1.[10]

One of the most important duties of the manager was to provide publicity through the newspapers. An excerpt from another satirical article, titled "The Model [Newspaper] Editor," reveals, in a behind-the-scenes account, how such publicity might be arranged while on tour:

> Music director calls to know if the editor will transfer a puff of six columns, and accept a ticket at half price. Editor obligingly tells him he shall be happy to do so. Musical director wants to know if he will write a puff before-hand; editor intimates that he will be happy to do so. Musical director would like him to furnish one hundred and sixty copies of the paper; editor says he shall be happy to do so. Musical director wishes to know if he will loan him his desk, pen, ink and paper, and a post office stamp; polite editor intimates that he shall be happy to do so, (by standing up three quarters of an hour, while musical director writes six letters, and endeavoring to read a paper up side down). Musical director takes his leave with three bows, the last one nearly overturning a lady who is entering the door.[11]

Maintaining peace among the members of a concert troupe filled with temperamental prima donnas and virtuoso instrumentalists was not the least of the impresario's responsibilities. Luigi Arditi, the Italian violinist who conducted opera in New York in the 1850s, recalled that problem:

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[10]Sharps and Flats, p. 38.

[11]Trumbull Democrat (Warren, OH), 16 April 1857.

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> Touring in those days [ca 1859-60] was a very different sort of institution from what it is now. The Impresari paid all expenses which were incurred, and the artists generally stayed at one and the same hotel. We occupied general drawing and dining rooms, and were always accompanied by a manager, or major-domo, whose business and pleasure (?) it was to be the perplexed recipient of all complaints--musical, culinary, or personal--which aroused ire within the breasts of his flock. I cannot say that his position ever struck me as being an enviable one. The poor man positively lived in a permanent atmosphere of apprehension in anticipation of artistic ructions, which were in the habit of occurring with distressing frequency among the members of the company.[12]

Dwight once described Ullman as "the indefatigable, who flies back and forth over the Atlantic like a shuttle, weaving star after star of European theatre and concert notoriety into the great American web of Art and--speculation."[13] Dwight knowingly used the word speculation, for if being an impresario was sometimes a potentially lucrative profession, it was always a risky one. Arditi, for example, recounted the financial and emotional pressures he faced as co-manager of an 1852 American tour with the opera singer Marietta Alboni:

> The position itself involves a terrible responsibility. Apart from the loss of money, and of one's normal allowance of good temper, an Impresario is compelled to make enormous sacrifices (sous entendu to the complete exclusion of his own interests) in order to bring about a satisfactory issue to his efforts.

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[12] My Reminiscences (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1896; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), p. 62.

[13] Dwight's Journal of Music 10/2 (11 October 1856), 15.

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> We hear a great deal of abuse launched at Impresari in general; but I often wonder whether the public, who speak without any real knowledge of the circumstances connected with a musical fracas or disagreement, really know what some unfortunate Impresari have to contend with. I DO, and the vivid remembrance of what I suffered in that capacity has endowed me with a lenient and considerate feeling for those most harassed individuals.[14]

Among the problems sometimes encountered by impresarios were attempts by artists they were representing to terminate their contracts once they had become known in the United States. As an 1848 article in the American Musical Times made clear, the artist's fame "and success must be mainly attributed to the great and constant exertions of the agent" and to "personal sacrifices greater than can be imagined by any unacquainted with the arduous and sickening duties of an agent."[15] The author reported the recent dissolution of the contract between the Steyermarkische Musical Company (an orchestra similar to the Germania Musical Society) and their agent, Henry Reich, and claimed it was only one of several recent breaches of contract. He cautioned agents to make their contracts "bind fast and strong" and not to "yield their rights in the fear that justice cannot be obtained."[16]

If artists sometimes abused their agents, agents could, in turn, take advantage of their clients. Because the

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[14]Reminiscences, p. 17.

[15]The American Musical Times 2/4 (24 June 1848), 62.

[16]Ibid.

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visiting artists probably spoke little English and were unfamiliar with American customs, they sometimes desperately needed the services of an agent. As Ullman explained: "The artist who on his arrival feels quite bewildered at the manifest difference between the public of Europe and that of America, sees himself compelled to entrust a manager with the business details of his concerts."[17] But if the artist was not careful, he could easily be swindled. As the Austrian violinist Miska Hauser, who came to the United States in 1851, put it:

> I toured the States four times; I traveled to Canada and Havana; I played ten and twelve times in places. "What nice receipts you must have had!" you may be thinking--but not at all! I, an unbusinesslike novice, a greenhorn--made a trifle while my agents got it all. Such shrewd people as Barnum don't say, "You are an artist and you shall be paid according to your merits," but--"An artist? It is hard to market your talent. You must put yourself in my hands and permit me to squeeze your possibilities to the last drop!" In this country they do not limit the slave trade to Negroes.[18]

Maretzek also gruesomely warned potential visitors of this problem:

> Afraid to act in an open and straightforward manner, the musical agent in the United States lies in ambush for the unsuspecting stranger he has marked as

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[17]Boston Evening Transcript, 6 April 1857.

[18]Aus dem Wanderbuche eines österreichischen Virtuosen: Briefe aus Californien, Südamerika und Australien, ed. Sigmund Hauser (Leipzig: Friedrich Ludwig Herbig, 1859), pp. 3-4; English translation in History of Music in San Francisco Series, vol. 3: Letters of Miska Hauser, 1853, p. 11.

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his prey. Like the Vampyre, who plays such a prominent part in Hungarian legendary lore, he fans the artist to slumber with his flattery, and leaves him not, until the last drop of blood, i.e. of money, has been sucked out of him. As the Boa-Constrictor, when he has enveloped his victim in his coils, he licks his or her acuteness all over with his drivelling tongue, until it is at last unable to detect his dishonesty. Then he swallows the luckless vocalist's entire success, and retires for the summer months to sleep himself into renewed activity for the following autumn. . . .

He will undertake to insure your success. But, believe me, it will be done with your own money, and very decidedly for his own interests. . . .[19]

In 1850 another writer had warned visiting artists that they could not be too careful in choosing a manager:

The prospects of the most talented may sometimes be ruined by the unpopularity of their agents; for the public are well aware of the existence of a class of petty hommes d'affaires, who live by not the most honorable kind of musical brokerage, and have learned to distrust everything that bears the work of their connection.[20]

Visiting artists did not have to worry about this predicament if they had placed themselves in the hands of Maurice Strakosch, the Bohemian pianist who had made his American debut in June 1848 and had soon begun managing his own concert troupe. He was consistently praised for his fairness, energy, and success. Strakosch stated his own credo as an impresario:

It is well to bear in mind . . . that an impresario is not a Barnum. A Barnum seeks, and his successors will imitate him in seeking, marvels or novelties of every

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[19]Crotchets and Quavers, pp. 180-81.

[20]The Message Bird, no. 34 (16 December 1850), 562.

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> kind, provided only that they are profitable--whether an elephant or the Siamese Twins, it is all one to the showman. The impresario, on the contrary, seeks only the discovery of artists and the production of artistic work. Of course he does not neglect the material side of his enterprise, but generally places the honor of art before the profit.[21]

After he had been in the United States almost a decade, Strakosch was as well liked as ever:

> Strakosch's personal popularity in every place where he has been is quite remarkable; he makes hosts of friends everywhere, and his good faith in all his business transactions, together with the excellent entertainments he alway offers, makes him not only relied upon but cordially welcome.[22]

Because of his popularity and resourcefulness, Strakosch was usually able to escape the financial losses that plagued other impresarios. The same article hailed him as "the grandest and the most successful concert-tourist that we have ever had among us."[23] And in the summer of 1856, just prior to Thalberg's arrival in the United States, it was reported:

> Concert tours by foreign artists during the present season have all turned out failures, with one

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[21]Souvenirs d'un impresario, pp. 8-9; English translation in "Strakosch and Patti," The Musical Courier 41/17 (24 October 1900), 26.

[22]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 31 October 1857, p. 343.

[23]Ibid.

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> exception. Strakosch always succeeds: he understands the tastes and desires of our public . . .[24]

At various times Strakosch served as manager for Ole Bull, the opera singer Teresa Parodi, his sister-in-law Adelina Patti, and soprano Christine Nilsson, while continuing his performing career. And, as we shall see, he managed the first western tour of Thalberg in the spring of 1857 with his usual skill and determination.

Another hypothetical scene published in the Deutsche Musik-Zeitung vividly portrays the hardships endured by a concert troupe on a whirlwind tour in mid-nineteenth-century America. Except for the minuscule profit it mentions, the sketch could be a description of one or another of the three hectic western tours of Thalberg (the first under Strakosch's direction in 1857, the other two in company with the violinist Henry Vieuxtemps in 1858).

> Artist's Life in America.
>
> In The Cars.
>
> A few European artists, whose countenances exhibit a good deal of fatigue, dust, and dirt, are seated in one corner of the [railroad] car, accompanied by a stout lady who seems about to faint away. This lady represents the Prima Donna of the party. In the other corner is the manager, snoring. The heat of the stove, and the effluvia of tobacco, make the place any thing but pleasant.

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[24]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/16 (9 August 1856), 241. The article claimed that Ole Bull, Gottschalk, and Adelaide Phillipps were among the performers who had recently returned from unsuccessful tours.

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Violinist: I wonder when we shall arrive?

Pianist: The concert is at eight o'clock. It is now three; we have, therefore, just five hours' time.

Prima Donna: If I do not soon get some fresh air and something to eat--

Manager (who regularly awakes when eating is mentioned:) Next station, madame.

Violinist (stops the Conductor, and addresses him in his own language:) How far to the next station?

Conductor looks at him, and--goes on.

Violinist asks the Manager the same question.

Manager does not look at him, and snores on.

Pianist: My dear, you are too impatient for America. We have time; let us enjoy the while the scenery. The sights here are--

Violinist (with a doleful voice:) Charming!

Prima Donna (with a formidable sigh:) O Paris!

A third artistic individual, until then apparently wrapped in melancholy, gives the first evidence of existence by saying that, "Concert-giving in America seemed to be rather fatiguing."

Prima Donna: And it has been described to us as so taking!

Pianist: Wait till we settle the accounts.

Manager (awaking:) Accounts! Gentlemen, we have not come to that yet.

The cars stop. The much-desired refreshment-station is at hand. The artists get out.

Prima Donna (calling after them:) Don't forget me!

The melancholy brother artist soon returns with an apple-pie, only two days old, and a glass of ice-water.

Prima Donna: What is it?

Brother artist (surprised:) What! Pie, of course!

Prima Donna: Always pie! (Faints.)

Conductor: All on board!

The artists' corner is again complete. Diversified and most unmistakable groaning.

Manager: Friends, be calm; we shall have twenty minutes before the concert commences.

Prima Donna (recovering at the prospect of a dinner:) And the toilette?

Manager: You'll have full three minutes for that, madame.

Prima Donna feels disgusted with the three minutes, the Manager, and the concert-giving.

At last the hour of deliverance has come. They have arrived.

Manager (greatly pleased:) Gentlemen, we have full twenty-five minutes to restore ourselves.

The artists storm the hotel.

Prima Donna (to the Manager:) I think, we sit down immediately to dinner?

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Manager (to the waiter:) What have you got to eat?

Waiter: Tea is over.

Manager: I did not ask that. What have you got to eat?

The artists are full of expectation. Waiter shrugs his shoulders and retires. Artists and Manager after him.

Manager: Man, it is twenty minutes to eight--what can we get to eat?

Waiter: Mince pie and cold mutton!

Prima Donna: Pie!

Violinist: Pie!

General despair, in which, however, the mutton and a peculiar beverage which, in the far West, they call tea, disappear with an incredible velocity.

Manager: Five minutes to eight!

The artists fly to the concert-room. The programme is worked down. Manager counts the receipts. Retires to the hotel. The waiter is asleep, the landlord is in bed.

Artists: What now?

Manager: Off again.

Violinist: What were the receipts?

Manager: Twenty-nine dollars. Expenses, twenty-eight dollars. Balance, one dollar.

All (with different tones of voice:) To the West! to the West![25]

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[25]Deutsche Musik-Zeitung 2/12 (15 February 1858), 159-60; English translation in New-York Musical Review and Gazette 9/5 (6 March 1858), 71-72.

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CHAPTER XIII

"TO THE WEST!"

THALBERG'S FIRST WESTERN TOUR (1857)

After more than five months in the eastern United States, Thalberg began his first of three forays into the Midwest. Although Ullman remained Thalberg's principal manager throughout his American sojourn, Maurice Strakosch managed this first western tour. The two impresarios, now partners at the Academy of Music in New York, arrived at a mutually beneficial agreement that most effectively used their respective skills: Strakosch, who had more experience on the road, toured with Thalberg and a troupe of assisting performers, while Ullman, who was exceptional in recruiting singers, left for Europe in the spring of 1857 to find new stars for the following opera season.[1] Reportedly the tour was scheduled to last two months and include forty-eight concerts and ten matinees;[2]

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[1]Ullman sailed on the Arabia on 29 April 1857 (New-York Daily Times, 1 May 1857, p. 5).

[2]New-York Musical World, quoted in Providence Daily Post, 1 April 1857; New York Herald, quoted in Dayton Daily Journal, 6 April 1857; and Kentucky Statesman, 7 April 1857.

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in the end, it lasted eleven weeks, and documentation has been found for fifty-two evening concerts, five matinees, and two school concerts. The troupe appeared in a total of thirty cities in ten states, mostly in the Midwest, and Canada (see table 7 and map 7).[3]

Thalberg could not have been in more capable hands. By the beginning of 1857, Strakosch had given an estimated 1,755 concerts and had performed for over 900,000 people since his arrival in 1848 in the United States.[4] Probably no one knew the ins and outs of giving concerts across the entire country better than he. Strakosch's experience is evident from the meticulous advance planning and almost flawless execution of the tour; the contrast with De Meyer's tours of 1846 and 1847 is astounding. Thalberg's tour, for example, was almost entirely planned before it began: concerts were announced in many cities three to five weeks before their occurrence, and only occasionally did concert dates have to be shifted a day or two. Two other characteristics of Strakosch's management of Thalberg's tour

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[3]In addition, four concerts--three evening and one matinee--were canceled. After the tour it was reported that Thalberg gave fifty-nine concerts, a figure that probably did not include the free school concerts; the same source claimed they were gone ten weeks instead of eleven (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 18 July 1857, p. 103).

[4]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 10 January 1857, p. 83.

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TABLE 7

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S FIRST WESTERN TOUR (1857)

20	Apr	Utica, NY (m)*
		Syracuse, NY
21	Apr	Rochester, NY
22	Apr	Buffalo, NY
23	Apr	Toronto, Ontario
24	Apr	Toronto, Ontario (m)
		Hamilton, Ontario
25	Apr	Buffalo, NY
27	Apr	Cleveland, OH
28	Apr	Pittsburgh, PA
29	Apr	Pittsburgh, PA
30	Apr	Wheeling, WV
1	May	Wheeling, WV (s)*
		Zanesville, OH
2	May	Columbus, OH
4	May	Cincinnati, OH
5	May	Dayton, OH
6	May	Cincinnati, OH
7	May	Indianapolis, IN
8	May	Cincinnati, OH
9	May	Louisville, KY
11	May	Louisville, KY (s)
		Louisville, KY
12	May	Lexington, KY
13	May	Cincinnati, OH
14	May	Louisville, KY
18	May	St. Louis, MO
19	May	St. Louis, MO
21	May	St. Louis, MO
22	May	St. Louis, MO (m)
		St. Louis, MO
25	May	Chicago, IL
26	May	Chicago, IL
27	May	Milwaukee, WI
28	May	Chicago, IL
29	May	Kenosha, WI (m)
		Milwaukee, WI
30	May	Madison, WI
1	Jun	Galena, IL
2	Jun	Dubuque, IA
4	Jun	Chicago, IL
6	Jun	Detroit, MI
8	Jun	Detroit, MI
9	Jun	Toledo, OH
10	Jun	Cleveland, OH
12	Jun	Rochester, NY
13	Jun	Buffalo, NY
15	Jun	Utica, NY (m)
		Syracuse, NY
16	Jun	Auburn, NY
18	Jun	Hamilton, Ontario
19	Jun	Toronto, Ontario
20	Jun	Kingston, Ontario
22	Jun	Montreal, Quebec
23	Jun	Montreal, Quebec
25	Jun	Montreal, Quebec
30	Jun	Quebec, Quebec
1	Jul	Quebec, Quebec
3	Jul	Burlington, VT

*m = matinee; s = school concert; see the Appendix for postponed and canceled concerts.

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MAP 7

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S FIRST WESTERN TOUR (1857)



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are especially striking. First, Strakosch maintained the pace established by Ullman, scheduling a concert on almost every night except Sunday and on a few days, a matinee as well.[5] Second, and in order to achieve the first, he included a number of smaller cities on the itinerary that De Meyer and Herz had bypassed, such as Wheeling, West Virginia; Zanesville, Ohio; and Auburn, New York.

Not only did concerts such as Thalberg's reach first-hand a whole new level of smaller cities, but residents in the nearby communities and countryside made pilgrimages to attend performances. The first concert of the tour, in Utica, played to "musical amateurs from all parts of the county,"[6] and at the last concert, in Burlington, a reviewer "noticed two or three gentlemen, who had come some fifty miles to hear Thalberg."[7] Even sixty miles was not too far

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[5]As observed by a St. Louis paper: "The success of the concerts is only equalled by the rapidity with which they are given in all the cities of the 'great west'" (Daily Missouri Democrat, 21 May 1857).

[6]Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette, 21 April 1857.

[7]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/14 (11 July 1857), 216.

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for a few people to journey to the first concert in Cleveland.[8]

Although people had traveled to attend concerts before,[9] advertising a performance several weeks, instead of only a few days, in advance provided ample time for residents of outlying areas to plan trips of considerable distance. In addition, special effort was made in some cities to attract and assist people from outside the city. In Cincinnati and St. Louis a few reserved seats were "retained and sold on the evening of the Concert, at the door, for the convenience of those coming from a distance,"[10] and in Detroit the ticket agents announced:

> In order to accommodate those who reside out of town, Messrs. Amsden & Cargill will receive applications, accompanied by the cash, and select seats for them.[11]

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[8]Cleveland Herald, quoted in Daily Ohio State Journal, 30 April 1857. For similar reports see especially Hamilton (Ontario) Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce, 27 April 1857; Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 4 May 1857; Chicago Daily Journal, 22 May 1857; and chapter V above.

[9]For one of De Meyer's concerts in St. Louis, it was announced that "parties from Alton [Illinois] will attend," and for a concert in Washington, DC, "deputations of visitors from Baltimore, Annapolis, Alexandria and Richmond" were expected (Saint Louis Reveille, 31 May 1846; and New York Herald, 18 March 1846). At a concert given by Herz and Sivori in Salem, "the neighboring towns were also well represented" (Salem Register, 15 November 1847).

[10]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 4 May 1857; and Daily Missouri Democrat, 8 May 1857. See also the advertisements in Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 22 April 1857; and Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette, 6 June 1857.

[11]Detroit Daily Advertiser, 26 May 1857.

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For the first Syracuse concert, the management arranged for an extra train to run from Auburn to Syracuse and to return immediately after the concert provided one hundred tickets were sold; extra trains were also scheduled to run from Oswego and Homer.[12] The arrangement must have been successful: when Thalberg returned to Syracuse less than two months later, a special train ran from Oswego to Syracuse, and Thalberg gave a separate concert in Auburn.[13]

At the same time that Strakosch was reaching smaller cities, he was expanding the musical Midwest. Through his efforts Thalberg performed as far west as Dubuque, Iowa, and Galena, Illinois, as far north as Madison and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and in such major cities of the Midwest as Chicago and Detroit--which De Meyer and Herz had not gone near. It is clear that Strakosch had already visited many, if not all, of these cities one or more times; in some of them, like Rochester, "the Strakosch Concert [had] become an institution."[14] Strakosch as friend and provider of music is

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[12]Auburn Daily Advertiser, 13 and 17 April 1857; and Oswego Daily Palladium, 11 April 1857.

[13]The notice concerning the Oswego train included the following information: "Arrangements have been made with the Oswego R.R. to run an extra train, to accommodate persons at various points on the road who wish to attend Thalberg's Concert. . . . The train leaves Oswego at the usual time in the afternoon, and returns immediately after the Concert. Persons holding Concert Tickets pay fare only one way" (Syracuse Daily Standard, 15 June 1857).

[14]Rochester Daily American, 13 June 1857.

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a recurring theme in midwestern newspapers. In Madison he was "the ever welcome Maurice Strakosch,"[15] and in anticipation of Thalberg's first Cincinnati concert, one local paper eulogized him:

> To the enterprise of Strakosch, whose familiar face we almost look upon in the light of an old friend's, we of the West are indebted for the most refined musical banquets with which we have been regaled, and to his enterprising spirit we owe the perspective pleasure in store . . .[16]

Despite, however, Strakosch's good intentions and obvious hard work, he had his share, however small, of critics. One of the harshest opinions was expressed by a correspondent to Dwight's Journal, from Cincinnati, writing after the fourth of Thalberg's concerts there:

> The programmes were of the same clap-trap kind that we are accustomed to have at concerts which Mr. Strakosch manages. However, it is fair to add, that our most clever musical business men give the latter gentleman credit for "most consummate skill" in getting up programmes, (for the million, they probably mean), and call him "the smartest of all musical agents." What a shame for Music in the United States, that men like Barnum and Strakosch can get hold of such celebrities as Jenny Lind and Thalberg! How astonishing that such artists as these allow those gentlemen the entire control of their concerts! It is sad to see how much the almighty dollar can accomplish, even in the realm of Art.[17]

Another of the few severe criticisms of Strakosch concerned not a matter of taste but the failure to give a concert.

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[15]Daily Wisconsin Patriot, 27 May 1857.

[16]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 29 April 1857.

[17]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/9 (30 May 1857), 70.

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The wounded pride of a city bypassed for whatever reason was not easily soothed, and when one scheduled for Springfield, Illinois, was canceled, Strakosch was censured:

> Thalberg Not Coming.--A dispatch was received from Chicago on yesterday, announcing that Strakosch with his troupe of musical celebrities, would not give a concert in this place, as advertised in the city papers. This is about as we expected. M. Strakosch is an arrant knave, and lies with as much facility as he plays the piano. This is the second time he has served our citizens in this shabby manner, after advertising that he would come here. We trust no further opportunity will be allowed him to impose upon us. From all accounts, M. Strakosch has a bad name all over the country, and we shall not be surprised if the next thing we hear is that he has cheated even Thalberg out of his dues.[18]

By all other reports, however, Strakosch's honesty was never in question. Karl Formes, the singer who later appeared occasionally with Thalberg and worked under Ullman and Strakosch, flatly stated:

> Strakosch was a good man, an honest, enterprising impresario, and a gentleman in one word. He was the only manager I ever had of whom I could say all this.[19]

Because almost all traveling was now done by train, the itinerary was carefully planned around railroad schedules, and so sudden changes in them or disruption in service could

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[18]Daily Illinois State Journal, 28 May 1857.

[19]Karl Formes, Aus meinem Kunst- und Bühnenleben: Erinnerungen des Bassisten (Cologne: Gehly, 1888); English translation as My Memoirs: Autobiography of Karl Formes (San Francisco: Jas. H. Barry, printer, 1891), p. 167.

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wreak havoc with the concert schedule.[20] In the case of Springfield, the concert there had been scheduled for a Saturday night; the following Monday night the troupe was to give its first concert in Chicago. But because there was no train to Chicago on Saturday night, as had been thought, Springfield had to wait a year to hear Thalberg.[21] A similar schedule change occurred in Madison and Janesville, Wisconsin. Strakosch had announced a noon concert in Madison on 30 May and an evening concert on the same day in Janesville. A new railroad schedule made such close connections impossible, however; the Madison concert was rescheduled for the evening, the Janesville concert for the following week.[22] When the performers failed to appear for the rescheduled concert in Janesville, this time with no excuse, the people who had purchased tickets were furious:

> Some explanation is due to our citizens in this matter. No company, not even this loud-heralded "troupe," should be allowed to break an engagement with impunity. If any place is considered unworthy a visit, or beneath their attention, there should be no promises made.[23]

Transportation problems were not the only reasons for canceling a concert or avoiding a city. In Kenosha,

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[20]Return engagements in Buffalo and Syracuse, for example, had to be postponed because of a delay caused by "the destruction of a bridge on the Lake Shore Railroad" (Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 13 June 1857).

[21]Daily Illinois State Journal, 23 May 1857.

[22]Madison Daily State Journal, 27 May 1857; and Janesville Morning Gazette, 30 May 1857.

[23]Janesville Morning Gazette, 5 June 1857.

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Wisconsin, the advertisement for a matinee there explicitly stated: "There will be no Concert at Racine."[24] Being passed over for a nearby rival city must have smarted, but there was apparently a good reason, according to one paper:

> How's this, say our citizens, we always thought Racine was about as large, and quite as lively as Kenosha. There's no doubt of that we think; the reason, and the only one, that prevented Thalberg from visiting our city, was that we have not got a "Hall" fit for a decent performer to step into.[25]

In one case the poor advance sale of tickets caused Strakosch to cancel a matinee that had been announced for New Albany, Indiana (just across the river from Louisville), even though the local paper had dutifully supplied frequent editorial notices of the forthcoming concert and had done its best to stir up enthusiasm:

> The novelty of a concert by daylight by some of the greatest musical celebrities of the day--among them Thalberg, Parodi, and Strakosch--will, from what we can hear, attract one of the largest and most fashionable audiences ever assembled in this city.[26]

Despite these reports, not enough tickets were sold, and the concert was canceled at the last minute. The cooperative

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[24]Weekly Racine Advocate, 27 May 1857; and Chicago Daily Democrat, 25 May 1857.

[25]At a recent concert in Racine's Union Hall, for example, "a large piece of scantling fell across the platform nearly hitting one of the children" (Weekly Racine Advocate, 27 May 1857).

[26]New Albany Daily Ledger, 6 May 1857.

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editor issued strong words against the concert troupe and at the same time admitted being an accomplice:

> By an advertisement in the Louisville papers we see that Thalberg's Concert in this city has been postponed indefinitely, and those who have bought tickets can have their money returned by applying to Mr. Alexander.[27]
>
> We are among those who are not admirers of such petty deceptions as this. The agent asked our opinion as to the propriety of giving a concert here, and we told him candidly that we did not believe he could get a very large audience here at a dollar and a half a ticket, especially in the middle of the day, when everybody was at dinner. But he thought differently, handed us an advertisement, paid for it, and solicited us to give frequent notices of the entertainment. Knowing Thalberg and his companions to be great artists, we complied with the request, and have thus been made the innocent cause of deceiving others.
>
> We believe now, as we told Thalberg's agent, that he would not have had a very large audience here, but after advertising the concert, and inducing the papers to notice it, the troupe ought to have come, even if it involved a loss, which, however, is not likely, as the "Matinée Musicale" would have in no way interfered with the Louisville arrangements.[28]

The agent referred to above was not Strakosch, but an advance man who traveled ahead "to perfect the arrangements for the coming of the great pianist."[29] According to several reports, he arrived in each city about a week before the scheduled appearance to attend to final

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[27]Tickets had been sold at the bookstore of Mr. C. Alexander.

[28]New Albany Daily Ledger, 11 May 1857.

[29]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 27 April 1857.

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matters regarding the concert,[30] including ticket sales (he apparently even delivered the tickets)[31] and hall arrangements. In the case of New Albany, he placed the advertisement for the proposed matinee as he probably did in a few other cities, such as Auburn, where concerts were not originally planned. Strakosch had at least two advance men: Jacob Grau, who managed both of Thalberg's western tours the following season, served as "first agent," and Strakosch's brother Max, who later managed Gottschalk, was "second agent."[32]

With the advance agents attending to many of the practical details, Strakosch traveled with Thalberg and prominently billed himself as "Director and Conductor" of the concerts, serving as piano accompanist and occasionally performing with Thalberg his Fantasie on Norma for two pianos. Instead of just one or two star performers (like De

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[30]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 27 April 1857; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 9 June 1857; Toronto Globe, 16 June 1857; and Burlington Daily Free Press, 27 June 1857.

[31]Two weeks before the Pittsburgh concerts, instructions to ticket buyers stated: "After the tickets are brought here for sale, which will not be for some days yet, purchasers can buy for one or both evenings, as they may prefer" (Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 13 April 1857). And a week before the Columbus concert, when the agent was probably in that city, it was announced that "the tickets to Thalberg's Concert have arrived" (Daily Ohio State Journal, 25 April 1857).

[32]Max Strakosch, "Notes of Max Strakosch," Unpublished manuscript, formerly in possession of Mrs. John Elliott, New York, present location unknown. I am grateful to Laurence Lerner for allowing me to consult his transcription of the manuscript.

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Meyer and Burke, or Herz and Sivori) traveling to various cities and relying on local performers to round out their programs, Thalberg toured with an entire troupe of distinguished performers as in his appearances on the East Coast.[33] In his concert announcements Strakosch made the most of the celebrities in his troupe:

> The Manager begs leave to announce that, desiring to render this Entertainment the most brilliant and varied ever given in this city, the following Eminent Artistes have been engaged, and will appear jointly with Mr. Thalberg:
>
> M'lle Teresa Parodi,
> Mad. Amalia Patti Strakosch,
> Signor Nicola,
> Herr Mollenhauer.
>
> M. Strakosch, Director and Conductor.[34]

Teresa Parodi, an Italian soprano who had studied with Giuditta Pasta, had been brought to America in 1850 by Max Maretzek, then manager of the Astor Place Opera House in New York, in an attempt to compete with Jenny Lind.[35] After a season under Maretzek's management, she became Strakosch's primary attraction in his frequent tours, beginning in 1851

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[33]Only on a few occasions were local performers used. In Buffalo (25 April 1857) the vocalist J. F. Taust appeared; in Rochester (12 June) Julia Hill performed with Thalberg his Fantasia on Norma for two pianos, as did Martin Lazare in Toronto (19 June); and Henry Ahner and the Great Western Band performed in the last Chicago concert (4 June).

[34]This announcement was first used in Rochester and consistently thereafter (Rochester Union and Advertiser, 21 April 1857).

[35]Maretzek, Crotchets and Quavers, pp. 123-27.

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with one including the violinist Miska Hauser. She returned to Italy briefly, but in 1855 was back in the United States, again under Strakosch's management. She had just appeared in Ullman and Strakosch's first season at the Academy of Music in New York, as had Amalia Patti Strakosch, before joining Thalberg's troupe.

Amalia Patti Strakosch was an older sister of Adelina Patti and the wife of Strakosch. She had come to America with her family in 1844, when her father managed Italian opera at Palmo's Opera House and later the first season at the Astor Place Opera House, both in New York.[36] She appeared frequently in concert and opera, including at the Astor Place Opera House under her father and Maretzek, and had toured with Strakosch before marrying him in 1852.

The violoncellist Heinrich Mollenhauer, like Amalia Patti, came from a family of distinguished musicians. His brothers Friederich and Eduard were violinists who, as the Brothers Mollenhauer, specialized in performing duets of their own composition. They came to the United States in 1853 when they were engaged by Louis Antoine Jullien to appear as soloists at his concerts in America, and they remained in this country. Heinrich joined his brothers in

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[36]Henry Edward Krehbiel, Chapters of Opera, 2nd ed., rev. (New York: Henry Holt, 1909; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), pp. 44-47.

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New York in the summer of 1856, soon became known as Henry, and later established Henry Mollenhauer's College of Music in Brooklyn.[37]

No information has surfaced on Signor Nicola, a bass who apparently was just one of the many Italian opera singers making a living in the United States.

The troupe's program for their first appearance, at a matinee in Utica on 20 April,[38] was typical of their concerts:

PART I.

1. Variations on airs from "Preciosa," by C. M. von Weber. Composed by Kummer, - performed on the Violoncello, ... by Herr Mollenhauer

2. "Good night, and pleasant dreams," a favorite Ballad, W. V. Wallace . . Sung by Mad'e Strakosch

3. Grand Fantasia, on airs from "Masaniello," composed and performed by . . . . . Thalberg

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[37]See "Heinrich Mollenhauer," Brainard's Musical World 17 (December 1880), 178. For more information on the Mollenhauers, especially the large and talented succeeding generation, see [W. S. B. Mathews], "A Musical Family," Music 2/6 (October 1892), 628-35. A program dated 27 February 1880 of a concert given by the pupils of Henry Mollenhauer's College of Music survives in the New-York Historical Society.

[38]It should be noted that the matinee concerts given on this tour were no different from the evening concerts: the entire troupe performed, and the repertory was identical. The matinees were usually given in smaller cities to squeeze as many performances into the tour as possible. Only in St. Louis did a matinee resemble the fashionable solo matinees given in the East: the matinee was held in a smaller hall than that used for the four evening concerts there, and Thalberg performed Chopin and Mendelssohn, but the entire troupe appeared.

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4. "Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets," Arioso from "St. Paul," by Mendelssohn . . Sung by Mad'selle Teresa Parodi

5. Fantasia on air from "Moses," composed and performed by . . . . . Thalberg

6. Duetto from "Stabat Mater," by Rossini . . Sung by Mad'selle Teresa Parodi and Mad'e Strakosch

PART II.

7. Aria from "Lucrezia Borgia," by Donizetti . . Sung by Sig. Nicola

8. "Within a mile of Edinboro'" . . . . . Sung by Mad'e Strakosch

9. Andante and Serenade, from "Don Pasquale," composed and performed by . . . . . Thalberg

10. The Ricci Valse, . . Sung by Mad'selle Teresa Parodi

11. Fantasia [on] "L'Elisir d'Amore," composed and performed by . . . . . Thalberg

12. Grand Duetto from "Norma," . . . . . Sung by Mad'selle Teresa Parodi and Mad'e Strakosch[39]

Mollenhauer and Nicola each performed only one piece in every concert, which functioned as overtures to both parts of the program. In addition to their Utica pieces, Mollenhauer's repertory included Souvenir de Spaa by Servais and a fantasia on The Carnival of Venice, and Signor Nicola performed arias from Ernani, Lucrezia Borgia, and Le Nozze di Figaro. Because Mollenhauer usually opened the concert, his contribution was frequently drowned out by latecomers,

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[39]Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette, 20 April 1857.

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as reported by a Rochester concertgoer in a letter to the editor:

> In the Concert last evening--one of the best, if not the best, I ever listened to--injustice was done to Mr. Mollenhauer; for while he was performing his most exquisite part (which has never been equaled since Knoop was here a few years since,) the "ushers" and "pushers," with a pyramid of stools on their heads, like so many Dutch women under burthens, were seating the late strugglers, and making a Calithumpian confusion, so that poor Mollenhauer with his beautiful master-piece, fell to the ground. I merely want him done justice in your notice of the Concert.[40]

Mollenhauer proved popular, and many regretted that the management apparently did not allow him to give encores. In Madison, for example:

> We heard a little complaint that one or two requests sent up to the manager by members of the audience, one for a repetition of the performance on the violencello, [sic] by Mr. Mollenhauer, were not only not complied with but not even noticed.[41]

But by the end of the tour, Strakosch must have changed his policy, for Mollenhauer gave encores in both Quebec and Kingston, Ontario, where "although the audience . . . applauded Thalberg to his heart's content, they gave as

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[40]Rochester Daily American, 22 April 1857. For similar complaints, see Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 6 May 1857; and Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 6 May 1857.

[41]Madison Daily State Journal, 1 June 1857. Prior to the troupe's return engagement in Utica, one newspaper pleaded on Mollenhauer's behalf: "We heard just enough of that instrument at Thalberg's last concert to enrapture us. But we are not satisfied with one piece. Mr. Manager, do let us have a little more this time of those magnificent bass tones, which no musical instrument but the Violincello [sic] can so splendidly yield" (Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette, 15 June 1857; see also Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 9 May 1857).

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many, if not more plaudits to . . . Mollenhauer."[42]

The novelty of his instrument must have contributed to his success, although Knoop, who had performed with both De Meyer and Herz, had appeared frequently in the Midwest.[43] A Chicago critic believed Mollenhauer had an advantage, for

> not more than fifty persons out of the one thousand could detect any superiority in the piano-playing [of Thalberg] over that which they had heard a dozen times before; but here was a 'psalm-tune-bass-viol' in the hands of a man who made it rival Ole Bull's violin.[44]

A reviewer in Dayton, however, was not pleased with the delay Mollenhauer caused in getting to the main course:

> The programme opened with a performance on the violincello [sic]. It was very well done doubtless, but as Thalberg was the attraction of the evening, and [the] violincello only stood in the way of his appearance, no one seemed to regret the disappearance of that instrument from the stage.[45]

Parodi and Patti Strakosch, having toured frequently with Strakosch before, were considered in many cities, like

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[42]Daily British Whig, 22 June 1857; and Le Canadien, 1 July 1857.

[43]In Cincinnati, where Knoop had lived for some time, the memory of the earlier cellist was still strong: "Mr. Mollenhauer's performance on the Violincello [sic] was very masterly, but could not obliterate from our recollection the playing of the lamented 'Knoop'" (Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 7 May 1857).

[44]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/12 (13 June 1857), 183.

[45]Dayton Daily Journal, 7 May 1857. A similar report on Nicola: "Signor Nicola sang well, but was apparently in the way of the desires of the audience" (Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 24 April 1857).

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him, "old favorites with our concert goers."[46] They usually closed both parts of the concert with a duet, drawing from such operas as Bellini's Norma, Rossini's Semiramide, Weber's Der Freischütz, Mozart's Le Nozze di Figaro, and William Vincent Wallace's Maritana. Their most popular offering was "The Star-Spangled Banner," which they usually gave as an encore and which never failed to generate excitement, as in Auburn:

> Their last duett was so enthusiastically encored that they were compelled to return, when they sang "The Star Spangled Banner" in magnificent style, and retired amid the wildest and most enthusiastic expressions of approbation.[47]

As a soloist, Parodi offered standard arias from Bellini's La Sonnambula, Rossini's Tancredi, Verdi's Il Trovatore, and Meyerbeer's L'Etoile du Nord and Le Prophète. She was considered by some to be "the best vocalist on the American continent"[48] and was almost uniformly praised, as in Detroit:

> Parodi has improved wonderfully since she went through the country on her first tour, now some six years ago. Her command of her voice, its clearness, volume and compass, all place her in the first rank of living singers.[49]

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[46]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 29 April 1857.

[47]Auburn Daily Advertiser, 17 June 1857.

[48]Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, 11 June 1857.

[49]Detroit Daily Tribune, 9 June 1857.

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In contrast to Parodi's operatic fare, Patti Strakosch specialized in ballads. Although she did occasionally sing Schubert's "Ave Maria" and the drinking song from Lucrezia Borgia, her repertory included "Comin' thru the Rye," "Kathleen Mavourneen," "The Spell Is Broken," "Say Yes, Pussy" (a comic song), "We Met by Chance," a ballad from Balfe's The Bohemian Girl (undoubtedly "I Dreamt that I Dwelt in Marble Halls"), and a new song composed by her husband, "Dear Mother, Was It Right?" She must have delivered these songs with a special flair. In Cincinnati, for example, where she "appeared to be laboring under indisposition," a reporter familiar with her singing was disappointed that "she seemed to lack the spirit and coquettish naivette [sic] which usually imparts such fascination to her simple ballads."[50]

Not surprisingly, audiences often enjoyed Patti Strakosch's ballads with English words more than Parodi's arias:

> Madame Strakosch is a favorite of ours, and, judging by her enthusiastic reception, she is equally so with all who have witnessed her performances. With great science and execution, she possesses a melodious voice, and is withal modest and unostentatious--a rare virtue with even moderate artistes. She has a graceful figure and pleasing face, and with her delicate and unassuming manners, is really captivating. On Tuesday evening she sang the beautiful Scotch ballad of "Comin' through the rye," and such was the intense stillness that the gentlest sigh might have been heard.

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[50]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 11 May 1857.

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> When she ceased, she was greeted with rapturous applause from the overflowing feelings of her auditors.
>
> Madame Parodi also sang with much effect, but not understanding a syllable of Italian, we were unable to appreciate her efforts, though she warbled and trilled with exceeding sweetness.[51]

A few sophisticates, however, were offended by such ballads:

> Such songs as "Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town," are exceptionable. The music is exquisite, but the words are coarse and vulgar--fortunately for the imperfect pronunciation of Madame Strakosch, they were not fully understood.[52]

In St. Louis, the Leader found the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in a concert vulgar as well.[53]

Many of the advertisements do not list the pieces to be performed,[54] but from what is available it appears that Thalberg's repertory varied only slightly from his eastern concerts. Only a few times did he perform pieces other than his own, and the only concert that included an orchestra--the Great Western Band conducted by Henry Ahner in Chicago--

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[51]Daily Missouri Democrat, 20 May 1857.

[52]Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 24 April 1857.

[53]The Daily Missouri Democrat (21 May 1857) denounced the critic of the Leader, who it claimed "turns up his nose at songs that have set themselves to an eternal music in the hearts of the American people, and derides as 'vulgar,' melodies and verse that are wedded to the patriotism of the land."

[54]If only one concert was given in a city, frequently no program was included in the advertisement. For subsequent concerts, a complete list of selections was usually supplied, at least partially to prove there would be an entirely different program.

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did not yield a concerto performance. He did not perform the same four pieces at each concert, but chose from among his most popular works. As encores he consistently offered his variations on "Home, Sweet Home" and "The Last Rose of Summer," which were usually received with greater appreciation:

> If his selections were made more generally from familiar pieces, we have no doubt it would add to the popularity of his playing with many. Nearly every set piece which he played was new and strange to most, and did not produce so great an effect as some of the more general favorites would have done. But the execution was, nevertheless, perfect, beyond anything we ever expect to hear again.
>
> In his encores he is happier. He played "Home, sweet home" in a manner only to be compared with Jenny Lind's singing of it. It was delicious. Two other pieces were quite as good, and intelligible to the common ear, and were greeted with rounds of the heartiest applause.[55]

Touring with such a group of distinguished performers provided a much higher and more consistent level of performance but greatly increased expenses. Such a troupe could be profitable only in an efficiently run tour, like Strakosch's, with performances as close together as possible.[56] When the musicians returned to New York, their eleven-week campaign was hailed as "the most successful tour

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[55]Detroit Daily Tribune, 9 June 1857.

[56]See chapter XV for information on the finances of this and other tours.

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in the West since that of Jenny Lind."[57] Reportedly Thalberg was to return to Europe for a few weeks before the start of the new season,[58] but Strakosch soon scheduled a coda to the tour. Thalberg and Mollenhauer joined by Elena D'Angri and Signor Abella were announced to appear in the fashionable watering places, including Cape May, New Jersey; Newport, Rhode Island; Nahant, Massachusetts; Saratoga Springs, Niagara Falls, Sharon Springs, and Rockaway, New York.[59] Only the Cape May (22 July) and Saratoga Springs (29 July) concerts are known to have taken place.[60] By the middle of August, Strakosch was "quite ill at his residence" in New York, and Thalberg, D'Angri, and Abella were "on a trip to the sea shore and the Catskills."[61] This was at least

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[57]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/14 (11 July 1857), 210.

[58]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 13 June 1857, p. 19.

[59]New-York Daily Times, 14 July 1857, p. 3.

[60]Newspapers are lacking from the other cities, but the steady stream of correspondence from the resorts published in the papers of New York and nearby cities give no hint of the other concerts.

[61]New York Herald, 14 August 1857, p. 5, and 17 August 1857, p. 1. One report on Strakosch's condition stated: "The continued mental and bodily excitement attendant upon the carrying out his last extended tour with Thalberg has doubtless something to do with it, for no matter how great the success, pecuniarily and otherwise, the constant travel, without rest or repose, must greatly tax the powers of a constitution however strong and hardy" (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 22 August 1857, p. 183).

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partially, if not completely, a pleasure trip designed for Thalberg to recuperate before the start of the new season, which was "expected to be the greatest musical campaign we have had."[62]

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[62]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/14 (11 July 1857), 210.

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CHAPTER XIV

CHICKERING'S "BARGAIN WITH THALBERG"

American piano manufacturers had recognized from the beginning that endorsements by visiting European virtuosos could be valuable publicity. The piano maker Emilius N. Scherr of Philadelphia had been successful in gaining an endorsement from De Meyer, but he had failed to take full advantage of De Meyer's approval of his instruments.[1] As a piano manufacturer publicizing his own pianos, Herz was of no use to American firms. Not until Thalberg began performing regularly on the Chickering did an American piano manufacturer reap the full benefits of an endorsement by a leading virtuoso.

Like De Meyer and Herz, Thalberg brought his own pianos with him from Europe. By 1856, however, American audiences had frequently been exposed to European instruments and hence made little fuss over his Erards. The pianos are rarely mentioned in concert advertisements or in reviews. When Thalberg played his Fantasia on Norma with a guest

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[1]See chapter IV for information on Scherr and De Meyer.

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pianist, however, advertisements and programs usually indicated that the work was to be performed on "two of Erard's Grand Piano Fortes" or on "two Grand Erards" (see figure 27 above).

Seven Erard grand pianos reportedly accompanied Thalberg to America.[2] Although this number may seem high, it allowed pianos to be placed in more than one city at the same time and thus avoided transporting pianos for each concert. Such a scheme must have worked well, for example, when he was playing on alternate nights in New York and Philadelphia.

Almost immediately exceptions were made in Thalberg's use of the Erards. For his hastily scheduled first concerts in Albany, Troy, and Newark (24-26 November 1856), he played on a different American instrument in each city: in Albany he used the pianos of the local firm of Boardman, Gray & Co.; in Troy he played on a Chickering supplied by the local dealer, J. W. Andrews; and in Newark he performed on a piano made by Lighte, Newton & Bradbury.[3] These exceptions were

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[2]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/21 (18 October 1856), 321.

[3]Albany Atlas & Argus, 24 November 1856; Troy Daily Times, 25 November 1856; and Newark Daily Advertiser, 26 November 1856.

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clearly ones of convenience rather than aesthetic choice.[4]

Chickering pianos soon began to appear in Thalberg's concerts with some regularity. They were used again at his first two concerts in Washington, DC (16 and 20 December 1856), possibly as a matter of convenience or more likely because Gottschalk, who appeared in these concerts with Thalberg, used the Chickering. In any case, a precedent was set soon to be followed in many cities. After the concerts, the local Chickering agent placed an advertisement in the papers:

> The two elegant full grand Pianos selected by the Messrs. Chickering & Sons, Boston, expressly for the concerts of M. S. Thalberg in Washington, will be for sale in a few days at the store of the subscriber, at the factory prices. They are unquestionably superior to any instruments ever offered for sale in this city. M. S. Thalberg has placed his autograph in both pianos as a mark of his approval, and also thus certifies to their superiority.

The advertisement also included the first of several endorsements by Thalberg of the Chickering:

> The two Grand Pianos by Messrs. Chickering & Sons, Boston, used at my second concert in Washington city, are very superior instruments. I can with pleasure bear testimony to their excellence.
>
> S. Thalberg
>
> Washington, Dec. 20, 1856[5]

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[4]In regard to the Boardman, Gray & Co. piano, however, Thalberg "repeatedly expressed himself as delighted with it, both in tone and touch" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/25 [13 December 1856], 391).

[5]Daily National Intelligencer, 23 December 1856.

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The approval of an American instrument by a leading European pianist was a source of pride for any patriotic American and a clear indication that the United States was making great strides in the arts, as one newspaper boasted:

> Some years ago it was disdainfully asked abroad, "Who plays on American pianos?" Proud are we to answer to-day, "the best artists and connoisseurs of Europe--the great Thalberg at their head." The improvement in this branch of art in our country has perhaps been more striking and rapid than any other, save that of sculpture; for surely the taste, correct musical ear, and mechanical genius necessary to perfect such instruments as come to us from the hands of Chickering may fairly be included in the domain of "fine art." We have been led to these remarks by seeing and enjoying the two grand pianos at Davis's music store which were used by Thalberg and Gottschalk at their recent concerts here. They can safely bear comparison with instruments from any part of the world, in point of tone, strength, and exquisite elasticity of touch.[6]

Not surprisingly, Thalberg played frequently on a Chickering in Boston, both in his matinees at Chickering's warerooms and in his evening concerts at the Music Hall. In each concert of the latter series he usually alternated playing on a Chickering and an Erard, but at least once (10 January 1857) he performed solely on a Chickering, "although the Erard stood invitingly open to his prejudice or preference."[7] At the close of Thalberg's first series of concerts in Boston, Dwight commented on the relative merits of the two makes of pianos and cautiously speculated on the pianist's opinions of them:

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[6]Daily National Intelligencer, 7 January 1857.

[7]Boston Evening Transcript, 12 January 1857.

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> In all his concerts since the first, Mr. Thalberg has played more upon the Chickering Grands than upon the Erard, and has appeared abundantly satisfied with such a medium for the interpretation of his music. This does not prove, to be sure, that he esteems the Erard beaten; but it is quite evident that he regards the Chickering instruments as the most formidable rivals, and pays them practically the highest compliment. To our ear there is still a purely musical quality in the Erard tones, which has not quite been reached by others. Forced to loudest effects, they sound a little antique and metallic, particularly in the middle treble octave; yet is the quality still musical, the altissimo tones exquisitely so, the bass magnificently rich. The Chickering tones are rounder, mellower throughout the whole compass, but they come upon the ear less distinct, as if the tone were not yet refined to its purely musical element. Perhaps there is a point where these two shall meet (and who more plainly in the way to find it than the Chickerings?) which will solve the problem of a perfect piano tone. It is said the Chickering instruments stand in tune the best.[8]

Thalberg's early flirtation with the Chickering while in Boston was possibly out of deference to a recognized manufacturer in whose own hall he performed. It might also have been a calculated action to win the favor of the local audience; in New York he still played solely on his Erard.

With the start of Thalberg's first western tour, the procedure changed considerably. He could have traveled with his Erards as De Meyer had done before him, or with his own Chickerings as Gottschalk was to do loyally. Instead, a relatively complex procedure was begun by which the Chickering firm sent pianos especially selected for

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[8]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/17 (24 January 1857), 133.

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Thalberg's use in advance to the cities on his itinerary.[9] There the local dealer oversaw the placement of the pianos in the concert hall, arranged for them to be tuned, and generally made sure the pianos were in excellent condition.[10] The dealer often announced that the pianos would be on

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[9]On some occasions the pianos sent from the factory did not arrive in time; consequently, the local dealer supplied Chickerings from his own stock. This happened in New Orleans, for example, where a letter from Thalberg to the local dealer, H. Parsons, appeared in the paper: "Please accept my thanks for the Chickering Pianos furnished by you for my concerts here. I regret that the Pianos intended expressly for my use did not arrive as we expected. . . ." (New Orleans Daily Picayune, 11 March 1858). In Columbus, Georgia, Thalberg did not perform on a Chickering at all, as the dealer who supplied the piano for the concert pointed out: "The Piano used by Mr. S. Thalberg, personally, at his Concert in Columbus . . . was not of the manufactory of Chickering & Sons, as stated in the programme of that evening, but from the manufactory of Eggart & Bobeth of Baltimore, Md., and was furnished from the store of the subscriber, and is now offered for sale at T. H. Vanden Berg's" (Columbus (GA) Enquirer, 11 February 1858).

[10]The dealer in Rochester did not quite cover all the details, according to a report of one concert's beginning in that city: "Mad. Vieuxtemps took her seat at the piano to accompany, when, lo it was found that the instrument was closed. Madame could not open it. Ald. Reynolds, ever ready, came to her relief, but he could not open it. Indeed the key hole could not be found, and both appeared at a loss to know just where to look for it, or the place for opening the instrument. After some earnest efforts Mr. Reynolds gave it up; and standing back in an attitude upon the stage he contemplated the instrument as if thinking, 'darn the thing--that's a poser'--and so he brought down the house. . . . At length the company were relieved from the dilemma by the assistance of two musical gentlemen who came to the rescue and found the door to the piano" (Rochester Union and Advertiser, 8 May 1858).

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display in his store before the concert and afterwards would be sold or auctioned.[11]

Concert advertisements and programs frequently indicated that Chickering pianos were to be used in Thalberg's concerts (see figure 28). In a number of cities, however, no mention was made concerning the pianos Thalberg played, either in the advertisements or in reviews, probably because there was no local Chickering agent. It is clear, however, that Chickerings were supplied in at least some instances in which there was no local dealer.[12] In other cities, the official concert advertisement did not mention the use of Chickerings, but the dealer inserted his own notice in the newspaper.[13]

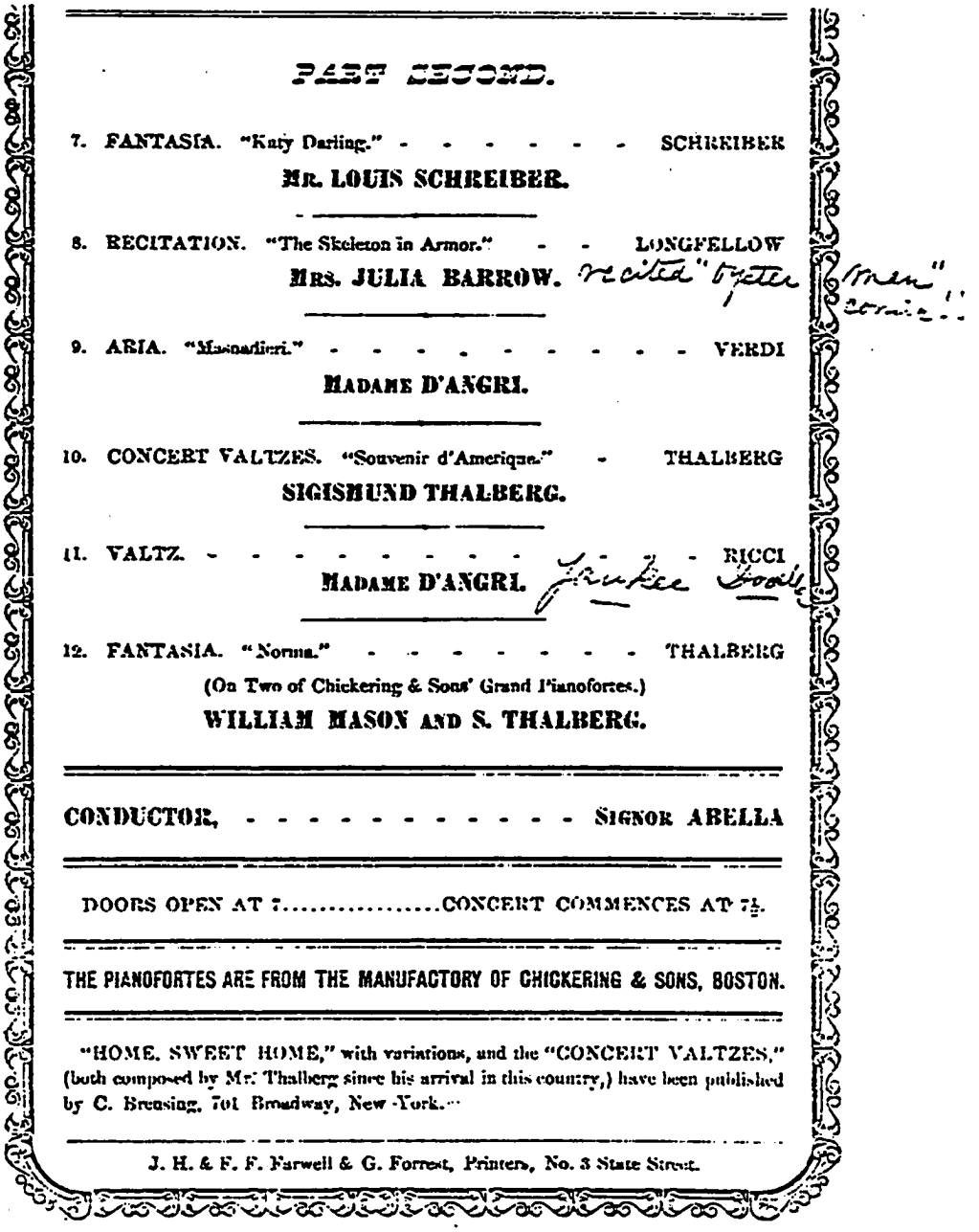
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[11]In Nashville, the piano was to be auctioned immediately following the concert (Nashville Republican Banner, 4 June 1858); in Savannah, it was to be on sale at the store of I. W. Morrell for one week, after which time it was to be returned to the firm in Boston if it remained unsold (Savannah Daily Republican, 1 February 1858).

[12]Smith & Nixon of Cincinnati supplied Chickering pianos for Thalberg's Columbus, Ohio, concert (Daily Ohio State Journal, 29 April 1857), and A. & S. Nordheimer of Toronto supplied the Chickering for his concert in Kingston, Ontario (Daily British Whig, 22 June 1857). Nathaniel Carusi, the Chickering dealer in Richmond, supplied the piano for the concert in Norfolk, where if the piano was not sold immediately after the concert, it was to be returned to Richmond (Norfolk Day Book, 14 January 1858).

[13]A typical example: "The grand Piano, from the celebrated manufactory of Chickering, Boston, brought to this city expressly for the use of Thalberg, at his Concerts here, is for sale at my Music Store. To those who have heard it, it requires no praise. The public are invited to call and examine it. C. Catlin, Agent" (Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, 5 February 1858).

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PART SECOND.

7. FANTASIA. "Katy Darling." - - - - - - - SCHREIBER

MR. LOUIS SCHREIBER.

8. RECITATION. "The Skeleton in Armor." - - LONGFELLOW

MRS. JULIA BARROW. recited "Later Men" Lowell

9. ARIA. "Masnadieri." - - - - - - - - - - VERDI

MADAME D'ANGRI.

10. CONCERT VALTZES. "Souvenir d'Amerique." - THALBERG

SIGISMUND THALBERG.

11. VALTZ. - - - - - - - - - - - - RICCI

MADAME D'ANGRI. Encore Good!

12. FANTASIA. "Norma." - - - - - - - - THALBERG

(On Two of Chickering & Sons' Grand Pianofortes.)

WILLIAM MASON AND S. THALBERG.

CONDUCTOR, - - - - - - - - - - - SIGNOR ABELLA

DOORS OPEN AT 7.....CONCERT COMMENCES AT 7½.

THE PIANOFORTES ARE FROM THE MANUFACTORY OF CHICKERING & SONS, BOSTON.

"HOME, SWEET HOME," with variations, and the "CONCERT VALTZES," (both composed by Mr. Thalberg since his arrival in this country,) have been published by C. Bruning, 701 Broadway, New-York.

J. H. & F. F. Farwell & G. Forrest, Printers, No. 3 State Street.

Fig. 28. Program, Concert of Thalberg, Worcester, 3 April 1857. (American Antiquarian Society)

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It was left to the local Chickering dealer to realize the fullest advertising potential of the Thalberg connection. John H. Mellor, the Pittsburgh Chickering agent for over twenty years, was by far the most thorough in his exploitation of Thalberg's use of the Chickering, and his advertising claims spawned a heated controversy over the true motives of the pianist. Mellor and Henry Kleber, the Pittsburgh dealer for Erard and Steinway, engaged in a lively debate that was only one episode in a longstanding rivalry.[14] Because of the extensive advertising campaign mounted there by both dealers, Pittsburgh is an excellent microcosm in which to examine both the procedures entailed in providing pianos for Thalberg and the business and musical issues raised by the agreement between the pianist and Chickering.

A week before Thalberg's first concerts in Pittsburgh (28 and 29 April 1857), Frank Chickering appeared in Mellor's warerooms and announced that the Chickering firm

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[14]It should be remembered that Mellor and Kleber had both been agents for Herz's pianos. Kleber (1816-97) is best known today for his association with Stephen Foster. According to the composer's brother, Foster studied with Kleber (Morrison Foster, Biography, Songs and Musical Compositions of Stephen C. Foster [Pittsburgh: Percy F. Smith, 1896], p. 12), a claim questioned by Austin ("Susanna," "Jeanie", pp. 22-23). For more information on Kleber, see Edward G. Baynham, "Henry Kleber, Early Pittsburgh Musician," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 25/3-4 (September-December 1942), 113-20, and for information on his relationship with Foster, see Howard, Stephen Foster.

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was to furnish "two of their finest grand pianos" for Thalberg.[15] By the day before the first concert, not only had the pianos for Pittsburgh arrived but also those to be used in Wheeling, West Virginia, and Zanesville, Ohio (Mellor was the agent for western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio), which were to be sent down the river to the respective cities.[16] Among these pianos were two full grand (seven-octave) pianos, one parlor grand (described as "having nearly the power of a full grand piano, yet occupying only the room of an ordinary seven octave square piano"), one "superbly carved Louis XIVth," and three carved seven-octave pianos.[17]

After the concerts the pianos, the iron frames of which had been autographed by Thalberg,[18] were removed to Mellor's warerooms where they were "open for the examination of the public, and also for sale."[19] According to an advertisement

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[15]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 22 April 1857.

[16]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 28 April 1857.

[17]Ibid. A similar variety of models was apparently used in other cities. In Charleston, for example, in a performance of Thalberg's Norma Fantasia, Hermina Petit "played on the grand Concert Piano, and Mr. Thalberg accompanied her on 'the Parlor Grand,' producing an immense volume of harmonious sounds" (Charleston Daily Courier, 3 February 1858).

[18]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 12 May 1857.

[19]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 30 April 1857.

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placed by Mellor the previous fall, the prices of the pianos ranged from $650 for a parlor grand and $700 for a Louis XIVth to $750 for a full grand and $1,000 for a fully carved grand piano; a square piano could be had for as little as $250.[20] Apparently no premium was charged for the Thalberg pianos, although in the cities where they were auctioned, competitive bidding might have driven up the prices.[21]

The offering for sale of the pianos was generally well publicized, but purchases were not--probably because once the pianos were sold there was no longer any need for advertisements or editorial puffs. One of the only two documented purchases of a piano used by Thalberg occurred in Pittsburgh, where H. Rohbock, a "distinguished professor of music," bought one used at Thalberg's concerts there the following year.[22] The other was made by Alexander H. Lawrence, a lawyer and musician in Washington, DC, who purchased a "'Thalberg' Chickering Grand Piano" after the

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[20]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 31 October 1856. The only prices found that were quoted specifically for a Thalberg piano were $700 for an unidentified model used in Kingston, Ontario (Daily British Whig, 22 June 1857), and $1,200 for a "full Chickering Grand 7 3/4 octaves" in Nashville (Nashville Republican Banner, 26 May 1858).

[21]In Chicago the piano was to be "sold at the original cost price" (Daily Chicago Times, 13 June 1858).

[22]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 20 May 1858. Rohbock had served as piano accompanist for the Pittsburgh concerts of Herz and Sivori (17 and 19 July 1847).

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first series of concerts in that city.[23]

Just prior to Thalberg's Pittsburgh concerts, an article that had appeared previously in the New-York Musical World (and before that in a Buffalo paper) was reprinted by a Pittsburgh paper. It raised doubts about Thalberg's reasons for using the Chickering and opened the debate that was to become known as the "piano question":

> A Bargain with Thalberg.--It is said that the Chickerings, of Boston, have entered into an arrangement with Thalberg, by which they agree to furnish him with two pianos, pay all the expenses of carriage from place to place, and send a man to take care of them, on the sole condition that he will use no other American piano but theirs in this country. This may save Mr. T. thousands of dollars in his trips, but we fear he will discover his mistake before he finishes his tour. The Chickerings might reap some advantage from this arrangement if the public could be led to believe that it was from Mr. T.'s preference alone; but when it is known that at his concerts before New York audiences (where his reputation was at stake, if anywhere,) he reserved the right to use his splendid Erard Grands, it can hardly be attributed to any but pecuniary motives.[24]

The appearance of this article in the Musical World had provoked a rejoinder from Ullman in the form of a letter addressed to the journal's editor, Richard Storrs Willis;

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[23]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/19 (7 February 1857), 150-51. No Chickering piano performed on by Thalberg is known to survive. But in an exhibition presented in 1902 by Chickering & Sons, a piano on display was indicated as having been "used by Thalberg" (see item 1123 in the catalogue Historical Musical Exhibition under the Auspices of Chickering & Sons, Horticultural Hall, Boston, January 11 to 26th, 1902 [Boston: Chickering & Sons, 1902], p. 59).

[24]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 29 April 1857.

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Mellor supplied the letter to the Pittsburgh papers:

> My Dear Sir: I was surprised to see an article in your paper of March 31, headed "A Bargain with Thalberg," copied from a Buffalo paper. I make this application to you, to state that the story is entirely untrue. I have made no bargain with the Chickerings or any other firm, to play their pianos to the exclusion of any others.[25]
>
> I requested the Messrs. Chickering to furnish pianos for Mr. Thalberg's use, and they kindly consented to do so. No arrangement has ever been made with reference to the expenses, and the Messrs. C. are under no obligation to furnish instruments for Mr. Thalberg's concerts.
>
> Very, respectfully, yours, &c.,
> B. Ullman,
> Manager for Mr. Thalberg[26]

Although Ullman's credibility must always be suspect, in this instance he apparently was telling the truth. Thalberg and Chickering obviously had a mutually beneficial understanding: Thalberg was supplied with good instruments free of cost and responsibility, while Chickering received a prestigious endorsement for supplying pianos that still would be sold. But neither was bound to an exclusive

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[25]Ullman once again refers to himself as if he were the pianist.

[26]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 30 April 1857. Almost twenty years later, when he was managing the American tour of Hans von Bülow, for whom Chickering also furnished pianos, Ullman claimed: "I have had business connections with the the Chickerings for more than thirty years, they having gratuitously furnished--as is customary in every country--the pianofortes for the American concerts of Thalberg, Henri Herz, and Alfred Jaell, of which I was the manager; but beyond that, neither they nor I have ever received any subsidy in the shape of money or presents" (Dwight's Journal of Music 35/16 [13 November 1875], 125).

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contract,[27] and neither made specific claims that Thalberg preferred the Chickering over the Erard. Chickering undoubtedly hoped the latter would be implied.

To prevent the Pittsburgh public from inferring too much from the Chickering advertisements, Mellor's rival, H. Kleber & Bro., inserted its own, announcing its appointment as an agent for Erard and making the following claim:

> These pianos are used by all the great pianists in preference to those of any other make. Mr. Thalberg played upon no others in his eastern concerts, and would certainly use them exclusively, could they but be procured everywhere.

The advertisement concluded with an endorsement of the pianos by Thalberg:

> The Grand Pianos made by Erard, Paris, are in my estimation, the most perfect instrument in the world. I unhesitatingly give them the preference over all others.
>
> Sigismund Thalberg[28]

An editorial in the next day's paper described a visit by Thalberg to Kleber's warerooms, where he "spent a few hours very agreeably in the examination and inspection" of

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[27]In Memphis, for example, Thalberg performed on an Erard and a Herz piano (Memphis Daily Eagle and Enquirer, 11 and 16 March 1858). In his last Albany concert he played on an Erard, "the first . . . ever shown in [that] city," and a Chickering, but on the latter only once according to one report: "In consequence of a well-known arrangement between Mr. Ullman and the Chickerings, one of their Grands was also placed upon the stage, and used in one piece of the programme" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 9/10 [15 May 1858], 151).

[28]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 1 May 1857.

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the various pianos, and expressed praise for the square pianos of Nunns & Clark. The article continued:

> When informed by Mr. Kleber, in the course of the conversation, that his firm had been appointed agents in this city for the sale of the celebrated Erard grand Pianos, he seemed highly delighted, and remarked that Erard's Pianos, were by all odds the most complete and perfect instruments in the world, and that he never thought of playing upon any others when they could be had for his concerts. "I hold myself entirely responsible," he added, "for even the slightest imperfection when I play upon an Erard grand Piano, but I would not like to say this of any other manufacture."[29]

Mellor countered that Chickering pianos "have the endorsement of the greatest living Pianist, M. Thalberg, in his own hand writing, voluntarily given to the subscriber during his visit to this city."[30] Another editorial tried to settle the dispute once and for all:

> Facts vs. Assertions.--It is desirable in all cases that the public should know the truth on any disputed question; and as it has been asserted (although not proven,) that the celebrated pianist Thalberg used the Boston Pianos in the West, in preference to the celebrated Erard (Paris) Grand Pianos, we simply state that we examined an affidavit sworn to before a Justice of the Peace of this city by several respectable and well known citizens, which sets forth and proves the correctness of the statement with regard to the unrivalled Erard Grand Pianos, viz: Mr. Thalberg uses them exclusively and in preference to all others whenever he can procure them, and considers them the most perfect instruments in the world.[31]

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[29]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 2 May 1857.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 4 May 1857.

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Mellor then issued a lengthy advertisement and expounded the virtues of the Chickerings, believing they were "incapable of a dishonorable action either in the manufacture of their instruments or the means used in promoting their sale." Because foreign pianos could not withstand the American climate, he saw no point in comparing them with the Chickering. He closed with what seemed to be his final word on the subject:

> Meanwhile I have neither the time or taste to indulge in or answer all quack advertisements that may appear upon the subject, trusting for the future that the motive of such advertisements from whatever source they may come, will be properly understood.[32]

Kleber concluded his portion of the first series of debates by claiming he had "the private remarks of Mr. Thalberg, as made on the evenings of the concerts to his tuner, and by the latter repeated to half a dozen gentlemen of this city. They tell quite a different story."[33] A week later Mellor, despite his earlier "final word," produced a lavish advertisement that was successful in at least temporarily suspending the dispute. An almost full-length two-column ad--in a newspaper of only four pages--explained Thalberg's endorsement, listed in detail the various awards of the Chickering with a report of the judges of the exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic

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[32]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 5 May 1857.

[33]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 6 May 1857.

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Association (1856), and reprinted a number of Boston and Washington reviews of Thalberg's performances on the Chickering.[34]

Thalberg performed in Pittsburgh on two more occasions (25 March and 20 May 1858), and each time the debate between Mellor and Kleber was rekindled, but not on the same grand scale as previously. Each dealer quietly made his claims for his own piano, with Kleber now representing Steinway.

By the time of these two last visits, the definitive form of Thalberg's endorsement of the Chickering had taken shape and had been quoted widely in the press. It appeared with the following introduction in the Pittsburgh papers the day before his final concert there:

> During the last visit of Mr. Thalberg to our city, he gave under his own hand, the following letter to Mr. Mellor, agent of the Messrs. Chickerings, the original of which can be seen at Mr. Mellor's Piano warerooms; thereby showing conclusively, his decided preference for the piano fortes of Chickering & Son's over all others. This letter is an honorable and generous acknowledgement from the greatest living pianist to the superlative merits of the great American piano forte makers, Messrs. Chickering & Sons:
>
> Pittsburgh, March 25th, 1858.
>
> Mr. Mellor:--Dear Sirs--Since my arrival in America I have constantly used the pianos of Messrs. Chickering & Sons, and I can only repeat to you (while thanking you for the pianos you have so kindly furnished for my concert here,) that which I have so often said before: the instruments

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[34]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 13 May 1857.

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are the best I have seen in the United States, and will compare favorably with any I have ever known.

Yours, very truly, S. Thalberg[35]

This endorsement was cautiously ambiguous in its comparison of the Chickering with European pianos. The phrase "will compare favorably" could range in meaning from "almost as good" to "as good" and, possibly although unlikely, to "better." Thalberg had no hesitancy, however, in rating the Chickering as the best American piano. Actually, the firm had little competition, at least in the area of grand pianos, for most American piano manufacturers concentrated on the lucrative square-piano market. And Steinway, who was to become Chickering's biggest rival and within in the next decade was to surpass it in the number of pianos produced, had been founded only in 1853 and had begun to make grand pianos only in 1856.[36]

Thalberg's arrangement with Chickering was a decided improvement over the practices of his predecessors. Instead of traveling at considerable expense with the same pianos over hundreds of miles, subjecting them to the consequences of frequent moving, Thalberg was assured that in each city he would find at no expense to him a brand new instrument, especially selected for his use and in the very finest condition.

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[35]Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 19 May 1858.

[36]Steinway & Sons, Manufacturers of Grand, Square & Upright Piano Fortes (New York: Steinway & Sons, 1867), p. 11.

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Chickering had previously made some tentative arrangements with Gottschalk,[37] but not until Thalberg's American tour did it supply pianos on such an elaborate and widespread scale. It continued to do so with Gottschalk, primarily during his American tours of 1862-65, and Hans von Bülow during his American tour of 1875-76.[38] Other piano manufacturers followed Chickering's lead, most importantly Steinway in the tours that firm sponsored of Anton Rubinstein and Ignace Paderewski. Chickering's bargain with Thalberg was the real beginning in America of what was to become standard procedure for most major piano manufacturers: the seeking of an endorsement by an important concert pianist, preferably European, in exchange for providing pianos. A new age in piano advertising had begun.

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[37]When Gottschalk returned to the United States in 1853, he brought his own Pleyel piano with him with which he toured, but his lack of immediate financial success soon forced him to sell it. In an undocumented biography, Vernon Loggins states that in late 1855, Jonas Chickering sent a check and a letter to Gottschalk, asking him to play exclusively on the Chickering piano (Where the Word Ends: The Life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958], p. 148). The letter has disappeared, but if it existed, it must have been written by one of the Chickering sons, for Jonas Chickering died in 1853. According to Loggins, Gottschalk accepted the offer, and, in fact, he soon began to play on the Chickering. The Chickerings, who were noted for their encouragement of native talent, possibly gave him a small financial consideration.

[38]The relationship between Chickering and both Gottschalk and Bülow is discussed in my paper "A Chickering in Every Port: Gottschalk, Thalberg, Bülow and the Boston Firm of Chickering & Sons," read at the Sonneck Society Annual Meeting, Boston, March 1984.

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CHAPTER XV

INTERLUDE:

MONEY

These pianists and other visiting musicians toured the United States principally to make money; why else would they have undergone the hazards and suffering of ocean voyages and cross-country travel? Money was very much on De Meyer's mind when he wrote from New York to his friend Joseph Fischhof, professor of piano at the Vienna Conservatory:

> Yesterday I gave my twelfth concert here in New York and again caught 3000 people--flowers, wreaths, etc., but mainly dollars. . . . I am glad that I am the first to risk this dangerous trip, because only the first can make money here--because the people are still quite new to music. However, the second and even . . . Thalberg will not make a penny here.[1]

De Meyer underestimated the potential profit of those who followed him to America. Although not all visiting artists were successful, those with outstanding reputations or astute managers made fortunes.

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[1] 7 February [1846], Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek. T. B. Sivori, the brother of the violinist, confirmed the terrors of an ocean voyage when he wrote to a friend upon his arrival in New York (30 July 1846): "We have just arrived in safety, after experiencing a most terrible voyage for nineteen days. We encountered three distinct hurricanes; the last, above all, most terrific, which lasted forty-eight hours, in momentary expectation of losing our lives, the loss of which, at times, appeared less terrible than death itself" (The Musical World 21/45 [7 November 1846], 566-67).

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In public, the artists were careful, however, not to hint at this reason behind their travels. When De Meyer announced in Boston that he would make another appearance "in compliance with the desire of his friends and connoisseurs," there was no suggestion that he gave concerts to make money.[2] Herz disingenuously wrote that his decision to visit America was "partly to obey my natural inclination to travel and partly in answer to the frequent pleas that I allow myself to be heard in the United States."[3] As an impresario, Ullman could be bolder; upon Thalberg's arrival in America he stated bluntly: "Artists of renown who visit this country are actuated by two motives: the desire to accumulate money, and the ambition to extend the dominion of their art-triumphs." But, as Thalberg's manager, he was quick to add that his client desired "not merely a pecuniary success, but . . . an art-success."[4]

If the artists were keeping quiet about money, there was much interest and speculation among both the musical world and the general public in America and Europe regarding their earnings. Many well-informed estimates of their income appeared, for their finances were handled in a manner far from the secrecy of Swiss bank accounts. During Thalberg's western tour with Strakosch, one paper announced:

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[2]Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 19 October 1846; complete text quoted in chapter IV.

[3]Travels, p. 1 (p. 3).

[4]New-York Daily Times, 4 November 1856, p. 5; complete text quoted in chapter X.

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"We learn that Strakosch has remitted a very large amount of money to his bankers, and that in all probability he will clear $20,000 by his speculative enterprise."[5] An even more precise report concerning Herz appeared in La France musicale shortly after his first New York concerts:

> H. Herz gave four concerts in New York, which had a net profit of: THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND FRANCS! A draft, on Rostchild [sic], of 32,000 francs, which we have seen and touched, testifies better than a journal article of the triumphal reception that Henry Herz received in the capital [sic] of the United States.[6]

To determine how much money these pianists might have made, concert receipts and expenses will be examined, beginning with the abundant information that exists on Thalberg's finances. One difficulty in estimating concert revenues is the varying size of the halls. A sampling of those in which Thalberg performed reveals a range of seating capacities from 500 to 2,500:

Lexington, KY	Medical Hall	500
Detroit, MI	Firemen's Hall	690
Pittsburgh, PA	Masonic Hall	744
Macon, GA	Ralston's Hall	1,200
Lancaster, PA	Fulton Hall	ca 1,500
Norfolk, VA	Johnson's Hall	1,500
St. Louis, MO	Mercantile Library Hall	1,800
Syracuse, NY	Wieting Hall	1,800
Cincinnati, OH	Smith & Nixon's Hall	ca 2,000
Buffalo, NY	St. James Hall	2,500
Charleston, SC	Hibernian Hall	2,500[7]

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[5]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 13 June 1857, p. 19.

[6]9/49 (6 December 1846), 402.

[7]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 16 May 1857; Detroit Daily Tribune, 29 May 1857; Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 2 April 1857; Macon Telegraph, quoted in Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, 22 February 1858; William Frederic Worner, "Ole Bull and Adelina Patti in Lancaster,"

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Because ticket prices varied according to the size of the hall, revenues did not differ as much as seating capacities. In most cities tickets were $1.00, with reserved seats at $1.50.[8] But in Syracuse all tickets were only $1.00 for reserved seats; in Lexington and Detroit, where the halls were much smaller, all tickets were reserved and sold for $2.00. Gross receipts for a sold-out Thalberg concert, then, could have ranged from $1,000 to $2,500.

On a few occasions, local individuals and organizations purchased the concerts by giving a guaranteed sum to the management and then either suffering a loss or making a profit. On Thalberg's western tour managed by Strakosch, the Rochester Light Guard bought the first concert in that city, and the 74th Regiment bought the first two concerts in

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Historical Papers and Addresses of The Lancaster County Historical Society 36 (1932), 159-60; Norfolk Southern Argus, 16 January 1858; Daily Missouri Republican, 18 March 1858; Auburn (NY) Daily Advertiser, 13 April 1857; Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 24 March 1858; Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 7 March 1857; and John Joseph Hindman, "Charleston," The New Grove, 4:159.

[8]In those cities where both reserved and unreserved seats were available, a limited number of seats were evidently set aside which could be reserved. Only once, in Louisville, was the number of reserved seats, 150, mentioned (Louisville Daily Courier, 19 March 1858).

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Buffalo.[9] In Rochester the gross receipts were reportedly over $1,500, and the Light Guard was said to have realized over $600.[10] In Detroit, where the maximum receipts for one concert could have been about $1,400, Strakosch (or one of his agents) refused the offer of the local musician Pietro Centemeri to buy the two concerts for $1,600 and demanded $2,000.[11] And in Chicago a Strakosch agent declined a $5,000 offer for three concerts, "expecting to receive a much larger amount."[12] Apparently Strakosch would settle for $1,000 a concert in a city like Detroit, which had one of the smaller halls, but almost $1,700 a concert was not enough for a city like Chicago. According to one source, Strakosch was conservative in his estimate of actual receipts:

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[9]Rochester Union and Advertiser, 21 April 1857; and Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 22 and 25 April 1857. In both cities the organizations appealed to prospective ticket buyers by emphasizing that much of their money would remain in the city. In Buffalo an editorial argued: "The frequently expressed dislike of many prudent citizens to the exportation of money from our midst, does not find sufficient reason for opposition to these concerts, as only a portion of the receipts will leave the city, and the remainder will be expended for the benefit of our 74th Regiment" (Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 18 April 1857; see also Rochester Union and Advertiser, 23 April 1857).

[10]Rochester Union and Advertiser, 22 and 23 April 1857.

[11]Detroit Daily Free Press, 30 April 1857.

[12]Chicago Daily Journal, 18 May 1857.

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> In several places the concerts were sold to enterprising individuals at very high prices, and yet the speculators made large profits in every instance; and had Strakosch maintained his accustomed fortunate boldness, he would have increased his profits on the tour at least $10,000. Still the speculation was one of great magnitude, and we can hardly blame Strakosch for taking what not only made him secure from loss but gave a splendid profit, in preference to taking all the profits and all the risks.[13]

If concert receipts could be high, expenses were also substantial, with the largest amount of money going to assisting artists. Their fees varied greatly depending on reputation. An idea of the range can be gathered from an article appearing in 1858 in the Philadelphia Deutsche Musik-Zeitung which lists expenses for a concert given by the singer Juliana May.[14] The accompanist and John Frederick Rudolphsen, a singer who occasionally appeared with Thalberg, both received $25, the pianist Harry Sanderson received $50, and the noted singer Signor Tiberini received $200.[15] In Thalberg's case, such European

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[13]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 16 May 1857, p. 367. The same paper had reported at the start of the tour: "Most liberal offers have been made to the impresario, from various sections of the country, to purchase the concerts. But, knowing the business shrewdness of Strakosch, we doubt if such offers will be accepted, for he will certainly make double by risking the result than he will by securing a certainty" (25 April 1857, p. 319).

[14]2/9 (1 January 1858), 123.

[15]Ibid. An unknown performer might receive as little as $25 to $100 a month plus expenses, a salary quoted by an E. V. C. Allen of New Rochelle, New York, when he placed an advertisement in the New York Herald (21 July 1857, p. 7) seeking "a lady to travel with a gentleman and give concerts."

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performers with established reputations as Teresa Parodi, Elena D'Angri, and Bertha Johannsen must have received at least the equivalent of Tiberini.[16] Others who lacked such reputations and who performed only once on a concert--like Heinrich Mollenhauer and Signor Nicola--probably received $25 a concert. Thalberg's fee must also be calculated as part of the expenses, for Strakosch paid him a guaranteed amount for the tour, as Ullman probably did for his other concerts. Strakosch reportedly agreed to pay the pianist $30,000 for fifty-eight scheduled concerts,[17] averaging a little over $500 per concert.

Other concert expenses included hall rental ($30 to $40

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[16]A decade earlier, however, reports claimed that, in general, "local assistance at concerts is reckoned more expensive than the importation of additional novelties" (The Home Journal, no. 41 [21 November 1846], 3; also quoted in New York Evening Post, 19 November 1846; a similar report in Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 21 November 1846).

[17]New-York Musical World, quoted in Providence Daily Post, 1 April 1857; New York Herald, quoted in Dayton Daily Journal, 6 April 1857; and Kentucky Statesman, 7 April 1857. The following season Strakosch engaged the bass Karl Formes, who appeared at the New York Academy of Music in the fall of 1857, to sing at forty concerts for $10,000, averaging $250 a concert (Chicago Daily Tribune, 21 June 1858).

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a concert),[18] advertising and printing of programs ($50 to $60),[19] and fees for ushers and other miscellaneous expenses ($25).[20] The Deutsche Musik-Zeitung allowed $50 for travel, which would have covered hotel expenses ($2.00 to $2.50 a

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[18]The rent for Thalberg's concerts held in the Musical Fund Hall in Philadelphia was $40 a concert (Musical Fund Society, Cash Book, February 1848 - January 1870; and Musical Fund Society, Account Book, May 10, 1848 - August 30, 1866, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia). An article citing various statistics of Strakosch's American career stated that hall rentals would average $30 (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 10 January 1857, p. 83). In Providence, Ullman complained to the public when the owner of Howard Hall demanded $50 rent after Thalberg had given three concerts there. The increased rate was ostensibly to pay for the assigning of seat numbers. The owner professed always to charge $20 for numbering the seats, a practice that Ullman claimed was "wholly uncustomary in any Hall in the United States." Rather than pay the extra fee, Ullman held the next concert at Westminster Hall (Providence Daily Journal, 4 April 1857).

[19]The Deutsche Musik-Zeitung (2/9 [1 January 1858], 123) listed $50 as the minimum amount; the article on Strakosch in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (10 January 1857, p. 83) stated that one could "safely allow sixty dollars for these two items."

[20]Deutsche Musik-Zeitung 2/9 (1 January 1858), 123.

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day including meals)[21] and railroad fares (averaging 2 or 3 cents a mile,[22] slightly less than $30 for a first-class fare from Boston to St. Louis).[23]

In addition, by the 1850s a number of cities required permits or licenses to give concerts,[24] which occasionally caused confusion or corruption. In Charleston, for example, Thalberg had already given his concert "before he was aware

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[21]Martin, Standard of Living, p. 153. An article in the New York Herald (2 July 1857, p. 4) denied rumors that first-class hotels in New York had raised their rates to $3.00 a day. Hotels which charged the $2.50 rate included the Astor House, the Union Place, and the St. Nicholas. Thalberg stayed at the last-named hotel upon his return from his first western tour (New York Herald, 6 July 1857, p. 5).

[22]Martin, Standard of Living, p. 253.

[23]Great Central Railroad Fare Schedule, 1857, Chicago Historical Society.

[24]Apparently it was an uncommon practice in the 1840s, for in 1846 The Musical Gazette of Boston reported: "The authorities of Louisville enforce a tax of $10 per night upon all musical performances; the consequence is, that performers generally exclude that city from their tour" (1/4 [16 March 1846], 30).

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of the license."[25] In Detroit, a city alderman attempted to receive free tickets to the concerts by offering to waive the license fee.[26] In late 1856 Dwight was horrified to learn that "such a barbarous practice" as taxing concert-givers existed in Boston. He condemned the latest proposal of the "Committee on Licenses" to charge noncity residents a larger, unspecified sum as a "selfish 'protective' policy," and he decried the effort "to monopolize the trade ourselves, and treat the travelling artist as a 'furrin' enemy."[27] Such fees must have inspired the belief that a similar national legislation existed:

> A rumor is quite current in Europe, and the statement has appeared in several foreign musical journals, that the United States have passed a law imposing a tax of four hundred dollars on each foreign musician visiting this country.[28]

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[25]Charleston Mercury, 3 February 1858.

[26]There was quite an uproar when his actions were made public. See the Detroit Daily Tribune, 8, 9, and 10 June 1857, and Detroit Daily Advertiser, 9 June 1857; the latter quoted in Mary Evelyn Durden Teal, Musical Activities in Detroit from 1701 through 1870 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964), pp. 368-69.

[27]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/13 (27 December 1856), 101. Dwight reprints in full the report of the committee. A lighthearted account of De Meyer's application for a license in St. Louis illustrates the desire to extract as much money as possible from the foreigners: "By-the-bye, the city authorities, the other day, wanted to charge De Meyer $75 for his license. 'Mein Got [sic]!' cried the musician, 'shust for play mein piano two-tree night?' 'Why, yes,' said the functionary applied to, 'I know it's more than usual, but then, Mr. De Meyer, your piano is such a large one!'" (Saint Louis Reveille, 7 March 1847; also quoted in New York Herald, 26 March 1847).

[28]New York Musical Pioneer 1/2 (1 November 1855), 21.

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The total expenses for a concert, as listed by the Deutsche Musik-Zeitung, was $465, including travel expenses and a full roster of paid assisting artists. The Home Journal claimed that a "very moderate concert" in New York would cost $500.[29] The latter journal stressed, however, that expenses were higher in New York than elsewhere.[30] Given the above figures, the expenses of a concert on the Strakosch-managed Thalberg tour can be estimated as follows, assuming that Strakosch and his wife were paid out of his profits and estimating other costs conservatively:

Thalberg	$500
Teresa Parodi	200
Signor Nicola	25
Heinrich Mollenhauer	25
Amalia Patti Strakosch	-
Maurice Strakosch	-
Hall rental	30
Advertising & printing	50
Travel	50
Miscellaneous	20
Total	$900[31]

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[29]Quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 3/23 (10 September 1853), 181. These figures do not include the fee of a principal performer who usually received the profit.

[30]In fact, it claimed: "It has become a settled maxim with professional concert-givers, that profit is not to be expected from concerts given in New York. The expenses absorb all but the largest receipts. New York . . . is the place where the reputation is made."

[31]The Indiana Daily State Sentinel (1 May 1857) of Indianapolis stated that "Strakosch's expenses here are $800 per night," an amount that might not consider travel expenses. The same paper also calculated that Thalberg was receiving $600 a night, since Strakosch was paying him $30,000 for "two month's services."

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If a concert did cost Strakosch $900, then his $1,000 minimum for selling a concert would have guaranteed him a modest profit. In most cities, he probably made at least several hundred dollars a concert, even after paying Thalberg his substantial amount, and much more in the large cities. Each of the four concerts in Cincinnati averaged almost 2,000 people in attendance;[32] thus receipts would have been close to $2,000. The receipts for the fourth concert in Chicago were thought to be $3,500.[33] In some of the smallest cities, however, Strakosch could easily have

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[32]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/9 (30 May 1857), 70.

[33]Detroit Daily Advertiser, 11 June 1857. Similar reports exist from concerts given the following season: three concerts in Richmond netted $4,300; four concerts in New Orleans grossed $9,700; 1,600 people attended one of the concerts in St. Louis; 1,500 people attended a Pittsburgh concert; 992 attended Thalberg's last concert in Louisville; and Thalberg's last concert in Cincinnati "netted a cool $2,200" (Richmond Daily Dispatch, 18 January 1858; The Daily Picayune, 23 February 1858; Daily Missouri Republican, 18 March 1858; Daily Pittsburgh Gazette, 27 March 1858; Louisville Daily Courier, 1 June 1858; and Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 29 May 1858).

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lost money, as he must have in Auburn, New York, where the receipts were $600.[34] After the tour was completed, a New York paper announced:

> The leading papers state confidently that Maurice Strakosch, the prince of musical expeditionists, has realized over twenty thousand dollars by his liberally conceived enterprise.[35]

This amount is entirely feasible, representing an average profit of a little over $300 in slightly less than 60 concerts.

Thalberg's fee of $500 for the Strakosch tour is consistent with other reports about his income. In the spring of 1858 Ullman claimed Thalberg was making $10,000 a month.[36] Averaging about 20 concerts a month, the pianist was earning about $500 per concert. By performing at approximately 320 concerts (excluding the free school concerts) while he was in the United States, Thalberg probably made about $160,000.

It is more difficult to estimate the earnings of De Meyer and Herz. Neither had the security of a guaranteed sum as did Thalberg, for De Meyer was without an independent

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[34]Schenectady (NY) Democrat, 23 June 1857. The amount might have been small for Strakosch's company, but it represented a large number of people for such a small town. In reporting the receipts of the concerts, the Schenectady paper congratulated its sister city by stating: "Well done, Auburn."

[35]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 18 July 1857, p. 19. The New York Herald (9 July 1857, p. 4) stated that the troupe had "cleared some twenty thousand dollars."

[36]New-York Times, 6 April 1858, p. 3.

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manager, and, as a neophyte impresario, Ullman could not have provided Herz with such a guarantee. Both pianists had to rely solely on their luck at the box office. Precise figures for concert attendance and ticket receipts of both pianists are few,[37] and attendance varied greatly from city to city and concert to concert. A. N. Johnson, editor of The Musical Gazette of Boston, estimated that 3,000 people must have been present at a concert given by De Meyer in New York; 1,500 people attended a concert of his in New Orleans; but only 500 people attended his fourth concert in Philadelphia during his first season.[38] Although Herz's concerts were usually well attended, a number of them were not: fifty people heard him in Columbus, Georgia, and his first concert in Troy attracted only between one and two hundred people.[39] During his series of concerts with Sivori

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[37]Attendance reports for De Meyer's concerts of his first southern tour (cited at the end of chapter III), for example, indicate substantial crowds but are uniformly vague.

[38]The Musical Gazette 1/21 (9 November 1846), 165; New York Herald, 27 April 1846; and Musical Fund Society, Memorandum Book, Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1837 - September 30, 1847.

[39]About three hundred and fifty people attended his second concert in Troy (Troy Daily Whig, 11 and 21 September 1847). The audience for a Hartford concert was "small" and one in Brooklyn was "quite small" (Hartford Daily Times, 4 September 1847; and Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat, 14 October 1847).

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in New England in the early fall of 1847, at which they charged fifty cents admission, they gave "twenty-nine concerts, the average profits of which . . . [were] nearly $200 each!"[40] Although this sum evidently struck the writer as a lot of money, the report in La France musicale gave Herz a profit of $1,900 for each of his first New York concerts.[41]

If De Meyer and Herz did not have the security that an established impresario could provide, they had the advantage of lower overheads. De Meyer had fewer expenses, especially in his first southern tour, because he relied solely on local musicians to supplement his programs; as suggested previously, they either performed for minimum fees or volunteered their services, as did the Polyhymnia Society of St. Louis.[42] The New York Morning Telegraph claimed that Charles Perabeau had "played gratuitously" at De Meyer's concerts in New York before De Meyer quarreled with him,[43] and a number of advertisements carefully list certain

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[40]Troy Daily Whig, 9 September 1847.

[41]9/49 (6 December 1846), 402.

[42]See chapter III.

[43]2 December 1846.

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performers as "having kindly volunteered their services."[44] Both artists, however, eventually had to share some of their profits with their respective partners, Burke and Sivori, and Herz had to pay Ullman.

An estimate made by the New York Herald of Ole Bull's income during his first American tour of 1843-45 gives a clue to the possible earnings of De Meyer and Herz. It calculated that the net receipts of single concerts by him ranged from $200 to $3,000 and that he averaged $400 for the entire series of 200, which would have made his total income $80,000.[45] Herz gave about the same number of concerts as Bull and probably earned a comparable sum.[46] De Meyer gave only approximately one hundred concerts, and thus he could have made about $40,000.

These figures contrast dramatically with the income of lesser known but still recently arrived European artists. In the late 1830s Henry C. Timm toured briefly with the singers Giuseppe de Begnis and Signora Velané; he recalled:

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[44]For example, the pianist Herman Thorbecke "kindly volunteered his valuable services" in performing a duo for two pianos with Herz at a concert in Philadelphia (Philadelphia Public Ledger, 24 November 1846).

[45]New York Herald, quoted in Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 5 December 1845.

[46]One music journal later stated that Herz "realized more than $60,000 by a single voyage to America," but estimated the same amount for Thalberg as well (New York Musical Pioneer and Chorister's Budget 4/4 [1 January 1859], 53). Estimates for Herz exclude his earnings in Latin America.

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"We gave concerts in Norfolk and some other places in North Carolina, but made little more than our expenses."[47] A similar account is given by Richard Hoffman, who shortly after his arrival in the United States in 1847 teamed up with Joseph Burke, the latter just having completed his tour with De Meyer. Hoffman remembered performing in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he and Burke charged twenty-five cents for admission rather than their usual fifty cents:

> When our expenses were paid, my share of the profits in this town was under one dollar. Things were not quite so bad as this everywhere, however, as we managed to make our living out of it.[48]

Hoffman also gave a sample of their expenses and receipts in other cities:

	Receipts	Expenses
First concert in Milwaukee . . .	$89.50	$16.95
First concert in Buffalo	40.00	24.75
First concert in Rochester . . .	57.00	23.00
Three concerts in Montreal . . .	215.00	100.00[49]

In 1854 an article held that the fashionable mammoth concerts in New York were not only too long but were expensive and rarely profitable.[50] It argued that such concerts made it impossible for most artists to make any profit and warned potential visitors of the financial risk they would be undertaking in touring the United States:

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[47]Ritter, Music in America, p. 373.

[48]Some Musical Recollections, p. 102.

[49]Ibid., p. 103.

[50]New-York Musical Review and Choral Advocate 5/17 (17 August 1854), 288-89.

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> Almost none of the artists who have come among us since Jenny Lind, have made any thing, while many have lost, or at least contracted debts which they were unable to discharge, so that it is useless to attempt to persevere in this system.

It claimed, however, that a "first-class concert in New-York" cost from $1,000 to $1,500. This figure appears to be high but perhaps could be reasonable if an orchestra was hired.[51]

The money made by these pianists was phenomenal when compared to other salaries and wages of the period. Unskilled laborers received about $1.00 a day, while skilled laborers received from $1.50 to $2.00; urban doctors and lawyers made about $2,000 a year; and someone making from $5,000 to $10,000 a year would have been considered rich.[52] Even the President of the United Sates received only $100,000 for a four-year term.[53]

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[51]The article suggested engaging fewer assisting artists, "which no body cares about, and by which every body is bored. Cut down the 'assistants,' and shorten the programmes, therefore, and beside reducing the expenses greatly, the audience will be sent home pleased and in good disposition to come again, instead of tired out and satiated."

[52]Martin, Standard of Living, pp. 393-94. In Charlottesville, Virginia, one newspaper described the receipts of almost $1,200 for a Thalberg concert there as "an amount spent in a few hours' pleasure, that exceeds the whole town revenue some $200, and that exceeds by the same, if not a greater, amount the average salaries paid our Ministers of the Gospel for a whole twelve months" (Charlottesville Advocate, quoted in Lynchburg Virginian, 13 January 1858).

[53]New York Mirror, quoted in Albany Atlas & Argus, 24 November 1856. The Mirror predicted that Thalberg was "pretty sure to make the snug little sum of a hundred thousand dollars" by giving 150 concerts in a year.

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The pianists' incomes also compare favorably with other star touring performers. In 1840 the dancer Fanny Elssler equaled Thalberg's fee by demanding $500 a night plus the receipts from a benefit performances.[54] In 1845 the actors Charles Kean and his wife Ellen Tree toured the South "for a joint fee of $15,000 for fifty performances," or only $150 an appearance per person.[55] In the mid-1850s, the American author and famed traveler Bayard Taylor made a mere $50 a night lecturing.[56] Thalberg made substantially more than the other pianists who followed him. Anton Rubinstein received only $200 an appearance for his series of 219 concerts during his American tour (1872-73).[57] Ullman engaged Hans von Bülow to give 172 concerts in America (1875-76) for 100,000 francs, less than $125 a concert.[58]

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[54]George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, 15 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-49), 4:358. Odell claims "she made vast sums" while "the managers were left with a deficit."

[55]J. M. D. Hardwick, ed., Emigrant in Motley: The Journey of Charles and Ellen Kean in Quest of a Theatrical Fortune in Australia and America, as Told in Their Hitherto Unpublished Letters (London: Rockliff, 1954), p. 11.

[56]Richmond Croom Beatty, Bayard Taylor: Laureate of the Gilded Age (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 148. Beatty states that "America was willing to pay its traveler-lecturers from fifty to more than two hundred dollars an appearance" (p. 146).

[57]Robert Grau, Forty Years Observation of Music and the Drama (New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1912), p. 291.

[58]Siegmund Levarie, "Hans von Bülow in America," Institute for Studies in American Music Newsletter 11/1 (November 1981), 8-10. Bülow withdrew from his contract, however, after 139 concerts because of severe fatigue, and Ullman deducted 25,000 francs for not completing the remaining 33 concerts.

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Ignace Paderewski was guaranteed $375 a concert for his first American tour (1891-92) of 80 concerts for the total sum of $30,000. His contract with the Steinway piano company (who had also engaged Rubinstein) stipulated, however, that he would receive all additional profits.[59] Comparisons with the European earnings of these pianists are difficult to make because of the availability of only scattered references and the problem of fluctuating currencies.[60] Herz earned 1,200 francs (approximately $250) a year as professor of piano at the Conservatoire, but this was only a token amount of his income as a private teacher, piano manufacturer, and successful composer.[61] A biographical sketch of Thalberg by the American pianist Charles Grobe claimed that in 1850 he was worth $150,000, a sum he bettered in his two-year tour.[62]

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[59]Paderewski and Lawton, Paderewski Memoirs, pp. 189-90.

[60]Alan Walker, for example, has commented that "the difficulty of translating Liszt's concert fees (which he earned in a variety of different currencies--pounds, francs, gulden, thaler, roubles, etc.) into sums comprehensible to the modern reader is impossible to resolve" (Liszt, p. 380). He suggests it "is wise to follow the example of the legendary Scots divine who, confronted by a fatal flaw in the logic of his sermon, told his congregation to 'stare this difficulty in the face and pass by on the other side.'"

[61]Pierre, Conservatoire, pp. 423-25.

[62]Lancaster (PA) Daily Evening Express, 3 February 1857.

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Publishing

As composers these pianists also made money by the publication of their music. Before their American tours they had received no remuneration from the immense sale of their music in this country, for the United States did not recognize any of the international copyright treaties.[63] Herz complained about this "unjust privilege" practiced by American music publishers of ignoring the rights of composers.[64] While in the United States, the pianists made money from local publishers in two ways: they made arrangements with American publishers to issue new and corrected editions of their music, and they sold to publishers newly composed works.

Surprisingly, Herz apparently did not take advantage of the first scheme. De Meyer, however, arranged for the New York publisher of Scharfenberg & Luis to issue new editions of such works of his as Marche marocaine, Airs russes, Carnaval de Venise, and Galop brillant. The editions were advertised as "corrected by and approved of [by] the

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[63]Not until 1891 did Congress pass legislation providing copyright protection to foreigners.

[64]Travels, p. 56 (p. 189). According to Herz, the practice would have resulted "in a much more decisive advantage in the competitive market if the labor cost, generally higher in America than in Europe, did not balance things."

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composer himself."[65] After only a few weeks in the United States, Thalberg negotiated with Russell & Richardson of Boston to issue new editions of his most famous works "as he performs them now, and not as written years ago."[66] Thalberg revised the works, "omitting many passages, and adding new ones."[67] Each piece contained his endorsement with a facsimile of his autograph (see figure 29):

> Messrs. Russell & Richardson of Boston are the only authorised publishers of my compositions in America & theirs are the only correct editions of my works as performed at my Concerts as I have personally revised & corrected the proofs.

The publishers also emphasized in their advertising that all other American editions "are not reliable, and are without the author's sanction."[68] But such a warning did not prevent other publishers from continuing to issue their pirated editions. Firth, Pond & Co. of New York, for example,

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[65] New York Herald, 16 December 1845.

[66] New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/22 (1 November 1856), 337.

[67] Verso of Program for Thalberg's first concert in Boston, Music Hall, 3 January 1857 (copies in Music Department, Boston Public Library; Harvard Theatre Collection; and Music Division, New York Public Library).

[68] Ibid. Thalberg was pleased with the edition and in April 1858 sent a note to the publishers, stating that he found "them to be very correctly scored, and equal, if not superior, in all respects, to any yet published, either in the United States or Europe" (Dwight's Journal of Music 13/7 [15 May 1858], 55). When Dwight reviewed the first of twelve pieces included in the edition, he stated: "The present number is beautifully engraved; a more clear and elegant page of music, open where we will, we seldom see, even in European publications" (Dwight's Journal of Music 10/12 [20 December 1856], 93).

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Fig. 29. Thalberg, Thème original et etude, (Boston: Russell & Richardson, 1856), cover. (Music Division, Library of Congress)

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announced that they had "republished from the authenticated European copies, a correct edition of Thalberg's beautiful compositions."[69]

Both Herz and De Meyer sold new works to a number of publishers in New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and St. Louis. André & Co. of New York was careful to indicate that its editions of Herz's Three New American Polkas and The Last Rose of Summer were "Published from the Original MSS of the Author." Charles Breusing of New York issued all of Thalberg's new works written in America. The publication dates were carefully spread out so the sales of one work would not encroach on those of another: Souvenir d'Amériques appeared in March 1857, The Last Rose of Summer in January 1858, and Lilly Dale in August 1858.[70]

No evidence exists to suggest how much the pianists made from these editions, or whether they sold the new compositions outright for a one-time fee or were paid

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[69]New-York Daily Times, 4 December 1856, p. 5.

[70]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/7 (4 April 1857), 97; 9/2 (23 January 1858), 18; and 9/16 (7 August 1858), 241. Other composers tried to cash in on the popularity of these pianists. In 1846 Augusta Browne of New York published The De Meyer Grand Waltz "dedicated by permission to Leopold de Meyer," and the following year Herman Thorbecke published Souvenir of Henry Herz, both of which featured lithographs of the visiting pianists. For information on Browne, see Tick, American Women Composers, pp. 150-62.

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royalties.[71] If the latter, they could have made substantial amounts, although even with such designations as "100th Edition" it is impossible to tell how many copies were sold of any one piece. Strakosch supposedly sold over 60,000 copies of his Flirtation Polka,[72] a figure which surely some of the popular works of Herz and Thalberg exceeded. It is doubtful, however, that the pianists continued to receive payments after they left America.

De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg, then, were more than successful in realizing fortunes. As a result, they are sometimes depicted today as greedy and musically unscrupulous. Perhaps De Meyer was, in his platform antics, and perhaps in his music Herz catered to the public. But they were basically pianists making a living by doing what they had always done. If it was acceptable to play for money in Europe, why should they not be able to do so in the United States? A few reviews suggest that they were gracious toward American audiences and not solely concerned about their bank accounts. Of Thalberg one critic wrote:

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[71]In the 1850s the New York publishers Hall and Son reportedly paid William Vincent Wallace one hundred dollars for every original composition or arrangement he sold them (Musical World and New York Musical Times 4/1 [4 September 1852], 4; cited in Myers, Wallace, pp. 124-25).

[72]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 10 January 1857, p. 83.

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> We have heard him before an audience of two or three thousand people and before as many hundred, but he plays just as well for the few as for the many, and does not like some other players, make the excellence of his performance, depend on the numbers of his audience.[73]

A similar report was given of Herz and Sivori after their second concert in Columbus, Georgia, for which only a meager crowd braved a severe storm:

> If we were delighted with the superb talents of these artists, we were equally pleased with their modest and gentlemanly deportment. This was manifested at their second concert, when in consequence of a deluge of rain, the attendance was thin. Many artists would have taken the small house in high dudgeon as a slight of their abilities. Not so with these gentlemen. They came forward and played through the programme, with even more spirit and magnificence of execution than they did the night previous--and this although there were but fifty people in the house; and they did so, because, as they afterwards said, they knew that the persons who would come out on such a night, must be amateurs, and genuine lovers of the art.[74]

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[73]New Bedford Daily Mercury, 3 April 1857.

[74]Columbus Times, 9 February 1847.

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CHAPTER XVI

PANIC AND RETREAT:

THALBERG'S SECOND SEASON (1857-58)

Thalberg's unqualified success during his first year in America should have given him hope for a strong second season. However, though it would have been difficult under any circumstances to match the excitement of the first season, the financial panic of 1857 made it impossible. With money tight and banks closing, audiences did not flock to hear the pianist they had already heard several times. As a result, fewer concerts were scheduled, and many were canceled. The eastern portion of the season, which normally would have lasted until March or April, came to a standstill in early January. Ullman salvaged the season only by sending Thalberg on two separate tours of the South and West.

Henry Vieuxtemps and a Troubled Season

As a new attraction for Thalberg's concerts, Ullman

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supplied the Belgian violinist Henry Vieuxtemps (1820-81).[1] Vieuxtemps was not completely new to the United States, for he had been one of the first virtuosos to visit America.[2] He had toured here in 1843-44 at the same time as Bull and Artôt, but had not been able to capture the hearts of Americans as Bull did.[3] One critic remembered:

> When he played here many years ago he was in advance of the taste; his audiences were small, and of these but very few could appreciate the grand simplicity of his style--his classic grace and strictness, his intellectual greatness and his unapproachable finish.[4]

William Henry Fry concurred:

> Mr. Vieuxtemps was here twelve years ago. Then the public did not appreciate him. Now they may, or ought

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[1]While still in Europe, Ullman had announced in the New York newspapers his arrangements with Vieuxtemps (New-York Daily Times, 28 July 1857, p. 3), who arrived in New York on 8 September 1857 (New-York Daily Times, 8 September 1857, p. 3).

[2]Despite his earlier visit to the United States, the violinist's name still proved difficult for some Americans: "Many persons persist in pronouncing the eminent violinist's name 'Vukestemps,' which we feel called upon to state is not right, but 'on the contrary quite the reverse.' VOTONG is about correct, but you must bite at the 'n' as you would at a wrought-iron nail and jam the 'g' as far up your nose as possible" (Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, 24 March 1858).

[3]Ullman had unsuccesfuly tried to persuade the Norwegian violinist to appear in his concerts with Sontag in 1853 and with Thalberg in early 1857 (Bernard Ullman, Letters to Ole Bull, 5 September 1853, 5 January 1857, and 13 January 1857, quoted in Lerner, Bernard Ullman, pp. 81 and 103-4). In 1853 Bull continued his assocation with Maurice Strakosch and Adelina Patti, and in 1857 he was apparently too ill to commit himself to Ullman's plans.

[4]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 19 September 1857, p. 247.

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> to. He does not scratch, or play out of tune, like some others of reputation. His style is pure, large and grand. He does not miss a note. In the region of pure healthiness he has had here no equal as a player.[5]

As a violinist Vieuxtemps had made his debut at the age of six, studied with Bériot (1828-31), and toured successfully in Europe and Russia. Both Fétis and Schumann praised his playing, the latter comparing him to Paganini. His studies in counterpoint with Simon Sechter (1833-34) and in composition with Anton Reicha (1835-36) prepared him as a composer, a role in which he won similar recognition.[6] His works were more than mere display pieces and were consistently labeled classic, graceful, pure, and chaste. The New York Courier and Enquirer, for example, claimed:

> His style may be justly called classic--a term much abused in art, and constantly used merely as a synonym for 'good.' Symmetry, grace, a serene expression of power, singleness of purpose, a sparing use of ornament, and the highest finish even of the minutest detail--these are the characteristic traits of Mr. Vieuxtemps' style, both as a composer and a performer.[7]

Among his own works that Vieuxtemps performed in the United States were the Violin Concerto No. 3 in A minor, Les

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[5]New-York Daily Tribune, 17 September 1857, p. 6.

[6]For more information on Vieuxtemps, see Boris Schwarz, "Vieuxtemps," The New Grove, 19:752-54; Henry Roth, "Henri Vieuxtemps: A Centenary," The Strad 91 (March 1981), 798-800; and Kufferath, Henri Vieuxtemps. The last work reprints Vieuxtemps's autobiography, an English translation of which appears in Dwight's Journal of Music 41 (16 July 1881), 111-12, and (3 September 1881), 119-20.

[7]Quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 11/26 (26 September 1857), 203.

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Arpèges, Introduction and Rondo, Adagio and Tarantella, and fantasias on I Lombardi, Ernani, and Lucia di Lammermoor. Also in his repertory were a number of works by Paganini--Perpetuum mobile, The Witches' Dance, and The Carnival of Venice--and several duos he performed with Thalberg--Fantasias on Les Huguenots, La Sonnambula, and Don Giovanni, the last composed by Vieuxtemps and Edouard Wolff. He also played variations on such popular tunes as "The Irish Washerwoman," "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning," and the obligatory "Yankee Doodle."[8]

His platform manner was often compared to that of Thalberg, with whom he shared an almost self-effacing manner:

> Free from all affectation and charlatanry in his demeanor, he is not unlike Thalberg in his dispassionateness and quiet ease, but keen, earnest, and conscientious as that same artist in his attack and treatment of his subject.[9]

One critic, who believed Vieuxtemps was "certainly the best violinist who has ever been heard here," stated that "there is in him such an utter absence of all humbug and seeking

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[8]Vieuxtemps later wrote about his first American tour of 1843-44: "With the exception of a few choice spirits who could appreciate my efforts, the only thing with which I could charm the Yankees and excite their enthusiasm was their national theme, 'Yankee Doodle,' with which I became popular" ("Autobiographie," pp. 13-14; "Autobiography," p. 119).

[9]Boston Evening Transcript, 15 October 1857.

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after effect, that one cannot cherish a moment's doubt as to his being one of the truest of artists."[10]

With Ullman ensconced as lessee of the New York Academy of Music, his strategy for Thalberg's concerts frequently overlapped with that for the opera. Singers he engaged for opera productions usually assisted on a rotating basis in Thalberg's concerts, and when attendance lagged at the opera, Thalberg performed there during intermission to boost it. Ultimately Thalberg's concerts helped Ullman to finance his opera campaigns.[11] The most important singers included Elena D'Angri, who had appeared the previous season with Thalberg, Anna de la Grange, whom Ullman had brought to America in 1855, and Erminia Frezzolini. Other singers included Claudine Cairoli, Signor Gassier, Signor Labocetta, and Signor Rocco.

Thalberg himself had no new offerings for his second season but continued to saturate his audiences with his own works and only a smattering of other pieces. It is not surprising that there was disenchantment with his unchanging repertory. After only the first concert of the second

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[10]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/26 (26 September 1857), 204.

[11]According to Maretzek, Ullman's "only resource to partly balance the deficits of the opera were concert tours with Mr. Thalberg and with some of his singers" (Sharps and Flats, p. 42).

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season, one critic complained:

> Mr. Thalberg played his old pieces, which we really think ought to be laid aside for a while. The pianoforte literature is too rich to justify a constant repetition of the same compositions. It is needless to say that Mr. Thalberg played remarkably well. We have never heard him perform his "fantasia" on l'Elisir d'amore in so exquisitely pure and spirited a manner as on this occasion.[12]

This critic, like most others, was still fascinated by Thalberg's playing if not by his repertoire. Fry dubbed him "the evergreen Thalberg" and admitted that he "always sways his audience."[13] Dwight's New York correspondent claimed that "after not having heard Thalberg for six months, the perfection of his execution stood forth unmoved by any weariness of its sameness."[14]

Although the financial panic began on 24 August 1857 when the New York branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company failed,[15] Thalberg's season began promisingly.

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[12]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/19 (19 September 1857), 291-92. The Boston correspondent for the same journal agreed that Thalberg's pieces "are all good, all perfect; still something having the marks of freshness about it, would be a relief. Not that we would have him dispense with these entirely, for they are the very things upon which his reputation is founded; but we would have them interspersed with something else by way of variety" (8/22 [31 October 1857], 343).

[13]New-York Daily Tribune, 17 September 1857, p. 6.

[14]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/26 (26 September 1857), 204.

[15]For information on the financial crisis, see George W. Van Vleck, The Panic of 1857: An Analytical Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

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In the first three weeks he gave ten concerts with good attendance in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Brooklyn. For the first New York concert "nearly twice as many persons desired to get into Niblo's Saloon as that pretty room will hold,"[16] and at the third concert "a great many people had to enjoy the musical treats outside, in the corridors and on the stairs."[17] Many concert reports, however, refer to the troubled economic conditions. In Washington, for example: "Notwithstanding the tightness of the times, enough persons were found willing to exchange gold for notes last night, to fill Carusi's Saloon to its capacity."[18]

From the very beginning, Ullman made some concessions to the financial problems. Only one concert included an orchestra, the first in New York (15 September); there too the free list (people entitled to complimentary tickets), which had been substantial, was "entirely suspended, with

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[16]New York Courier and Enquirer, 16 September 1857, quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 11/26 (26 September 1857), 203.

[17]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/20 (3 October 1857), 307.

[18]Washington Evening Star, 30 September 1857. A similar report of the first Philadelphia concert appeared: "Notwithstanding the monetary difficulties here there was a full and brilliant attendance at the grand concert given by Thalberg" (New York Herald, 26 September 1857).

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the exception of the Press."[19] In Philadelphia and Baltimore ticket prices were lowered to one dollar, with no extra charge for reserved seats.[20]

Not until the middle of October did the panic send Thalberg and his associates floundering. The first of a planned pair of concerts (or more) in Boston was scheduled for 14 October. Newspapers warned readers that it was "extremely doubtful, in view of the present troubles in our community, whether the management will deem it practicable to arrange another concert for the present."[21] Ullman was frugal, engaging the older and smaller Melodeon rather than the Music Hall and not using an orchestra. He tried to convince the public that the money-saving procedures gave esthetic advantages:

> Whilst the management trust that their assertion that there never has been presented to any public a combination of similar great artistes will be duly acknowledged, they wish to state, that as the Concerts

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[19]New-York Times, 24 September 1857, p. 6. Despite the suspension of the free list a review of the New York concert of 23 October stated: "The room was fairly filled with familiar faces. Most of these had 'secured' their seats by the liberality of the managers" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/22 [31 October 1857], 339).

[20]Ticket prices in New York were lowered to one dollar beginning with the concert of 23 October.

[21]Boston Evening Transcript, 14 October 1857. Dwight was similarly cautious in his review of the concert: "We have had a concert. We hardly dare to call it the first concert of the season. It remains to be seen whether we are to have a season" (Dwight's Journal of Music 12/3 [17 October 1857], 230).

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> they propose to give will be without an Orchestra, and partake more of the character of
>
> A Musical Soiree,
>
> they have selected the Melodeon, the limited size of which renders it the most suitable place for the programme selected.[22]

The critics received the troupe warmly and did not complain seriously about Thalberg's repertoire. One wrote: "There is so undefinable a charm about his performances that no lack of freshness in his subjects can make one grumble with discontent."[23] Although Dwight expressed his opinion with his usual wavering on the subject of virtuosos, he also found Thalberg's performance especially reassuring during the turbulent economic state:

> From the frequent repetition of these Fantasias, as well as from the superficial nature of the kind of composition in itself, we anticipate weariness when we see them again announced. Yet we found ourselves enjoying the thing for the time being;--a pleasurable excitement, to be sure, which is over with the hearing, and which does not feed the memory and the imagination afterwards. But there is something in such clean, bright, perfect execution of a graceful idea, though it be not a great one, which is always enjoyable; and in these troublous times, when the mind is filled with vague, indefinite, intangible intimations and suggestions of things, in the chaos of the business world, there is something really refreshing in the sight or sound of anything so sparkling, clean-cut, jubilant, and at the same time so fluid and so graceful, as these tone-figures under the pianist's fingers. It is a comfort to meet somewhere a tone of certainty--to meet it somewhere in human endeavors, as we do in stars, and autumn leaves and shells and pebbles.[24]

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[22]Boston Evening Transcript, 14 October 1857.

[23]Boston Evening Transcript, 15 October 1857.

[24]Dwight's Journal of Music 12/3 (17 October 1857), 230.

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Dwight voiced his disappointment, however, that "the first classical violinist, perhaps, of the world" and "one of the greatest pianists" did not perform a Beethoven violin sonata.[25] Only in New Orleans did Thalberg and Vieuxtemps perform Beethoven violin and piano sonatas, including the sonatas in D minor, F major, and A ("Kreutzer"), in three matinees (25 February, 1 March, and 2 March 1858).

The timing of the Boston concert could not have been worse. On the very morning of the concert, the Boston banks suspended the payment of specie to the public. Although there had been no run on the banks and they were merely exercising caution, this signaled a continuing financial deterioration. Consequently only "a few hundreds of people" attended the concert in "the shabby-looking little temple of the Melodeon."[26] The troupe's schedule for New England fell apart: the concert planned the next evening for Portland was postponed indefinitely, as was the second Boston concert, and a concert scheduled in Providence for 19 October was advertised on 14 October, but the next day the advertisement was withdrawn without explanation.[27]

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[25]Dwight's Journal of Music 12/3 (17 October 1857), 230.

[26]Ibid. Dwight described a "curious little hen-coop behind which [the artists] were huddled, half-hid, on the stage."

[27]Likewise, a concert in Albany had been announced for "next week" on 8 October, but after three days it was dropped (Albany Evening Journal, 8-10 October 1857).

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The following two months were uncertain, with fewer concerts scheduled and more canceled.[28] Returning to New York, the troupe made three appearances there over the next three weeks as well as one in Brooklyn. They were joined by Feri Kletzer, a violoncellist making his American debut. Then Thalberg regrouped once more, forming a troupe with Vieuxtemps, Maurice and Amalia Strakosch, and, occasionally, Frezzolini and Kletzer. They made a brief excursion to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, cities that proved dependable once again. Concerts were also scheduled for Reading and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and Alexandria, Virginia; only the last one took place. The concert planned for Lancaster was briefly mentioned in the newspaper but never officially advertised.[29] The Reading concert, however, was heavily advertised:

> Huge bills were posted at the street corners, and the Programmes were distributed plentifully over the city, so that when the eventful evening arrived, expectation had reached its highest pitch. But, lo and behold! the eager crowd who thronged to the Hall found nothing but darkness, silence and closed doors. The distinguished artists, with that indifference to their promises which characterizes musicians generally, had failed to appear in fulfillment of their engagement; and so far as we could learn, gave no reason for thus unceremoniously disappointing our citizens. It may be imagined that the comments upon this sort of treatment, by those who considered themselves wantonly trifled with, were by no means complimentary, or suggestive of

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[28]As Dwight observed: "The concert managers cannot lay down their course with any certainty until the storm passes" (Dwight's Journal of Music 12/7 [14 November 1857], 263).

[29]Lancaster Inland Daily Times, 11 November 1857.

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a favorable response to any future calls that the Thalberg troupe may make upon their musical sympathies.[30]

The troupe returned to New York, and Thalberg made only four appearances during the next six weeks (from 28 November 1857 to 4 January 1858), all at the Academy of Music in conjuction with the opera. Two matinees and two evening concerts had been scheduled for early December, but they, too, were canceled.[31] In the meantime Vieuxtemps gave several concerts without Thalberg, in such cities as Trenton (11 December) and Philadelphia (22 December).

Having obviously run out of audiences in the Northeast, given the economic crisis, Ullman wisely decided to send Thalberg on a tour into virgin territory. But he first held an elaborate "Farewell Appearance" for the pianist on 2 January 1858 at the Academy of Music. Billed as the "Thalberg Testimonial," the event comprised "four different entertainments": a performance of Lucia di Lammermoor (beginning at 1:00); an orchestral concert that

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[30]Reading Gazette and Democrat, 14 November 1857. The nonappearance of the troupe in Reading was especially disheartening, because early in the year an effort was "made by a number of [its] music-loving citizens, to induce Thalberg . . . to give a concert in this city" (Reading Gazette and Democrat, 10 January 1857). In addition, a troupe led by Strakosch including Parodi and Paul Jullien had similarly not shown up for a concert (scheduled for 12 January) without any explanation (Reading Gazette and Democrat, 17 January 1857).

[31]New-York Times, 3 December 1857, p. 6, and 8 December 1857, p. 3.

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included performances of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the overture Die Weihe des Hauses (7:30); a concert by Thalberg and Vieuxtemps with Karl Formes and Annetta Caradori (two singers from the Academy) that included Schubert's "Erlkönig," performed by Formes and Thalberg (8:30); and a performance of Mozart's Requiem by five hundred musicians (9:30). The gala affair was so successful that it was repeated two days later with only a few changes: La Traviata replaced Lucia, and the selections of the concert portion were changed, Formes and Thalberg performing Schubert's "Der Wanderer."

On Tour in the South and West with Jacob Grau

Immediately after these farewell concerts, Thalberg left on a southern and western tour in company with Vieuxtemps and several singers from the Academy of Music. Beginning in Charlottesville, Virginia, on 7 January 1858, the tour lasted eleven weeks, ending in Buffalo on 27 March, and included at least forty-eight evening concerts, three matinees, and two concerts for schoolchildren in twenty-four cities (see table 8 and map 8). Thalberg had not previously visited eighteen of these cities, and audiences were willing to part with their money even in hard times for the opportunity to hear the pianist for the first time. The troupe followed the route of the tours of De Meyer and Herz, but it performed in several smaller cities, such as

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TABLE 8

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S SECOND WESTERN TOUR (1858)

7	Jan	Charlottesville, VA	13	Feb	Mobile, AL
8	Jan	Richmond, VA	15	Feb	New Orleans, LA
9	Jan	Lynchburg, VA	17	Feb	New Orleans, LA
11	Jan	Lynchburg, VA	18	Feb	New Orleans, LA
12	Jan	Richmond, VA	20	Feb	New Orleans, LA
13	Jan	Petersburg, VA	23	Feb	New Orleans, LA (s)*
14	Jan	Richmond, VA	24	Feb	New Orleans, LA
15	Jan	Norfolk, VA	25	Feb	New Orleans, LA (m)*
16	Jan	Norfolk, VA	26	Feb	New Orleans, LA (s)
19	Jan	Wilmington, NC			New Orleans, LA
22	Jan	Charleston, SC	1	Mar	New Orleans, LA (m)
23	Jan	Columbia, SC	2	Mar	New Orleans, LA (m)
25	Jan	Charleston, SC	3	Mar	New Orleans, LA
26	Jan	Charleston, SC	5	Mar	New Orleans, LA
27	Jan	Columbia, SC	8	Mar	Natchez, MS
28	Jan	Augusta, GA	9	Mar	Natchez, MS
29	Jan	Savannah, GA	12	Mar	Memphis, TN
30	Jan	Savannah, GA	13	Mar	Memphis, TN
1	Feb	Charleston, SC	17	Mar	St. Louis, MO
2	Feb	Charleston, SC	18	Mar	St. Louis, MO
3	Feb	Augusta, GA	20	Mar	Louisville, KY
4	Feb	Atlanta, GA	22	Mar	Cincinnati, OH
5	Feb	Macon, GA	23	Mar	Cincinnati, OH
6	Feb	Columbus, GA	25	Mar	Pittsburgh, PA
8	Feb	Montgomery, AL	26	Mar	Cleveland, OH
9	Feb	Montgomery, AL	27	Mar	Buffalo, NY
11	Feb	Mobile, AL			

*s = school concert; m = matinee; see the Appendix for postponed and canceled concerts.

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MAP 8

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S SECOND WESTERN TOUR (1858)



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Lynchburg and Petersburg, Virginia, and Atlanta and Macon, Georgia. Once the tour reached the Midwest, where Thalberg had already appeared, only the major cities certain to provide substantial audiences were included.

Ullman again stayed in New York to oversee the opera season. Managing Thalberg's tour was not Strakosch, who had already left on his own tour with Frezzolini, but Jacob Grau. Grau will be remembered as the advance man on the Strakosch-managed Thalberg tour of the previous season and as one of Ullman's employees engaged in finding deadheads.[32] Quickly rising to the top in the managerial world, he had begun his career soon after his arrival in the United States selling opera librettos for Maretzek outside Castle Garden in 1851.[33] According to his nephew, Grau's "first musical enterprise" was Thalberg's tour, although he was most likely still in Ullman's employment.[34] By the 1860s he was managing his own opera company and for a time was lessee of the Academy of Music. In 1872 he negotiated the contract to bring Anton Rubinstein to America, but as he was

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[32]Grau also traveled with Thalberg in the fall of 1857, for after the sole Boston concert it was reported: "A fine house rewarded the good management of M. Graw" (Boston Post, 15 October 1857). Grau's name was variously mangled as Aran, Gran, Grace, Grave, and Grow.

[33]Maretzek, Sharps and Flats, p. 70.

[34]Robert Grau, Forty Years Observation, p. 199. Robert Grau, a nephew of Jacob, was an important vaudeville impresario.

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incapacitated by a paralytic stroke, his nephew, Maurice Grau, managed the Rubinstein tour.[35]

As Strakosch's advance man, Grau had served an invaluable apprenticeship with an expert, and his own subsequent managerial procedures did not differ appreciably from those of his former employer. Grau's tour was not so meticulously planned as Strakosch's had been, with precise dates of concerts established and advertised weeks ahead of time. But he apparently planned the tour to be flexible in order that extra concerts could be given in cities where the troupe was particularly well received. For example, while the troupe remained in New Orleans for three weeks during an open-ended run, announcements were made in Memphis that the troupe's concerts there would occur "early in March."[36]

Having a flexible schedule made cancellations and postponements rare, because concert dates could be shifted slightly, if necessary, without having to bypass a city

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[35]Grau, Forty Years Observation, p. 291. Maurice, a brother of Robert, later brought Offenbach to the United States in 1876, and is best known today as one of the first trio of lessees of the Metropolitan Opera, along with Henry Abbey and John Schoeffel. According to his brother, Maurice "never forgot his uncle's methods or achievements . . . and was wont to emulate his uncle in nearly all matters of great importance" (p. 166). For more information on Maurice Grau, see Edwin Mimms, Jr., "Grau, Maurice," Dictionary of American Biography, 7:506; and on both Jacob and Maurice, Upton, Musical Memories, pp. 167-171.

[36]Memphis Daily Appeal, 19 February 1858.

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completely. Of the few cancellations the first one was due simply to a scheduling error. A concert was advertised for both Fredericksburg and Charlottesville for 7 January, the first night of the tour. Most likely, the Fredericksburg concert should have been planned for 6 January, but the mistake was not discovered in time. In Fredericksburg an unusually tolerant cancellation notice appeared, which revealed that at least some of the preparations for the concert had been made by local residents at the agent's request:

> Owing to mistake, delay, or some unavoidable error, Thalberg's Concert next Thursday will take place in Charlottesville and not in Fredericksburg. He is not ubiquitous and cannot be expected to play in both places the same evening--and as he can't play loud enough to be heard here, our multitudinous lovers of good music must postpone or forego their anticipated enjoyment.
>
> We regret this exceedingly. This mistake did not occur here. The agent's instructions to secure the Hall for the 7th, &c., &c., were complied with and he was duly advised.[37]

The first of three planned concerts in St. Louis had to be canceled when the troupe had trouble getting transportation from Memphis. It was reported on Tuesday, following their second Memphis concert on Saturday night:

> Thalberg and troupe remained in town all day yesterday and Sunday, waiting for a boat up to Cairo. They were all stirred up Sunday night at 1 o'clock by their

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[37]Fredericksburg News, 5 January 1858.

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> agent, who was waiting on the wharf boat all night. After getting them all down to the landing, it proved to be a boat for somewhere else.[38]

The troupe finally reached Cairo, Illinois, on Tuesday evening, the night of the first concert scheduled for St. Louis, and then caught the night train, arriving in St. Louis the following morning.[39] Several concerts in New Orleans were postponed because Thalberg fell ill, and a return engagement in Mobile was finally canceled after repeated postponements, probably because of poor ticket sales.[40]

Some of the original plans for the tour were abandoned, including a scheduled stop for Thalberg in Cuba. A few days after his last Richmond concert, a local paper there announced:

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[38]Memphis Daily Eagle and Enquirer, 16 March 1858. Several months later in a third tour of the Midwest, the troupe had similar transportation problems. When Madame Vieuxtemps became ill in Louisville, the troupe was forced to travel by boat (down the Ohio River and up the Cumberland) instead of by train to their next concerts in Nashville, which then had to be postponed by three days because of the additional time required (Nashville Republican Banner, 29 May and 3 June 1858).

[39]Daily Missouri Democrat, 17 March 1858.

[40]Upon the cancellation of the Mobile concert, Thalberg and Grau were criticized for "subjecting this community to annoying incovenience and very unnecessary disappointment. . . . If they had been satisfied with merely promising one or more concerts on their return, we could not complain; but they kept the subject constantly before the community, and authorized the sale of tickets, which, in itself, constitutes a contract, from which nothing but inability could release them" (Mobile Daily Register, 9 March 1858).

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> Mr. Thalberg will shortly proceed to Havana, where he is to receive for six evening concerts and three matinees, the large sum of $12,000. The money is secured and on deposit in New York.--Thalberg will be the only performer at these concerts.[41]

It seems unlikely that Ullman or Grau would have arranged for Thalberg to leave the troupe in the middle of a tour, and so possibly the entire troupe was engaged. In any event, an outbreak in yellow fever in Havana caused the cancellation of the concerts there.[42]

Grau was the principal manager of this tour, but he was aided by H. D. Palmer, another member of Ullman's crew who served as advance agent, and by George W. Wilkins, identified as the "financial agent of the troupe" on one occasion[43] and later as Thalberg's secretary.[44] Although Grau occasionally traveled ahead of the troupe by a few days, he usually remained in the larger cities for at least some of the concerts, where he oversaw the sale of tickets himself. In New Orleans, where the troupe was particularly successful[45] and where over twelve hundred tickets were sold

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[41]Richmond Daily Dispatch, 18 January 1858.

[42]Dwight's Journal of Music 12/16 (16 January 1858), 335. According to Ramirez, La Habana artistica, pp. 527-28, Thalberg made an agreement to visit Havana, but the difficulties encountered prevented him from doing so.

[43]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 7 March 1858.

[44]Daily Chicago Times, 13 June 1858.

[45]In New Orleans the troupe gave eight evening concerts, three matinees, and two school concerts.

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on the first day they were available,[46] Grau was kept busy:

> Early application must be made by those who want good seats, as the rush to procure places is so great that Mr. Grau, the polite and accommodating manager, is sorely puzzled to serve all his customers within the brief period allowed to him. It is something of a task for one person to attend to the disposal of fourteen hundred seats in the course of a morning, and for our part we wonder how Mr. Grau manages to keep himself and every body else in such good humor.[47]

A few days later he was described as the "indefatigable Grau, (who, we really believe, has not slept a wink since he has been in New Orleans,) . . ."[48]

For this tour the troupe consisted of Vieuxtemps, three singers from the Academy of Music--Bertha Johannsen, Annie Kemp, and Signor Lehman--and Signor E. Hasslocher as musical director (again meaning piano accompanist). Johannsen had performed the previous season with Thalberg as the prima donna of the troupe, singing principally arias and occasionally Lieder. Kemp, an English singer recently arrived in the United States, specialized in ballads as Patti Strakosch had in the previous tour. She was popular with the public, though as much for her beauty and repertory as for her vocal abilities.[49]

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[46]New Orleans Daily Crescent, 12 February 1858.

[47]New Orleans Daily Delta, 18 February 1858.

[48]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 21 February 1858.

[49]One critic claimed "her beauty far surpasses her vocalization" (Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, 5 February 1858), and another wrote with enthusiasm: "How can we help complimenting a handsome young person, and so well dressed too! And then many of her contralto notes are really good" (Savannah Daily Republican, 2 February 1858).

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Unlike Strakosch's tour, for which the troupe remained constant, this one had several cast changes en route, mostly to offer variety to the audiences at the Academy back in New York. Lehman was soon replaced in Charleston by Signor Ardavani, and in St. Louis Ardavani and Johannsen were replaced by Ernest Perring and Elisa Cairoli. In New Orleans Vieuxtemps's wife, the former Josephine Eder, replaced Hasslocher as piano accompanist.[50] She had accompanied her husband at most, if not all, of the season's concerts (and occasionally the other performers as well), although she was rarely listed in advertisements.[51] Dwight's New York correspondent described her as

> a most agreeable looking lady, of very unassuming demeanor. She is a faultless accompanyist, and must be, to judge from what she played, a very fine pianist. It is hardly just to her merits that no mention whatever should at any time be made of her.[52]

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[50]She was listed at various times as "musical conductor," "musical conductress," and "musical directress."

[51]She had, however, been listed as musical directress for the single concert in Boston (Boston Evening Transcript, 14 October 1857).

[52]Dwight's Journal of Music 11/26 (26 September 1857), 204. When she first accompanied singers in Boston, she was not familiar enough with their music. According to one critic, she "accompanied her husband with good ability, but unfortunately did not do the vocalists full justice" (Boston Evening Transcript, 15 October 1857). Another explained more fully: "Where she is obliged to use notes, the figure she cuts is supremely ridiculous, owing to her misfortune in being so near-sighted. It places the singer in a very embarrassing position" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/22 [31 October 1857], 344).

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Musard Concerts

Upon completing his tour with Grau, Thalberg made his final New York appearances in a series of concerts directed by the French conductor Alfred Musard (1828-81).[53] The elaborate concerts, held at the Academy of Music, were the inspiration of Ullman, who brought Musard to America as a remedy for the worsening opera season. As a popular conductor of balls and promenade concerts, Musard continued in the tradition of his father, Philippe Musard (1793-1859).[54] In his emphasis on quadrilles, galops, and other dance music, and in his use of a large orchestra,[55] Musard

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[53]Thalberg also gave two more matinees, one each in New York and Brooklyn (3 and 5 April 1858), but this time with a full cast of assistants.

[54]For information on the father, see Gustave Chouquet and David Charlton, "Musard, Philippe," The New Grove, 12:794, and on the son, Eugene de Mirecourt, "Biographical Sketch of Musard," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 10 April 1858, pp. 289-90. A small controversy erupted over whether Ullman was contemplating "deliberate misrepresentation by palming off the Musard about to appear in this City as the celebrated musician Musard" (New-York Times, 1 April 1858, p. 5). After some debate, most people agreed that both father and son were equally celebrated, and that the son was the current Musard, the father having retired several years previously.

[55]Concerts featuring large performing forces and dance music were frequently labeled concerts à la Musard; such concerts were given in New York at Niblo's Saloon in 1842, in Detroit in 1844, and under the direction of Gustave Blessner in Boston in 1846 (Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, 4:593; Jean Lincoln, "Music in Michigan before 1860" [Master's thesis, Michigan State College, 1939], p. 178; and Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 2 May 1846)..

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was also akin to Louis Jullien, who had toured in the United States in 1853-54.[56]

Musard was not the natural showman like Jullien, but his lack of flamboyancy was mitigated by Ullman. As was sometimes the case, Ullman could not simply present to the public unadorned music for its own sake. And once again some good music was almost overwhelmed by his trappings of humbug. Ullman announced that the "Musard Concerts will form the most colossal and artistic entertainment that has ever been introduced in America."[57] He redecorated the Academy with "rich velvety carpets, luxurious divans . . . twenty-five monster candelabras and new and splendid chandeliers."[58] One thousand fans were given away at every performance--ladies were "requested not to take the trouble of bringing fans with them"--and evening newspapers were sold by "young gentlemen in uniform," as was "customary in Paris and London." Ullman continued a feature he had introduced in Thalberg's matinees:

> Persons wishing to take refreshments (ice creams, tea, coffee, cakes, &c.) without leaving their seats, can have them brought to them by waiters in livery, who will be stationed for that purpose in the parquet and dress circle.

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[56]See Eugene Victor Frey, "Jullien in America" (Master's thesis, College-Conservatory of Music of Cincinnati, 1956).

[57]New-York Times, 3 April 1858, p. 3.

[58]New-York Times, 12 April 1858, p. 2.

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Two final touches were apparently new to New York:

> By a new contrivance every piece in the programme will be announced to the public by transparent placards on the stage.
>
> The commencement of the second part of the Concert will be notified by the sounding of a gong.[59]

The specialties of Musard were, to be sure, not the best music. The quadrilles were lighthearted dance music of patchwork design often using pre-existing material. Gotham: or the Electric Telegraph Quadrille was a medley of popular tunes ranging from "Yankee Doodle" and "The Star-Spangled Banner" to "The Arkansas Traveller" and "Oh! Susanna." Many of the quadrilles were descriptive: The Zouaves on the Malakoff depicted "with startling reality" an episode from the Crimean War, and Boeufs et moutons imitated with instruments "the baaing of the lambs, the lowing of the cows, [and] the roaring of the bulls" as flocks and herds

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[59]All these accessories were fodder for the satirists. At Burton's Theatre, where John Brougham's The Great Tragic Revival was playing, the program announced: "A gong will be sounded whenever a joke of sufficient magnitude is eventuated. . . . The plot of the drama, together with a pair of antique folding-doors, will be simultaneously opened by Two Waiters in Livery. . . . Should the drama not be found sufficiently absorbing, the morning and evening papers, together with Harper's Magazine or the New-York Directory, will be found admirably adapted to divert undue attention and ameliorate the rigor of intellectual fatigue" (quoted in New-York Times, 19 April 1858, p. 4).

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descend a mountain side. In The Express Railroad Gallop, the sound of the conductor's whistle, the locomotive bell, "the puffing of the locomotive," and "the whiz of the cars" was produced by

> special machinery brought by M. Musard from Paris, but there being an important difference between a French locomotive and an American one, M. Musard consulted "local truth" and had a new machine manufactured expressly for his use at the celebrated Novelty Works.[60]

Helping to redeem the questionable music were fine performances by the orchestra, composed of 120 local musicians,[61] and by the various wind-instrument soloists, whom Musard had brought with him from Paris, who displayed their virtuosity in the quadrilles and solos.[62] Musard's conducting, however, did not reach the level of Jullien. According to the New York Courier and Enquirer, "Monsieur Jullien was a vulgar humbug; but he was a great conductor--a man almost of genius in his way: Mr. Musard appears to be a well bred gentleman, an accomplished musician, and a good

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[60]New-York Times, 12 April 1858, p. 2.

[61]Ullman billed the orchestra as "the monster orchestra [which] will be the grandest, completest and most colossal that has ever been brought before the American public" (New-York Times, 6 April 1858, p. 3).

[62]Soloists included Legendre (cornet à pistons), Demersmann (flute), Moreau (ophicleide), Hubens (oboe), and Artus (bassoon).

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conductor--nothing more."[63]

By far the most important aspect of the concert series was the performance of serious music by the orchestra under the direction of Karl Anschütz, the conductor engaged by Ullman the previous fall for the Academy of Music.[64] Most significant was a "Berlioz Night," given four times, which included performances of that composer's Les Francs-Juges, Le Carnaval romain, and the Rákóczy March from La Damnation de Faust, and his orchestration of Weber's Invitation to the Dance. None of these works was new to America, except perhaps the march, but certainly no such concentrated dose of Berlioz had been heard before in the United States.[65] The only other composer so honored in the series was Beethoven. Among his works on two slightly different programs were the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies and the

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[63]13 April 1858, quoted in Dwight's Journal of Music 13/4 (24 April 1858), 26.

[64]Anschütz had served as conductor for Thalberg's only concert with orchestra the previous fall (New York, 15 September 1857) and for the two farewell concerts (2 and 4 January 1858); he was also the piano accompanist for at least one concert (New York, 23 October 1857).

[65]The Berlioz nights were probably Ullman's idea; upon his departure for Europe the previous spring, Ullman was said to be planning an American tour for the composer (Dwight's Journal of Music 11/2 [11 April 1857], 14; and New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/9 [2 May 1857], 129). In a letter to Ullman dated 15 July 1857, Berlioz stated his intention to visit the United States the following season (reprinted in New-York Musical Review and Gazette 8/17 [22 August 1857], 261).

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American premieres of two overtures: Namensfeier and King Stephen.[66] In addition, Thalberg performed the first movement of the Third Piano Concerto, and Vieuxtemps the first movement of the Violin Concerto. With the assistance of the Liederkranz Society and the New-York Harmonic Society, Mozart's Requiem and Mendelssohn's Elijah were also performed, the latter conducted by George Frederick Bristow, the conductor of the Harmonic Society.

Apart from his two performances of the Beethoven concerto movement, Thalberg's role in the Musard concerts was small despite the frequency of his appearances. He appeared eighteen times during the first three weeks of the concerts (which took place every evening with an occasional matinee), generally playing one solo piece or a duet with Vieuxtemps. Other soloists included Elena D'Angri, Karl Formes, and Juliana May, all of whom were singers from the Academy of Music.

Ullman tried to appeal "in these concerts to all classes of the community."[67] Charging only fifty cents for admission, which was especially cheap considering the variety of attractions, should have guaranteed success. But the attendance suffered, at least at first, because of the

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[66]In his First Performances in America to 1900, Johnson wrongly lists the premieres as 1866 for Namensfeier and 1869 for King Stephen, both conducted by Theodore Thomas in New York.

[67]New-York Times, 3 April 1858, p. 3.

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weather.[68] Dwight's Brooklyn correspondent reported on the poor attendance:

> The Musard Concerts are a very bad failure. The whole thing has fallen flat. The audiences are never large, and sometimes they are quite meagre. The enthusiasm was never above blood-heat and often down at Zero. Mons. Musard is always intensely graceful, never in earnest, for fear it might be vulgar. The ladies think him "such a love of a man," and Mons. thinks the "American poobleek don't know good mooseek."
>
> Mr. Ullmann is losing money every night. This is really too bad, for the Concerts are certainly well worth attending.[69]

Perhaps the disappointing success of the Musard concerts, which were so popular in Paris, can be attributed to the difference in the American temperament. Several months later, when the Academy was rearranged so that the orchestra was on a raised platform in the center of the building and the stage formed a dance floor, Dwight's New York correspondent reported:

> Not that people dance at the Musard Concerts--by no means--we are too severely proper, too elegant, too recherché for anything like that. On the contrary we come to a promenade concert, to sit in solemn rows on the same seats we occupied during the operatic season, or to stand in immovable groups, near the musicians, holding our hats carefully behind our backs, to preserve them from undue pressure. A promenade concert in New York is anything but a promenade concert. A few adventurous couples will sail solemnly around in eddying circles, but at the same time with an

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[68]"Dull and threatening days and constant outbursts of cold rain have tended to keep the ladies in doors" (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1 May 1858, p. 347).

[69]Dwight's Journal of Music 13/7 (15 May 1858), 52.

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unpleasant consciousness of being stared at and taken for foreigners. American ladies will not promenade at our promenade concerts.[70]

The Final Tour

For the third and last time Thalberg and company headed West. Grau once again managed the tour, which lasted six weeks and included twenty-eight concerts plus one school concert in twenty-two cities (see table 9 and map 9).[71] Beginning in Albany on 3 May 1858, the tour followed basically the same path as the first Strakosch tour with a few slight variations, such as going to Detroit immediately from Canada. Only two new cities were added to the itinerary--Sandusky, Ohio, and Peoria, Illinois.[72] As far as Thalberg was concerned, the tour and his American concert career ended in the latter city on 12 June 1858.

Many of the cities had heard Thalberg a number of times before. This tour brought the total concerts given by the pianist in St. Louis to nine, in Cincinnati to eight, in Buffalo, Louisville, and Toronto to five, and in Albany,

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[70]Dwight's Journal of Music 13/16 (17 July 1858), 125.

[71]Only one concert was canceled, in Dayton, because of fear of railroad damage due to a severe storm (Dayton Daily Journal, 27 May 1858).

[72]Springfield, Illinois, was not new to the Thalberg itinerary but heard him for the first time on this tour because his previous concert had been canceled.

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TABLE 9

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S THIRD WESTERN TOUR (1858)

3	May	Albany, NY	21	May	Wheeling, WV
4	May	Troy, NY	22	May	Columbus, OH
5	May	Utica, NY	24	May	Cincinnati, OH
6	May	Syracuse, NY	26	May	Cincinnati, OH
7	May	Rochester, NY	27	May	Lexington, KY
8	May	Toronto, Ontario	28	May	Louisville, KY
10	May	Toronto, Ontario	3	Jun	Nashville, TN
11	May	Buffalo, NY	4	Jun	Nashville, TN (s)*
12	May	Hamilton, Ontario			Nashville, TN
13	May	Detroit, MI	5	Jun	Nashville, TN
14	May	Detroit, MI	8	Jun	St. Louis, MO
15	May	Toledo, OH	9	Jun	St. Louis, MO
17	May	Sandusky, OH	10	Jun	Springfield, IL
18	May	Cleveland, OH	12	Jun	Peoria, IL
20	May	Pittsburgh, PA			

*s = school concert; see the Appendix for postponed and canceled concerts.

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MAP 9

ITINERARY OF THALBERG'S THIRD WESTERN TOUR (1858)



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Troy, Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh to four. Because of this high saturation, ticket prices in most cities were lowered to one dollar for reserved seats, although this was not always a successful measure in attracting full houses. The attendance at the Utica concert "was fair in numbers,"[73] the Buffalo concert was "rather slenderly attended,"[74] and the hall for the second Detroit concert was "about half filled, being a much smaller audience than has ever before assembled in [the] city to listen to first-class musical talent."[75] In other cities, however, attendance was as good as ever: both Toronto concerts were sold out,[76] and for the second Cincinnati concert there was "scarcely an unoccupied seat in the Hall."[77]

Annetta Caradori and Juliana May were the two singers who joined Thalberg, Vieuxtemps, and the violinist's wife at

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[73]Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette, 6 May 1858.

[74]Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy, 12 May 1858.

[75]Detroit Daily Free Press, 15 May 1858. The newspaper blamed the poor attendance partially on the "threatening weather" but mainly on the high price of tickets, which was $1.50 for reserved seats.

[76]Hamilton Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce, 8 May 1858.

[77]Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 27 May 1858. The review further stated: "At no concert that we have ever attended in Smith & Nixon's Hall, have we seen so full a house as there was last night."

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the beginning of the tour. May was a native of Washington, DC, and had spent six years studying and performing in Europe before returning to the United States in the fall of 1857.[78] Although not blessed with an exceptional voice,[79] she was especially popular with the public because she was an American. In Detroit, for example, she

> was an evident favorite with the audience, perhaps as much from her decidedly American appearance as anything. This will always render her a favorite in America, where we have little of first class musical talent except that which is imported.[80]

Her reception may seem contradictory to the usual treatment of native artists. Apparently, the American public would not have found her sufficient attraction to attend a concert with her as the star, but once at a concert to hear Thalberg and Vieuxtemps, they were proud of her accomplishment as the only native on the bill.

There were cast changes again, with Elena D'Angri and Signor Abella joining the troupe in Pittsburgh and Caradori leaving in Wheeling. Madame Vieuxtemps probably continued accompanying her husband although Abella accompanied the singers. Ernest Perring, who had been in the last tour, joined this one in Cincinnati, replacing May who left in Louisville.

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[78]New-York Daily Tribune, 22 September 1857, p. 7.

[79]See Fry's review of her first concert upon her return to the United States (New-York Daily Tribune, 23 September 1857, p. 5); and Thompson, The American Singer, pp. 39-40.

[80]Detroit Daily Free Press, 14 May 1858.

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The tour went smoothly until the troupe reached Chicago, where three concerts were scheduled. Two days before the first concert the following announcement appeared:

> The manager requests us to announce to the public that, owing to circumstances, which render Mr. Thalberg's immediate return to Europe necessary, the concerts advertised in the West will be indefinitely postponed, with the exception of the one advertised in Chicago on Monday evening, at Light Guard Hall.[81]

Thalberg, however, did not appear at this Chicago concert, which was billed as "his last appearance in America."[82] This is apparently the only concert among more then 300 in which he did not appear as scheduled.[83] According to one paper: "The manager announced a 'sudden and serious illness,' as the explanation of his absence. The English of

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[81]Chicago Daily Journal, 12 June 1858. Also included in the announcement: "All bills or demands for advertising in the various towns in the interior, will please be forwarded immediately to his secretary, G. W. Wilkins, esq., 29 Amity street, N.Y."

[82]Chicago Daily Tribune, 14 June 1858.

[83]This does not take into account postponed and canceled concerts, but only those that actually took place. According to one sarcastic report, upon entering the hall for the first Chicago concert, the audience "met staring them, a placard, commencing: 'In Consequence Of The Sudden Illness Of Mr. Thalberg' he would be unable to appear; nevertheless, the other performers, that the dear public might not suffer in bodily health from the effects of so dire a disappointment, would graciously condescend to appear without him! A few read it, and turned away disgusted; the majority read it, and went in disgusted" (New-York Musical Review and Gazette 9/15 [24 July 1858], 230).

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it is that he has left for Europe."[84] George P. Upton recounted the mysterious events:

> There was at once a flight of rumors. His agent said he was ill. No one believed him. It was reported that he had had a falling out with D'Angri. But most startling of all was the rumor that Madame Thalberg had arrived in New York and was anxious to see him. The manager gave me some information, but it was purely confidential. As long experience with managers has made me distrust their stories, confidential ones in particular, it is not worth relating, though the confidence was outlawed long ago. Besides, I doubt not it was idle gossip.[85]

Upton's frustratingly decorous account can be supplemented from a private listing he kept of Chicago musical events. His entry for 16 June 1858, when the troupe gave another concert without Thalberg, included: "D'Angri's Second Concert (with-out Thalberg) who suddenly disappeared at appearance of his wife on the scene looking up D'Angri and his affairs."[86]

There was no need for Upton's sense of propriety in his published account, for Maretzek had already made even greater and more explicit accusations than Upton's private journal:

> Mme. D'Angri in her many travels had learned all that is worth knowing, and, among other things, how to entangle a gentleman who had no other occupation except playing occasionally two of his own compositions on the

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[84]Chicago Daily Tribune, 15 June 1858.

[85]Musical Memories, pp. 74-75.

[86]George P. Upton, "Attractions in Chicago: 1847-1881," Chicago Historical Society, 1:50.

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> piano, and who consequently must have felt lonesome all the rest of his time. Mme. D'Angri . . . had a young and handsome daughter . . .
>
> The mother invited Mr. Thalberg to pass his leisure hours in her parlor: and there and then they managed to cobweb Mr. Thalberg and amuse him . . .
>
> This . . . had two consequences. The first was the sudden arrival of Mrs. Thalberg . . . in Boston, which caused the sudden departure of Thalberg from New York without waiting for the fond embraces of his wife, and the second consequence was the debut of a granddaughter of Mme. D'Angri, under the name of Mlle. Thalberg, about twenty years later, as Zerlina in "Don Giovanni" at London.[87]

Maretzek's claims, as always, must be taken with a grain of salt. A Zaré Thalberg did make her debut at Covent Garden in April 1875 as Zerlina in Don Giovanni, but her real name was Ethel Western and she was born in Derbyshire, England, in April 1858.[88] Whether there was any link between Thalberg and D'Angri or her daughter will probably never be known. Certainly his sudden flight does not speak in his favor. His wife's arrival in the United States, however, may have had nothing to do with her suspicions. Her father, the celebrated bass Luigi Lablache, had died early that year. Possibly her grief or freedom from taking care of her

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[87]Sharps and Flats, pp. 42-43.

[88]Elizabeth Forbes, "Thalberg, Zaré," The New Grove, 18:724.

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father in his final illness prompted her trip to America.[89]

There is at least one other possibility. One newspaper vaguely reported that "Madame Thalberg arrived here recently, and the intelligence of which she is the bearer will compel the great pianist to return forthwith."[90] Her intelligence was possibly the news that she had inherited from her father his villa and vineyard at Posillipo, near Naples. Perhaps with this inheritance she felt there was no longer any need for her husband to continue to perform to make money. He certainly had already amassed a considerable sum (as discussed in the preceding chapter), and after leaving the United States he immediately went to his father-in-law's villa. There he retired from concert life, making only occasional appearances, and spent the rest of his life cultivating the grapes Lablache had planted and winning awards for his wine.[91]

In any event, Thalberg made no more appearances in

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[89]A Chicago correspondent to the New-York Musical Review and Gazette reported: "It came out in the prints, that the sudden departure of the pianist, was the unexpected arrival of his spouse, in New-York, who, after two years' tarrying behind, had come to ask cause, why she could not Americanize as well as he? . . . but the columns of the Review are not the place for the retailing of scandalous gossip, however true it may be" (9/15 [24 July 1858], 230).

[90]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 26 June 1858, p. 59.

[91]See Vincenzo Vitale, "Sigismond Thalberg a Posillipo," Nuova rivista musicale italiana 6/4 (October-December 1972), 503-11.

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America, his last occurring in Peoria on 12 June 1858. The troupe, however, went on without him. One immediate change after his departure occurred in the concert announcements. The name of the manager, "J. Grau," which had been absent in the advertisements now appeared prominently. For the troupe's first official concert without the pianist (their second in Chicago) the announcement read in part:

> J. Grau has the honor to announce, that he has concluded an arrangement with Madame Elena D'Angri . . . Henri Vieuxtemps . . . Ernest Perring . . . and Signor Abella for a short Concert season to the Western cities.[92]

Thalberg's withdrawal from the tour apparently voided any contract the troupe had with him or Ullman. Under Grau, the performers appeared in Wisconsin and in a number of small cities in Iowa (Burlington, Davenport, Keokuk, Galesburg) and western Illinois (Quincy, Rock Island, Rockford) before wending their way back to New York.

Thalberg's American tour was impressive in its organization and efficiency. With his previous experience managing Herz and Sontag, Ullman was well prepared for Thalberg. His astute management, as well as that of Strakosch and Grau, brought Thalberg to over 75 cities in the United States and Canada in 340 concerts. Only twice--in the matinees and Musard concerts--did Ullman allow his

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[92]Chicago Daily Tribune, 16 June 1858.

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publicity instincts to go too far. Otherwise, he supplied an imaginative array of prominent musicians to assist the pianist in his concerts.

More important than the sheer number of concerts given and cities visited, Thalberg was undoubtedly the greatest pianist yet to visit the United States. The American public responded accordingly and returned again and again to his concerts. Without a trace of empty display, Thalberg offered superbly polished performances of his own works, already well known in America. He also made a significant step toward performing the music of other composers in his concerto appearances and matinees.

Shortly after Thalberg's departure from the United States, the New-York Musical Review and Gazette summed up his tour:

> Thalberg returning home with his wife, quite unexpectedly closed what has been a most brilliant career--completely successful, musically, giving to the talented and genial artist abundance of both fame and money. There is probably not another virtuoso, whether with instrument or voice, (Liszt alone excepted,) who could have excited a moiety of the enthusiasm, or gathered a fragment of the dollars, which Thalberg has excited and gathered.[93]

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[93] 9/15 (24 July 1858), 226.

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CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

What role did De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg play in the musical life of mid-nineteenth-century America? Were they a good influence or bad? Did they have any lasting effect on music in America? The question most often posed has been whether these pianists improved the musical taste of Americans. At the end of the nineteenth century, the critic Henry Krehbiel wrote of this period:

> The paucity of artistic effort native to the soil made the Americans of that day peculiarly the prey of the virtuosi from abroad. They were exploited by advertising-managers of the Barnum stamp, who were quick to realize upon the eagerness to hear and know the best; the people lined the pockets of singers and pianists and violinists who contributed little or nothing to the real advancement of musical culture.[1]

Half a century later, a writer examining Thalberg's effect on American musical life warned that "we should not underestimate the part he played a hundred years ago in delaying our musical coming-of-age."[2]

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[1] Philharmonic Society, p. 83.

[2] Vera Mikol, "The Influence of Sigismund Thalberg on American Musical Taste, 1830-1872," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 102/5 (October 1958), 468.

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If we listen to writers of the period, however, they tell a different story. A St. Louis paper, for example, claimed of Herz: "Every body perceives that his influence will be beneficial to mind and taste."[3] A Cleveland critic stated after hearing Thalberg perform there for the first time:

> We have not a particle of doubt that the visit of Thalberg to this country has done much to purify and correct the taste of the musical--to instruct the admirers of good music in showing how much that is chaste and charming may be found in it without crashing and startling effects.[4]

An Albany writer predicted on the day of Thalberg's first concert in that city:

> But he alone will not be the gainer by the tour. The musical taste of the American public has been greatly elevated by the teachings of the great European artists; and Thalberg will still more improve it, at the same time chastening it, and lifting it above the faults and false show of the secondary schools.[5]

In his review of a concert by De Meyer in New York, the critic George William Curtis, a close friend of Dwight,[6] attributed an improvement in taste to the pianist and other visiting artists:

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[3]St. Louis Daily Reveille, 27 May 1847; also quoted in Tri-Weekly Nashville Union, 10 June 1847, and Daily Cincinnati Commercial, 29 June 1847.

[4]Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, 9 June 1857.

[5]Albany Atlas & Argus, 24 November 1856.

[6]See Early Letters of George Wm. Curtis to John S. Dwight.

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> It is verily refreshing to feel that our great Gotham, in spite of its devotion to the twin idols of Mammon and Fashion, is beginning to give evidence of real progress in the appreciation of Musical Art. . . . The crowded audiences which have attended the more than usually numerous musical entertainments of the present season, attest the hold which Music is taking on the general heart.
>
> Foremost among the causes of this growing love of Music, are the visits with which we have been favored by distinguished artists of the old world, and which have already exerted a great and beneficial influence upon the public taste; awakening a love of music where it had lain dormant, and giving, to those who were already alive to its pleasures, higher and wider views of the beauty, significance, and world-wide relations of this divine art.
>
> To none among these welcome visitors has a more cordial reception been given than to Leopold de Meyer.[7]

Gottschalk was "daily astonished at the rapidity with which the taste for music is developed and is developing in the United States," and he implied that the increasing purity in American taste owed much to the Europeans and to himself as well.[8] Vieuxtemps modestly corroborated this assumption without praising his own contribution. His first visit to the United States in 1843 had coincided with that of Ole Bull, and the American public had clearly preferred the Norwegian violinist. Vieuxtemps later explained his first tour's lack of complete success:

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[7]"De Meyer in New York," The Harbinger 2/11 (21 February 1846), 173-74.

[8]Notes of a Pianist, p. 238.

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> At that period the inhabitants of the United States of America were not smitten with music-mania as at the present day. I went there too soon; I was too classical for them.[9]

When he returned with great hesitation to America in 1857 to tour with Thalberg, he discovered a vast improvement in the public's musical interests:

> I soon perceived that Ole Bull, Sivori, Henri Herz, Leopold de Meyer, Jenny Lind, Damoreau, Alboni, etc., had been there and worked wonders. Ignorance was disappearing, instinct being revealed, and the want of harmony as well as the power of comprehension being awakened.
>
> At least a few spoke against the virtuosos in general.

A St. Louis paper believed American money could have been spent on a more worthwhile musical endeavor than touring performers:

> We have often thought that too much money is lavished by our countrymen on remarkable musical artists. Or at any rate, if we do not spend too much money on them, we spend too little money for endowing academies of musical science. We agree with a Pittsburgh contemporary that the sums wasted upon musical prodigies would be sufficient to establish permanent operas and academies of music, which would do more to elevate the public taste, in one year, than those meteoric visitations would in ten.[10]

Other dissenting opinions were voiced by those with a bias towards German music. In 1856, prior to Thalberg's

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[9]"Autobiographie," quoted in Kufferath, Henri Vieuxtemps, pp. 13-16; English translation in Dwight's Journal of Music 41 (3 September 1881), 119.

[10]St. Louis Intelligencer, quoted in The Musical World and New York Musical Times 6/7 (18 June 1853), 107.

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arrival in the United States, a conversation with a German musician returning to Europe appeared in a New York music journal; the musician had been asked if he thought the United States had "made some progress in music":

> "Immensely!" he replied, with haste; "especially in the concertroom. When I think of the concerts I heard four years ago and those I listened to just before my departure, there is certainly great occasion for satisfaction. What a blessing, for instance, it is that you have so very soon overcome the curse of the virtuosi, under which Europe had to suffer much longer. It really gives me pleasure to think that not one mere finger-harlequin can sustain himself in America by concerts.[11]

The musician would probably not have classified Thalberg as a "mere finger-harlequin," although he might have De Meyer and Herz. Similar satisfaction regarding the waning popularity of the virtuosos was expressed three years later by a Cincinnati correspondent to the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik:

> Fortunately the reign of mere virtuosity in the United States seems more and more to approach its end. The public grows tired of the mere dexterity of fingers and the roulades of the singers, and one must look upon this as a good sign for the eventual development and success of really good music in this country of the future.[12]

While some were cheering the apparent ebbing of the virtuoso mania, most Americans were congratulating themselves for supporting the visiting artists so

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[11]New-York Musical Review and Gazette 7/11 (31 May 1856), 165.

[12]Quoted in English translation in New-York Musical Review and Gazette 10/13 (25 June 1859), 196. By "really good music," the writer obviously meant German music.

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generously. A New York newspaper wrote in regard to Thalberg:

> We glory in the triumphant success of this great man, for his triumph has nobly vindicated our character as a musical people. No one will dare in the future to doubt the wide-spread existence of pure taste and correct judgement in our midst. . . . We rejoice at the success of Thalberg, for our judgement is as honorable to us as it is richly merited by him.[13]

A music journal echoed this pride:

> The success of Sigismund Thalberg . . . in America is familiar to every one. It has no parallel in the career of any artist with perhaps the exception of Jenny Lind. His success will be a wholesome reproof to those in Europe and at home who asserted that the taste in America was not sufficiently advanced to appreciate so refined and exquisite a performer, and that consequently, Thalberg must fail. He has succeeded and has been appreciated and America has vindicated her claim to refinement and critical acumen to the confusion of her detractors.[14]

This attitude at least partly grew out of a continuing cultural inferiority complex suffered by many Americans and their desire to prove that America was civilized. Similar attempts were made on the national rather than international level by newspapers at a time when civic boosterism was rampant. During this period, newspapers were the primary means of disseminating news, and articles were often reprinted in papers throughout the country; as a result many writers tried to portray their cities in as good a light as

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[13]Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 3 January 1857, p. 75.

[14]Quoted in Savannah Daily Republican, 23 January 1858; and Mobile Daily Register, 5 February 1858.

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possible. In Pittsburgh one paper boasted of the welcome given De Meyer there:

> The enthusiastic reception the great artist met with--the applause and repeated encores, testify to the delight and gratification of the audience, and prove that the Iron City contains many who have an idea above "Jim Crow" and "Lucy Long"--many who can appreciate art in its most exalted form.[15]

Such accounts are numerous and perhaps should not always be taken too literally. But it is essential to realize that most people believed that supporting these virtuosos was good for music and ultimately good for business and their community. A writer in Sacramento illustrated this point vividly when he encouraged its citizens to persuade Herz to perform there:

> It is for us to show the world what is the character of our population. Let our friends in the East and in Europe know that we can and will appreciate talent, and talent will come to us. If Herz is well received here it will do as much good to California, socially, as a report of the discovery of a new gold mine would commercially. . . . All that we need to sustain that high standard we believe the State to hold at present, is to have genius of a high order visit us occasionally, as it does New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans. If the world is made to know what the social and domestic character of our population really is hundreds of families would emigrate to our land where ten do now.[16]

In addition, writers across the country agreed that hearing these pianists perform would be a valuable experience for students of the instrument. A Cincinnati

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[15]Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal, 8 July 1846.

[16]Sacramento Transcript, 3 April 1850.

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writer believed that Thalberg's

> presence in this country will be beneficial to all who desire to master this most social of all musical instruments--the rising generation will profit by witnessing the method of this eminent artist.[17]

A New York paper concurred:

> No instruction can be more useful to all young performers than to sit at Thalberg's feet, and listen to his wonderful achievements. On this account, as well as for the pleasure we shall all derive, we hail his coming to our country.[18]

The New-York Musical Review and Gazette predicted that Thalberg's matinees could "become the high school of pianism, highly instructive to those who, from a technical point of view, want to learn."[19]

Even The Musical Gazette of Boston, which was critical of De Meyer's repertory, nevertheless argued that students should attend his performances:

> We wished that every scholar we had, or that intended to choose us as instructor, could have been present, to witness the perfect mechanism of his execution. We have to lecture not a little on the best way of striking with the fingers, with the wrist, with the arm. . . . It is replied, that nobody, or very few, play as we say, and we suffer a great deal for want of models. Now here is a living specimen.
>
> As far as fine music is concerned, we have, perhaps, preference for some other kinds of concert performance; but we like, once in a while, to see what can be done on the piano, and think it perfectly proper that there should be five or six persons in the world, who may serve, as we say, for models. . . .

---

[17]Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 6 May 1857.

[18]New York Observer, quoted in New York Musical Pioneer and Chorister's Budget 2/4 (1 January 1857), 52.

[19]8/4 (21 February 1857), 51.

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> We would advise every one who plays the piano, to "go and hear" this piano wonder, taking good care to hear him as a wonder, and not as a maker of fine music.[20]

A decade later Dwight voiced a similiar opinion of Thalberg:

> It is worth one's while to witness for once the best of its kind. And Thalberg, if we mistake not, has given us all a new idea of possible perfection in executive art.[21]

The effect of these three pianists in America cannot be considered in isolation from that of many other touring violinists, singers, and opera troupes and of the significant work of resident pianists and other musicians.[22] But as virtuosos, they stimulated an interest in music among a wide range of people to an extent that resident musicians were not able to do.[23] As late as 1881, George T. Ferris, who had few kind words to say about Thalberg's music, could nevertheless state that he "created a furore, which has

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[20]1/22 (23 November 1846), 173-74.

[21]Dwight's Journal of Music 10/16 (17 January 1857), 125.

[22]In 1860 one journal gave equal importance to visiting and resident pianists: "The pianists, who have come and gone, and those who have come and remained, have opened another broad field of beauty and power to thousands of young enthusiasts. Such men as Thalberg, Jaell, Dresel, Trenkle and many others, have fired the young minds, and animated the patient fingers of hosts of ambitious students" (Boston Musical Times 1/1 [25 February 1860], 5-6).

[23]See the discussion in chapters I and V.

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never been matched since."[24]

Not all the beneficial results of these tours occurred immediately.[25] De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg helped prepare the way for later pianists, most importantly Rubinstein and Bülow, who presented more challenging programs. In fact, the sequence in which these pianists visited America could not have been better suited to the country's development in musical taste. The energy, excitement, and showmanship of De Meyer made piano music palatable to even an unsophisticated audience. Both Herz and Thalberg also appealed to a similar audience, ranging from musically literate to naive, but they brought a seriousness and elegance to the concert room that De Meyer lacked. In addition, Thalberg expanded in a small but significant manner the typical repertory of the virtuoso pianist. Rubinstein was the first visiting virtuoso to play the classical repertory as we know it today. His stormy and exciting performances and the romantic appeal of his personality captivated the public, who possibly for the first time in many places heard and appreciated Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, and others. Bülow was also devoted to

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[24]The Great Violinists and Pianists (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881), p. 257.

[25]As Maretzek wrote of his attempt to popularize opera with cheap ticket prices in 1850: "This mistake was made in supposing that he who sows, invariably reaps the harvest. Certainly, I scattered the seed then, but it will remain for another hand than mine, or another time than mine own, to gather in the crop. A love for music is a thing that cannot bear fruit the same month in which its seeds have been scattered in the ground" (Crotchets and Quavers, p. 171).

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the classical repertory, to which he brought a new intensity devoid of display and showmanship.

The tours of De Meyer, Herz, and Thalberg should not be viewed, however, merely as precursors of those by artists with higher aspirations. Whether their music is considered good or bad, many people heard it, and many derived great pleasure from it. Perhaps the greatest service these pianists performed was to bring music to people all across the country (see table 10 and map 10). While the larger cities sustained an active concert life with resident musicians, smaller cities relied more heavily on traveling performers. Sometimes, in fact, they were the principal suppliers of music, judging by a report sent by a Hartford correspondent to Dwight shortly after Thalberg left the United States:

> The Journal can seldom receive a musical echo from this goodly city. An occasional concert by a travelling "celebrity," a flying visit from a Thalberg or a Formes, makes up the little sum of our musical entertainments.[26]

Two decades earlier, even before the virtuosos found their way to America in large numbers, William Henry Fry could state:

> Music is at a miserably low ebb in the theatre and concert room and depends solely for transient amelioration on a single evening by the performance of passing artists.[27]

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[26]Dwight's Journal of Music 13/16 (17 July 1858), 125. The correspondent also bemoaned that "even these great names cannot fill our small hall."

[27]Quoted in Upton, Fry, p. 39.

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TABLE 10

CITIES VISITED BY DE MEYER, HERZ, AND/OR THALBERG

Albany, NY
Alexandria, VA
Alton, IL
Atlanta, GA
Auburn, NY
Augusta, GA
Baltimore, MD
Baton Rouge, LA
Benicia, CA
Boston, MA
Brooklyn, NY
Buffalo, NY
Burlington, VT
Cambridge, MA
Cape May, NJ
Charleston, SC
Charlottesville, VA
Chicago, IL
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Columbia, SC
Columbus, GA
Columbus, OH
Dayton, OH
Detroit, MI
Donaldsonville, LA
Dubuque, IA
Fall River, MA
Galena, IL
Hamilton, Ontario
Harrisburg, PA
Hartford, CT
Indianapolis, IN
Jackson, MS
Kenosha, WI
Kingston, Ontario
Lancaster, PA
Lexington, KY
Louisville, KY
Lowell, MA
Lynchburg, VA
Macon, GA
Madison, WI
Maysville, KY
Memphis, TN
Milwaukee, WI
Mobile, AL
Montgomery, AL
Montreal, Quebec
Nashville, TN
Natchez, MS
New Bedford, MA
New Haven, CT
New Orleans, LA
New York, NY
Newark, NJ
Newport, RI
Niagara Falls, NY
Norfolk, VA
Northampton, MA
Peoria, IL
Petersburg, VA
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Portland, ME
Providence, RI
Quebec, Quebec
Richmond, VA
Rochester, NY
Sacramento, CA
St. Francisville, LA
St. Louis, MO
Salem, MA
San Francisco, CA
Sandusky, OH
Saratoga Springs, NY
Savannah, GA
Springfield, IL
Springfield, MA
Staten Island, NY
Syracuse, NY
Toledo, OH
Toronto, Ontario
Trenton, NJ
Troy, NY
Utica, NY
Vicksburg, MS
Washington, DC
Wheeling, WV
Williamsburg, NY
Wilmington, DE
Wilmington, NC
Worcester, MA
Zanesville, OH

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MAP 10

CITIES VISITED BY DE MEYER, HERZ, AND/OR THALBERG*



*excluding Benicia, Sacramento, and San Francisco, CA

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That such towns as Columbus, Georgia; Dubuque, Iowa; Natchez, Mississippi; and Zanesville, Ohio, heard the finest pianists of the day is little short of astonishing. As a Springfield, Massachusetts, newspaper wrote:

> Steam familiarizes us with marvels. . . . We do not know whether the thought has struck others, but it is noteworthy that the highest performers the world knows are always heard here. The choicest musical geniuses of Europe bring their offering to us--Jenny Lind, Ole Bull, Salvi, Sontag, and now Thalberg. We hear the best musicians in the world, and it is a privilege to be grateful for.[28]

Many writers felt that these concerts were more than just passing events or "transient amelioration" but would become permanent memories in the lives of those who attended them. Of a Thalberg concert in Wheeling, a critic stated: "It will not be out of place to say, that some connoisseurs present considered it one of the greatest treats of their lives."[29] In Atlanta: "But once in a lifetime we who are far distant from the great cities of the world, are privileged to hear such melody."[30] After appearances in Mobile by Herz and Sivori, one writer believed "their visit will be cherished in the recollection of all who are moved by the concord of sweet sounds, as an era to which they will long recur with pleasures and satisfaction."[31] Even the pianist Richard

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[28]Springfield (MA) Daily Republican, 24 December 1856.

[29]Wheeling Daily Intelligencer, 1 May 1857.

[30]Atlanta Daily Examiner, 6 February 1858.

[31]Mobile Register and Journal, 7 April 1847. Their two concerts in Columbus, Georgia, "left impressions which will never be effaced from the memories of those who heard them" (Columbus [GA] Times, 9 February 1847).

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Hoffman spoke in an exalted fashion of attending Thalberg's concerts in New York:

> It was not a trifling incident of the day or week to go to one of these concerts, but a much-coveted privilege eagerly sought for and anticipated as a rare treat.[32]

It is difficult today to appreciate such sentiments when technology has made music readily available to practically everyone in the United States. In the 1840s and 1850s, however, when the only way to hear music was either to have it performed in the home or to attend concerts given by traveling performers or resident musicians, the tours of European virtuosos were crucial in bringing music to an entire country. Their importance was no more poignantly expressed than by a rural correspondent to a Burlington, Vermont, newspaper after attending New York concerts of both Thalberg and Gottschalk in 1856:

> So now do we conclude that which we had to say of Thalberg and Gottschalk, and their Concerts. If any read it who are able to hear as much good Music throughout the year as they wish, and smile to see so many words expended on what to them is but an every day occurrence, let them remember that we who exist in the country, seldom enjoy such pleasure, and that, therefore, when it does come, we enjoy it to the greatest extent, and make it an epoch in our uneventful lives. It is something to which we can look back during all the toilsome and wearying year, with a smile and thrill of pleasure. For during those few short hours we were in truth, <u>living</u>--<u>Ah, Music!</u>[33]

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[32]<u>Some Musical Recollections</u>, pp. 128-29.

[33]<u>Burlington</u> (VT) <u>Daily Free Press</u>, 7 February 1857.

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APPENDIX

CONCERTS GIVEN IN AMERICA BY LEOPOLD DE MEYER, HENRI HERZ, AND SIGISMOND THALBERG

Following is a list of public concerts given in America by Leopold de Meyer, Henri Herz, and Sigismond Thalberg. Where available or appropriate, information for each concert includes (1) date, (2) city, (3) location, (4) postponement or cancellation information, (5) title of concert, if unusual or significant, (6) notable works performed, (7) assisting artists, (8) dramatic or dance works presented, and (9) principal source.

Guide to procedure, terms, and abbreviations

(1) Date. The exact date is given when known. Occasionally given is a range of dates (e.g., 1 - 6 Feb 1847) within which a concert is known to have taken place.

Abbreviations: m = matinee; s = concert given by Thalberg for schoolchildren, held in the morning or early afternoon.

(2) City.

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(3) Location. The name of the concert hall, meeting place, hotel, church, etc., is given as in the concert advertisement.

(4) Postponement or cancellation information. Concerts that were officially advertised and then postponed or canceled are listed. "Postponed" concerts that were never given are indicated here as "canceled."

(5) Title of concert. Only unusual or significant titles of concerts are given. If preceded by the words "guest appearance," the name of the sponsoring performer or organization is given.

(6) Notable works performed.

(7) Assisting artists. All assisting artists cited in advertisements or reviews are listed, followed by an abbreviation indicating their function when known. Those listed in advertisements but who did not, according to reviews, appear are followed by "(DNA)." In some cases, first names and corrections in spelling have been supplied. (But many names of local musicians could not be verified.)

A common phrase during the 1840s to indicate a piano accompanist was: Mr. X "will preside at the pianoforte." Persons thus described are listed here as piano accompanists. For Thalberg's concerts, the piano accompanist was often billed as musical director or conductor; persons thus described are also listed here as piano accompanists. "Conductor" is used only to indicate the conductor of an orchestra or chorus.

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Abbreviations: DNA = did not appear; cond = conductor; fl = flute; orch = orchestra; pf = piano; pf acc = piano accompanist; tpt = trumpet; v = voice; vc = violoncello; vn = violin; vv = voices

(8) Dramatic or dance works presented. Titles of plays or dances are given preceded by the words "also on bill"; titles are those of plays unless otherwise indicated.

(9) Principal source. The most important source, usually a local newspaper, is given; secondary sources are used for concerts given in Latin America. In addition, significant reviews in periodicals are occasionally listed. Where the evidence is incomplete or inconclusive, the type of source is also indicated--e.g., announcement, advertisement, review. An "announcement" is here defined as any statement other than an advertisement made prior to a concert. A "review" is any statement, however brief, made after a concert that confirms it actually took place.

A source described as an advertisement indicates that no evidence was found that the concert took place. When a concert was postponed or canceled, however, there were usually reports in the local newspapers, and often a single concert or the last of a series of concerts given in a city was not reviewed. Therefore, concerts listed with sources qualified as advertisements can generally be assumed to have taken place.

A source described as a review generally indicates that no advertisement was found. In such cases there is no doubt

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the concert took place, but the qualificetion will explain the lack of certain information, such as the exact date or location of the concert.

Dates are supplied only when the source is a periodical or an out-of-town newspaper.

The inclusion of the word "program" indicates that a program is extant. Locations of programs are cited in the Bibliography.

Abbreviations: adv = advertisement; ann = announcement; rev = review.

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CONCERTS GIVEN IN AMERICA BY

LEOPOLD DE MEYER

20 Oct 1845 New York, NY: Park Theatre

also on bill: The Green Eyed Monster, The Bengal Tiger, and My Neighbor's Wife
(New York Herald)

22 Oct 1845 New York, NY: Park Theatre

also on bill: Boots at the Swan, My Neighbor's Wife, and Petticoat Government
(New York Herald)

24 Oct 1845 New York, NY: Park Theatre

also on bill: Katherine and Petruchio, El Jaleo de Xeres [dance], and The Dumb Belle
(New York Herald)

28 Oct 1845 New York, NY: Park Theatre

also on bill: Boots at the Swan, El Jaleo de Xeres [dance], and The Boarding School
(New York Herald)

30 Oct 1845 New York, NY: Park Theatre

also on bill: Charles II, La Cracovienne [dance], and Petticoat Government
(New York Herald)

1 Nov 1845 New York, NY: Park Theatre

also on bill: My Neighbor's Wife, La Cracovienne [dance], La Tyrolienne [dance], and Petticoat Government
(New York Herald)

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7 Nov 1845 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Madame Adler, v; Philip Mayer, v
(New York Herald)

10 Nov 1845 New York, NY: Tabernacle

guest appearance: Ureli Corelli Hill's Festival Concert
De Meyer, orchestrated Berlioz: Marche marocaine
Antoinette Otto, v; Julia Northall, v;
Signor Aupick, v; Philip Mayer, v;
Alfred Boucher, vc; John A. Kyle, fl;
members of the New York Philharmonic and New York
Sacred Music Society; Ureli Corelli Hill, cond;
De Meyer, pf, cond; Henry C. Timm, pf acc
(New York Herald)

14 Nov 1845 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Julia Northall, v; Philip Mayer, v;
Madame Lazare, harp; Charles Perabeau, pf acc
(New York Herald)

21 Nov 1845 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Philip Mayer, v; John Lange, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

25 Nov 1845 Boston, MA: Melodeon - canceled

(Boston Daily Evening Transcript)

5 Feb 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs
with Perabeau
Antoinette Otto, v (DNA); Mr. Brough, v;
Charles Perabeau, pf
(New York Herald; program)

12 Feb 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs with Loder
Mathilda Korskinsky, v; Mr. Weizel, v;
George Loder, pf
(New York Herald)

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21 Feb 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Mrs. Watson, v; Benjamin Carr Cross, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

25 Feb 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Mr. Warden's Quartette Party, vv;
Benjamin Carr Cross, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

3 Mar 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

"several vocalists," including the "Messrs. Warden";
Benjamin Carr Cross, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

10 Mar 1846 Baltimore, MD: Calvert Hall

Mrs. Bailey, v; Julius E. Muller, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

13 Mar 1846 Baltimore, MD: Calvert Hall

Mrs. Bailey, v; Julius E. Muller, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

17 Mar 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

guest appearance: Concert of Musical Fund Society
Mlle Puget, v; Mons Gibert, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Benjamin Carr Cross, pf acc;
Leopold Meignen, cond; Musical Fund Society Orchestra
(United States Gazette)

18 Mar 1846 Baltimore, MD: Calvert Hall

Mr. Wood, v; Julius E. Muller, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

19 Mar 1846 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Mr. Wood, v
(Daily National Intelligencer)

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21 Mar 1846 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Mr. Wood, v
(Daily National Intelligencer)

24 Mar 1846 Richmond, VA: Exchange Hall

Mr. Wood, v
(Richmond Enquirer)

30 Mar 1846 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Mr. M. S. Reeves, v
(Charleston Courier)

16 Apr 1846 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

18 Apr 1846 Mobile, AL: Waverly House

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v
(Mobile Register and Journal)

20 Apr 1846 New Orleans, LA: St. Louis Exchange Concert Room

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

24 Apr 1846 New Orleans, LA: St. Louis Ball Room

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v; Mr. Trust, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

27 Apr 1846 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall - postponed

(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

29 Apr 1846 Mobile, AL: Theatre

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v; Dr. O. Sceitz, fl;
Mr. F. C. Unger, pf acc
(Mobile Register and Journal)

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2 May 1846 Mobile, AL: Theatre

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v; Mr. Gasz, vn;
Mr. F. C. Unger, pf acc
(Mobile Register and Journal)

4 May 1846 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall - postponed

(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

6 May 1846 New Orleans, LA: St. Charles Theatre

Orlando (J. P.) Guilmette, v; Mr. Trust, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

9 May 1846 New Orleans, LA: St. Charles Theatre

Benefit "to furnish the Louisiana Volunteers with a
fine Band of Musicians to accompany them to Mexico"
Mrs. Hammarskold; William Furst
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

13 May 1846 Natchez, MS: City Hotel Saloon

S. B. Duffield, v
(Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette)

15 May 1846 Natchez, MS: City Hotel

S. B. Duffield, v; Mr. Chur, pf acc
(Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette, adv)

20 May 1846 Vicksburg, MS: Fraisse's Saloon

(Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig, adv)

27 May 1846 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

Polyhymnia Society (?)
(Saint Louis Reveille;
Robyn, Autobiography, pp. 270-71)

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29 May 1846 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

August Waldauer, vn; Quartette Party of the Polyhymnia Society
(Saint Louis Reveille)

1 Jun 1846 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs with Balmer
Polyhymnia Society (?); Charles Balmer, pf
(Saint Louis Reveille;
Robyn, Autobiography, pp. 270-71)

9 Jun 1846 Louisville, KY: Apollo Rooms

(Louisville Daily Democrat)

11 Jun 1846 Louisville, KY: Apollo Rooms

(Louisville Daily Democrat)

15 Jun 1846 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

Joseph Tosso, vn
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

18 Jun 1846 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v; George Knoop, vc; Mr. G. V. Scheidler, pf acc
(Cincinnati Daily Enquirer)

22 Jun 1846 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs
George Knoop, vc
(Cincinnati Daily Enquirer)

25 Jun 1846 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

"Grand Benefit Concert for Mad. and Mr. Knoop"
Dolores Knoop, v, guitar; George Knoop, vc
(Cincinnati Daily Enquirer)

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2 Jul 1846 Pittsburgh, PA: Theatre

George Knoop, vc
(Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal)

6 Jul 1846 Pittsburgh, PA: Fifth Presbyterian Church

David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs
with Kleber
George Knoop, vc; Henry Kleber, pf
(Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal)

14 Jul 1846 Cleveland, OH: Empire Hall

(Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, adv)

20 Jul 1846 Buffalo, NY: American Hotel

(Buffalo Morning Express)

21 Jul 1846 Niagara Falls, NY: Cataract Hotel

(Buffalo Morning Express, adv, 21 Jul)

24 Jul 1846 Toronto, Ontario: Government House

(Toronto Banner, adv; Toronto Patriot, rev)

28 Jul 1846 Rochester, NY: Minerva Hall

(Rochester Daily American)

? Jul 1846 Hamilton, Ontario

(New York Herald, rev, 30 Aug)

31 Jul 1846 Toronto, Ontario: Government House

guest appearance: Concert of Philharmonic Society
Mrs. Stevenson, v; Mr. Clarke, v;
Mr. Humphrey, v; Band of the 81st Regiment;
Mr. Crozier, cond; Mr. J. P. Clarke, cond
(British Colonist, ann, rev; Toronto Patriot, rev)

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5 Aug 1846 Montreal, Quebec: Daley's Hotel

(Montreal Morning Courier)

7 Aug 1846 Montreal, Quebec: Daley's Hotel

(Montreal Morning Courier, adv)

15 Aug 1846 Saratoga Springs, NY: United States Hotel

"Schneider and his celebrated band of instrumental music"
(Saratoga Whig, rev, quoted in New York Herald, 19 Aug)

22 Aug 1846 Newport, RI: Ocean House

(Newport News, rev, quoted in New York Herald, 26 Aug)

2 Oct 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

De Meyer, orchestrated Berlioz: Marche marocaine, Marche d'Isly (first performance)
Rosina Pico, v; Mathilda Korsinksy, v; Julius Hecht, v; George Loder and his orchestra
(New York Herald; program)

8 Oct 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

De Meyer, orchestrated Berlioz: Marche marocaine, Marche d'Isly
Mathilda Korsinsky, v; Mlle Rachel, v; Julius Hecht, v; Joseph Burke, vn; George Loder and his orchestra
(New York Herald)

15 Oct 1846 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Mathilda Korsinsky, v; John Lange, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

19 Oct 1846 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Osborne and Bériot: Duo on William Tell with Blessner
Rosa Garcia, v; Miss Stone, v; Mr. Barker, v; Gustave Blessner, vn; John Lange, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

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22 Oct 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

guest appearance: Concert of Joseph Burke
Rosina Pico, v; Julia L. Northall, v; Philip Mayer, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; George Loder and his orchestra
(New York Herald; program)

30 Oct 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; Mr. Warden's Glee Party
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

3 Nov 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

"Leopold de Meyer's Third Grand Musical Festival
. . . in Aid of the Charitable Fund of the German
Society of New York"
De Meyer, orchestrated Berlioz: Marche marocaine,
Marche d'Isly
Mathilda Korsinsky, v; Mrs. Edward Loder, v;
Mlle Rachel, v; Philip Mayer, v;
Julius Hecht, v; George Loder and his orchestra
(New York Herald)

5 Nov 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Museum - Upper Saloon

guest appearance: Concert of Joseph Burke
David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs
with Thorbecke
Mathilda Korsinsky, v; Joseph Burke, vn;
Mr. Warden's Glee Party; Herman Thorbecke, pf
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

10 Nov 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

guest appearance: Concert of Philharmonic Society
De Meyer, orchestrated Berlioz: Marche d'Isly;
David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs
with Thorbecke
Anna Ablamowicz, v; Mr. Noronha, vn;
Herman Thorbecke, pf; De Meyer, pf, cond;
Benjamin Carr Cross, cond; orch
(United States Gazette; program)

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13 Nov 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Museum - Upper Saloon

David, arranged De Meyer: Le Désert on 2 pfs
with Thorbecke
Joseph Burke, vn; Mathilda Korsinsky, v;
Mrs. Watson, v; Herman Thorbecke, pf
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

18 Nov 1846 Baltimore, MD: Calvert Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; Mr. Wood, v
(Baltimore Sun)

20 Nov 1846 Baltimore, MD: Calvert Hall

guest appearance: Concert of Joseph Burke
Joseph Burke, vn; Mr. Wood, v
(Baltimore Sun)

Dec 1846 - Jan 1847 Havana and Matanzas, Cuba

several concerts with Joseph Burke, vn
(New York Herald, rev, 7 Jan, 29 Jan, 5 Feb;
Ramírez, La Habana artística, p. 477)

3 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; Mrs. Hammarskold, v;
Theodore de la Hache, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

6 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: St. Charles Theatre

Joseph Burke, vn
also on bill: A Roland for an Oliver and
Nipped in the Bud
(New Orleans Daily Picayune; program)

14 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: St. Charles Theatre

Joseph Burke, vn
also on bill: La Fille de régiment [play] and
Spitfire
(New Orleans Daily Picayune; program)

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23 Feb 1847 Memphis, TN: Hightower Hall

Joseph Burke, vn
(Memphis Weekly Appeal, ann)

5 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; Gentlemen Members of the Polyhymnia Society
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

9 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall - postponed

(Saint Louis Reveille)

12 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall - postponed

(Saint Louis Reveille)

16 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; "gentlemen amateurs, forming a fine Glee Party"
(Saint Louis Reveille)

19 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; "twenty-four Gentleman Amateurs, forming a Grand Chorus"; Charles Balmer, pf acc
(Saint Louis Reveille)

23 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall

"Grand Concert For The Relief Of Suffering Humanity In Ireland"
Joseph Burke, vn; the Misses Stewart; St. Louis Glee Party
(Saint Louis Reveille)

26 Mar 1847 St. Louis, MO: Odd Fellows' Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; Mrs. Irwing, v (DNA); "Gentleman Amateur," v; Mr. Irwing, reciter; Charles Balmer, pf acc
(Saint Louis Reveille)

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5 Apr 1847 Nashville, TN: Masonic Hall

Joseph Burke, vn; Mr. Taylor; Mr. Ramsey
(Nashville Republican Banner)

7 Apr 1847 Nashville, TN: City Hotel

Joseph Burke, vn; Mr. Taylor; Mr. Ramsey
(Nashville Daily Union, adv)

13 Apr 1847 Louisville, KY: Apollo Rooms

Joseph Burke, vn; "Gentleman Amateur," v
(Louisville Daily Democrat, adv)

21 Apr 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

Joseph Burke, vn; Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v;
Mr. G. V. Scheidler, pf acc
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

24 Apr 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

Joseph Burke, vn; Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v;
George Knoop, vc; Mr. G. V. Scheidler, pf acc;
Henry D. Sofge, pf acc
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

27 Apr 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Masonic Hall

Trio on William Tell with Burke and Knoop
Joseph Burke, vn; Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v;
George Knoop, vc; Mr. G. V. Scheidler, pf acc;
Henry D. Sofge, pf acc
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

30 Apr 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Masonic Hall

guest appearance: "Grand Musical Festival" of
George Knoop
Trio on William Tell with Burke and Knoop
Joseph Burke, vn; Dolores Knoop, guitar;
George Knoop, vc; Henry D. Sofge, pf acc
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

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29 May 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Museum - Upper Saloon

guest appearance: Concert of Philharmonic Society
Clotilde Barili, v; Sesto Benedetti, v (DNA);
Antonio Barili, pf acc; orch
(United States Gazette, adv; New York
Evening Mirror, rev, 4 Jun)

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CONCERTS GIVEN IN AMERICA

BY HENRI HERZ*

29 Oct 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Anna Ablamowicz, v; Philip Mayer, v;
Henry C. Timm, pf acc; Michael Rapetti, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

5 Nov 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Mrs. Edward Loder, v; Mathilda Korsinsky, v (DNA);
Mlle Rachel, v; Henry C. Timm, pf acc;
Michael Rapetti, vn, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

10 Nov 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Overture to Semiramide performed on 8 pfs by 16
pianists, including Denis G. Etienne, Julian Fontana,
W. A. King, George Loder, Hermann Saroni, William
Scharfenberg, Henry C. Timm, and Hermann Wollenhaupt
Rosina Pico, v; Julia L. Northall, v;
George Loder, cond; orch
(New York Herald; program)

13 Nov 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Overture to Semiramide performed as on 10 Nov 1846
Rosina Pico, v; Julia L. Northall, v;
Giuseppe de Begnis, v; Henry C. Timm, pf;
George Loder, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

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*Concerts given only by Camillo Sivori are included once Sivori and Herz begin their joint tour in January 1847. Entries for such concerts are enclosed in brackets.

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19 Nov 1846 Baltimore, MA: Calvert Hall

Mathilda Korsinsky, v; H. Allen, vn; J. F. Petri, pf
(Baltimore Sun)

21 Nov 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Mathilda Korsinsky, v; Benjamin Carr Cross, pf acc;
Leopold Meignen, cond; orch
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

24 Nov 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Mathilda Korsinsky, v; Herman Thorbecke, pf;
Leopold Meignen, cond; orch
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

27 Nov 1846 Baltimore, MD: Calvert Hall

Overture to Semiramide performed on 8 pfs by 11
pianists
Mathilda Korsinsky, v; H. Allen, vn; J. F. Petri, pf;
J. M. Deems; Mr. Gilles; Mr. Piccioli; orch
(Baltimore Daily Republican and Argus)

30 Nov 1846 Baltimore, MA: Calvert Hall

Rosina Pico, v; H. Allen, vn; J. F. Petri, pf, pf acc;
Mr. Gilles; Mr. Piccioli; Mr. Herman
(Baltimore Sun)

4 Dec 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Chinese Museum - Large Saloon

Overture to Semiramide performed on 8 pfs by 16
pianists
Rosina Pico, v; Mrs. Walker, v; Edward L. Walker, pf;
Herman Thorbecke, pf acc; Leopold Meignen, cond; orch
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

7 Dec 1846 Wilmington, DE: City Hall

Overture to Zampa performed on 2 pfs by Herz, Grobe,
and Lemon
Rosina Pico, v; Charles Grobe, pf, pf acc;
William Lemon, pf
(Delaware Gazette)

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9 Dec 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Chinese Museum - Large Saloon

Overture to Semiramide performed on 8 pfs by 16 pianists
Rosina Pico, v; Julia L. Northall, v; Philip Mayer, v; Herman Thorbecke, pf acc; Leopold Meignen, cond; orch
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

14 Dec 1846 Boston, MA: Melodeon - postponed

(Boston Daily Evening Transcript)

15 Dec 1846 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall - postponed

(Providence Daily Journal)

17 Dec 1846 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Anna Ablamowicz, v; Anna Stone, v; Elizabeth (Mrs. Gustave) Blessner, v; Gustave Blessner; orch
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

18 Dec 1846 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall - canceled

(Providence Daily Journal, adv)

18 Dec 1846 New Bedford, MA: Concert Hall

Anna Ablamowicz, v; A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(New Bedford Daily Mercury, adv)

19 Dec 1846 Boston, MA: Tremont Temple

Mrs. Edward Loder, v; Anna Ablamowicz, v; John A. Kyle, fl; John Lange, pf acc; Henry Schmidt, cond; "a select part of the Orchestra of the Philharmonic Society"
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

22 Dec 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

guest appearance: Concert of Musical Fund Society
Rosina Pico, v; Benjamin Carr Cross, pf acc; Leopold Meignen, cond; orch
(North American)

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25 Dec 1846 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall - canceled

"Soiree musicale . . . chiefly devoted to classical and modern Piano Forte Music"
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

26 Dec 1846 New York, NY: Tabernacle

"Christmas Festival"
Anna Ablamowicz, v; Philip Mayer, v;
Henry C. Timm, pf, pf acc;
George Loder and his orchestra
(New York Herald)

30 Dec 1846 Brooklyn, NY: Lyceum Buildings - canceled

(Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat)

2 Jan 1847 Boston, MA: Tremont Temple

guest appearance: Boston Philharmonic Society Second Musical Festival
Anna Ablamowicz, v; F. H. Brown, org, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

4 Jan 1847 Providence, RI: Mechanics' Hall

Anna Ablamowicz, v; Mr. Aadler, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

7 Jan 1847 New York, NY: Tabernacle

"Farewell Concert"
Overture to William Tell performed on 8 pfs by 16 pianists
members of Italian Opera Company; Michael Rapetti, vn;
Anne M. Cole, pf; Herr Dorn, hn
(New York Herald; program)

[12 Jan 1847 Richmond, VA: Exchange Concert Room

Camillo Sivori, vn; John Dunderdale, v;
F. W. Meerbach, pf acc
(Richmond Daily Whig)]

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[14 Jan 1847 Richmond, VA: Exchange Concert Room

Camillo Sivori, vn; John Dunderdale, v;
Signor George, v; F. W. Meerbach, pf acc
(Richmond Daily Whig, adv)]

19 Jan 1847 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Mrs. Eastcott, v
(Charleston Courier)

[20 Jan 1847 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. Eastcott, v;
Signor Gambati, piston cornet; Mr. _____, pf acc
(Charleston Courier)]

22 Jan 1847 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. Eastcott, v;
Signor Gambati, piston cornet; Mr. Eastcott, pf acc
(Charleston Courier)

25 Jan 1847 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. Eastcott, v;
Signor Gambati, piston cornet;
"three Professors of this city"
(Charleston Courier)

28 Jan 1847 Savannah, GA: Savannah Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Savannah Daily Republican)

29 Jan 1847 Savannah, GA: Oglethorpe Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Savannah Daily Republican)

1 - 5 Feb 1847 Columbus, GA

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Columbus Times, rev)

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2 - 6 Feb 1847 Columbus, GA

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Columbus Times, rev)

[10 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: Orleans Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Mr. Cassini, v;
Eugene Prevost, cond; Orleans Theatre Orchestra
also on bill: La Meunière de Marly
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)]

[12 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: Orleans Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Mr. Cassini, v;
Mr. Olivier, v; Eugene Prevost, cond;
Orleans Theatre Orchestra
also on bill: Le Caporal and la payse [sic]
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)]

12 Feb 1847 Mobile, AL: Alhambra Hall

(Mobile Register and Journal)

16 Feb 1847 Mobile, AL: Theatre

Miss Coad, v; orch
also on bill: Don Caesar de Bazan
(Mobile Register and Journal; program)

[18 Feb 1847 Mobile, AL: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn
also on bill: Ernestine; or, Which Is the Heiress
(Mobile Register and Journal)]

[22 Feb 1847 Mobile, AL: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Miss Coad, v
also on bill: The Promissory Note and Ernestine
(Mobile Register and Journal)]

22 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: St. Louis Hotel Concert Room

Madame Cassini, v; Mr. Fourmestro;
Mr. J. Nores, pf acc; orch
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

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24 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Madame Cassini, v (DNA); Mr. Aug. Brocard, v;
Mr. J. Nores, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune; New Orleans Daily Tropic)

[26 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: Orleans Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Mr. Olivier, v;
Eugene Prevost, cond; Orleans Theatre Orchestra
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)]

[28 Feb 1847 New Orleans, LA: St. Charles Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn
also on bill: His First Champagne and Gretna Green
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)]

1 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: St. Louis Hotel Concert Room

Madame Olivier, v; Mr. Aug. Brocard, v;
Mr. Carriere, fl; Mr. J. Nores, pf acc; orch
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

[3 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall - postponed

(New Orleans Daily Picayune)]

5 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: Orleans Theatre

Madame Fleury Joly, v; Mlle A. Olivier, v;
Mr. Dubreuil, v; Eugene Prevost, cond;
Orleans Theatre Orchestra
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

[6 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. J. Nores, pf, pf acc;
"assisted by some eminent Artists"
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)]

12 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Hammarskold, v;
Mr. J. Nores, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

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17 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: St. Louis Hotel Concert Room

Herz: Duo for 2 pfs on William Tell performed with "a Lady of New Orleans"
Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Hammarskold, v; "a Lady of New Orleans," pf; Mr. J. Nores, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

24 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Overture to William Tell, "arranged for Eight Piano Fortes and Sixteen Performers . . . [and] executed by Fourteen of the best Pianists (Ladies and Gentlemen) of New Orleans, Sivori and Herz"
Camillo Sivori, vn, pf; Madame Hammarskold, v; Mr. J. Nores, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

30 Mar 1847 New Orleans, LA: Orleans Theatre

"Grand Concert of Sacred Music, in the style of the Concerts given in Paris and London during the Holy Week"
Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v; Mr. Duffeyte, v; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Eugene Prevost, cond; Orleans Theatre Orchestra
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

1 Apr 1847 Mobile, AL: Pine's Alhambra

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Mobile Register and Journal)

5 Apr 1847 Mobile, AL: Pine's Alhambra

Camillo Sivori, vn; Miss Dillon, pf; "Gentleman Amateur of this city," v
(Mobile Register and Journal)

9 Apr 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

Overture to William Tell as performed on 24 Mar 1847
Herz: Grand Coronation Duet for pf and harp performed with Madame L****
Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Cassini, v; Madame L****, harp
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

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12 Apr 1847 New Orleans, LA: Armory Hall

charity concert, net proceeds to "be equally divided between, 1. The Orphan Asylum; 2. Une de Charité Exclusivement Française; 3. The Italian Benevolent Society; and 4. The German Benevolent Society
Camillo Sivori, vn
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

13 - 17 Apr 1847 Donaldsonville, LA

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New Orleans Daily Picayune, ann, 11 Apr)

14 - 19 Apr 1847 Baton Rouge, LA: Garrison

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Baton Rouge Gazette, rev)

15 - 20 Apr 1847 Baton Rouge, LA: Garrison

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Baton Rouge Gazette, rev)

16 - 21 Apr 1847 St. Francisville, LA

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New Orleans Daily Picayune, ann, 11 Apr)

24 Apr 1847 Natchez, MS: City Hotel Room

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Mississippi Free Trader)

27 Apr 1847 Natchez, MS

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Misaissippi Free Trader, ann)

29 Apr 1847 Vicksburg, MS: Fraisse's Saloon

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig)

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1 May 1847 Vicksburg, MS: Fraisse's Saloon - postponed

(Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig)

4 May 1847 Vicksburg, MS: Fraisse's Saloon

Camillo Sivori, vn; Vicksburg Amateur Glee Club
(Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig, adv)

23 Apr - 5 May 1847 Jackson, MS

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Evening Mirror, rev, 8 Jul)

5 - 16 May 1847 Memphis, TN

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, rev, 20 May)

[17 May 1847 St. Louis, MO: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Miss Coad, v; Theatre Orchestra
also on bill: The Swiss Cottage and The Handsome Husband
(Saint Louis Daily Union)]

[19 May 1847 St. Louis, MO: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn
also on bill: Charles XII and The Liar
(Saint Louis Daily Union)]

21 May 1847 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

"a lady of St. Louis," v; orchestra of the Polyhymnia Society
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

24 May 1847 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. Irwin, v: several members of the Polyhymnia Society
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

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27 May 1847 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

Camillo Sivori, vn; Charles Balmer, pf; orchestra of the Polyhymnic Society
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

28 May 1847 Alton, IL

Camillo Sivori, vn
(St. Louis Daily Reveille, ann, 28 May; New York Evening Mirror, rev, 8 Jul)

1 Jun 1847 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

Overture to William Tell, "executed on eight Piano Fortes, by fifteen of the most distinguished pianists--ladies and gentlemen--of St. Louis";
Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. Irwin, v; "a lady of St. Louis," v
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

3 Jun 1847 St. Louis, MO: Planters' House

Overture to William Tell as performed on 1 Jun 1847
Mr. Friedman, v
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

5 Jun 1847 St. Louis, MO: Concert Hall

guest appearance: "Grand Concert [of] the Polyhymnia Society"
Mrs. Irwin, v; "a lady Amateur"; orch
(Saint Louis Daily Union)

10 Jun 1847 Nashville, TN: Masonic Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Taylor, pf acc
(Nashville Daily Union)

12 Jun 1847 Nashville, TN: Masonic Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Nashville Daily Union)

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15 Jun 1847 Nashville, TN: Masonic Hall

Overture to William Tell, "executed on three Piano Fortes, by Messrs. Taylor, Sivori & Herz"
Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Taylor, pf
(Nashville Daily Union, adv)

21 Jun 1847 Louisville, KY: Apollo Rooms

Camillo Sivori, vn; "Vocal Music"
(Louisville Daily Democrat)

23 Jun 1847 Louisville, KY: Apollo Rooms

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Louisville Daily Democrat)

24 Jun 1847 Louisville, KY: Louisville Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn
also on bill: The Maid of Croissy and Mischief Making
(Louisville Daily Democrat)

25 Jun 1847 Louisville, KY: Louisville Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn
also on bill: The Promissory Note, Married Yesterday, and High-Ways and By-Ways
(Louisville Daily Democrat)

26 Jun 1847 Louisville, KY: Louisville Theatre

"Extemporaneous Performance on the Piano Forte on any popular Airs presented to Henri Herz"
Camillo Sivori, vn
also on bill: Master and Man, My Companion in Arms, and Cottage of Content
(Louisville Daily Democrat, adv)

28 Jun 1847 Lexington, KY: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Lexington Observer and Reporter, adv)

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30 Jun 1847 Maysville, KY: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Maysville Eagle, rev)

2 Jul 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Masonic Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v;
Mr. G. V. Scheidler, pf acc
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

6 Jul 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Masonic Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v;
Mr. G. V. Scheidler, pf acc
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

8 Jul 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

"Concert Spirituel . . . in which . . . they will introduce several Classical and Standard compositions of the highest order"
Mayseder: Piano Trio No. 2
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial)

10 Jul 1847 Cincinnati, OH: Melodeon

Overture to William Tell, performed on 8 pfs by 16 pianists
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Mrs. G. V. Scheidler, v; Robert Grey, v
(Daily Cincinnati Commercial, adv)

17 Jul 1847 Pittsburgh, PA: Philo Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Rohbock, pf acc
(Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal)

19 Jul 1847 Pittsburgh, PA: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Rohbock, pf acc
(Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal)

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24 Jul 1847 Staten Island, NY: Blancard's Pavilion, New Brighton

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, ann; program)

28 Jul 1847 Saratoga Springs, NY: United States Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, ann, 27 Jul; rev, 7 Aug)

30 Jul 1847 Troy, NY: Athenaeum - postponed

(Troy Daily Whig)

2 Aug 1847 Saratoga Springs, NY: United States Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, rev, 6 Aug)

6 Aug 1847 Buffalo, NY: American Hotel - postponed

(Buffalo Morning Express)

11 Aug 1847 Saratoga Springs, NY: United States Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, ann, 12 Aug)

13 Aug 1847 Buffalo, NY: American Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Buffalo Morning Express)

14 Aug 1847 Niagara Falls, NY: Eagle Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Buffalo Morning Express, adv, 13 Aug)

17 Aug 1847 Buffalo, NY: American Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn; Helen Mathews, v; Mr. Friedman, v
(Buffalo Morning Express, adv)

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18 Aug 1847 Rochester, NY: Minerva Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Rochester Daily American)

19 Aug 1847 Syracuse, NY: Empire House

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Syracuse Onondaga Standard, adv)

20 Aug 1847 Utica, NY: Mechanic's Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Utica Daily Gazette)

21 Aug 1847 Utica, NY: Mechanic's Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Utica Daily Gazette, adv)

23 - 28 Aug 1847 Newport, RI

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, ann, 20 Aug; New York Evening Mirror, ann, 27 Aug)

25 Aug 1847 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Henry C. Timm, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal, ann, adv)

29 Aug 1847 Fall River, MA: Union Hall

"Sacred Concert"
Camillo Sivori, vn
(Fall River Monitor; Fall River Weekly News, rev)

30 Aug 1847 New Bedford, MA: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New Bedford Daily Mercury)

1 Sep 1847 Worcester, MA: Brinley Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Worcester Palladium)

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2 Sep 1847 Springfield, MA: Hampden Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Springfield Daily Republican, adv)

3 Sep 1847 Hartford, CT: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Hartford Daily Times)

4 Sep 1847 New Haven, CT: The Temple

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New-Haven Daily Register)

9 Sep 1847 Troy, NY: Athenaeum

Camillo Sivori, vn; J. W. Andrews, pf acc
(Troy Daily Whig)

10 Sep 1847 Albany, NY: Bleecker Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Daily Albany Argus)

14 Sep 1847 Saratoga Springs, NY: United States Hotel

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New York Herald, ann, 10 Sep; rev, 18 Sep)

17 Sep 1847 Albany, NY: Bleecker Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v
(Daily Albany Argus, adv)

18 Sep 1847 Troy, NY: Athenaeum

Camillo Sivori, vn: Madame Fleury Joly, v;
J. W. Andrews, pf acc
(Troy Daily Whig)

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20 Sep 1847 New York, NY: Apollo Rooms

guest appearance: Concert of the French Benevolent Society
Rosina Pico, v; Sesto Benedetti, v; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Herr W. Battenhaussen, vn; Denis G. Etienne, pf acc, cond; chorus
(New York Herald)

28 Sep 1847 New York, NY: Tabernacle

"first joint appearance in New York" of Herz and Sivori
Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v (DNA); Julia L. Northall, v; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Henry C. Timm, pf acc; Michael Rapetti, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

29 Sep 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Assembly Building

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v (DNA); Herman Thorbecke, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

4 Oct 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Chinese Museum - Upper Saloon

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v; Herman Thorbecke, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

6 Oct 1847 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Liederkranz ("one hundred male voices"); Michael Rapetti, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

11 Oct 1847 New York, NY: Tabernacle

"Grand Musical and Operatic Festival"
Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v; Mrs. Eastcott, v; Mr. Dubreuil, v; Mr. Paige, v; Mr. Hecht, v; Michael Rapetti, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

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13 Oct 1847 Brooklyn, NY: Female Academy

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v; Mr. Weitzel
(Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat)

18 Oct 1847 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Camillo Sivori, vn; Madame Fleury Joly, v;
A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

19 Oct 1847 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Providence Daily Journal)

20 Oct 1847 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Providence Daily Journal)

21 Oct 1847 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Camillo Sivori, vn; Anna Stone, v;
Mr. G. F. Hayter, org acc; A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript)

22 Oct 1847 New Bedford, MA: Liberty Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New Bedford Daily Mercury, adv)

23 Oct 1847 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Camillo Sivori, vn; Amalia Valtelli a, v;
A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

25 Oct 1847 Lowell, MA: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Lowell Advertiser, adv)

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26 Oct 1847 Worcester, MA: Brinley Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Worcester Palladium, rev; program)

27 Oct 1847 Springfield, MA: Hampden Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Springfield Daily Republican)

28 Oct 1847 Hartford, CT: American Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Hartford Daily Times, adv)

29 Oct 1847 New Haven, CT: The Temple

Camillo Sivori, vn
(New-Haven Daily Register)

2 Nov 1847 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Mayseder: piano trio
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Antoinette Otto, v (DNA); Rosina Pico, v;
Michael Rapetti, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

4 Nov 1847 New York, NY: Tabernacle

George Alexander Macfarren: Overture to Chevy Chace,
conducted by the composer (US premiere);
Mayseder: piano trio
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc; Rosina Pico, v;
Settimo Rossi, v; George Alexander Macfarren, cond;
Michael Rapetti, cond; orch
(New York Herald)

6 Nov 1847 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Mayseder: piano trio
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Amalia Valtellina, v; A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

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9 Nov 1847 Cambridge, MA: Lyceum Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript, ann, 8 Nov)

10 Nov 1847 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Beethoven: Piano Trio in C minor (Op. 1, No. 3)
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Amalia Valtellina, v; A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

11 Nov 1847 Portland, ME: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Portland Daily Argus)

12 Nov 1847 Salem, MA: Lyceum Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Salem Register)

13 Nov 1847 Boston, MA: Tremont Temple

guest appearance: "Concert Monstre and Grand Musical Festival"
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc; Ann Seguin, v;
Arthur Seguin, v; and others; chorus; orch
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript)

15 Nov 1847 New Haven, CT: Temple Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(New-Haven Daily Register, adv)

17 Nov 1847 Newark, NJ: Washington Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Newark Daily Advertiser)

18 Nov 1847 Brooklyn, NY: Female Academy

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat, adv;
New York Herald, rev, 20 Nov)

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20 Nov 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

guest appearance: Concert of Philharmonic Society
Isadora Hansen, v; Camillo Sivori, vn;
Miss Richings, pf; Benjamin Carr Cross, cond; orch
(North American and United States Gazette)

22 Nov 1847 Baltimore, MD: Lyre Buildings

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Baltimore Sun)

[23 Nov 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Chinese Museum - Upper Saloon

guest appearance: "Mrs. Watson's Benefit Concert"
Mrs. Watson, v; Camillo Sivori, vn;
J. T. Norton, piston cornet; J. Paganini Watson, v;
Herman Thorbecke, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)]

24 Nov 1847 Wilmington, DE: City Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Delaware Gazette, adv)

25 Nov 1847 Lancaster, PA: Mechanic's Hall

Mayseder: piano trio
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Lancaster Examiner and Herald, adv)

26 Nov 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Chinese Museum - Upper Saloon

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Breiter's Band "will play favorite Waltzes, Polkas and Marches . . . to enliven the tedium this evening between the opening of the doors and the beginning of the Concert"
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

27 Nov 1847 Baltimore, MD: Brown's Buildings

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Baltimore Sun)

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30 Nov 1847 Baltimore, MD: Brown's Buildings

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc
(Baltimore Sun)

8 Dec 1847 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Beethoven: Piano Trio in B-flat (Op. ?11)
Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc; Rosina Pico, v;
Herman Thorbecke, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

10 Dec 1847 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mr. Schuermann, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

11 Dec 1847 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Camillo Sivori, vn; George Knoop, vc;
Mr. Schuermann, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer, adv)

13 Dec 1847 Richmond, VA: Exchange Concert Room

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Richmond Daily Whig)

14 Dec 1847 Richmond, VA: Exchange Concert Room

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Richmond Daily Whig)

16 Dec 1847 Richmond, VA: African Church

Overture to William Tell, "arranged for five Piano
Fortes and executed by Eight of the most
distinguished Pianists of Richmond, Sivori and Herz,
who will play the Solo part"
Camillo Sivori, vn, pf; George Knoop, vc;
Francis Buck, pf acc
(Richmond Daily Whig)

18 Dec 1847 Wilmington, NC: Masonic Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Wilmington Journal, adv)

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27 Dec 1847 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Camillo Sivori, vn; Mrs. E. B. Barber, pf acc
(Charleston Courier)

31 Dec 1847 Charleston, SC: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Henrietta Vallee, dancer;
Henry Marks, cond; orch
also on bill: "a laughable farce"
(Charleston Courier)

1 Jan 1848 Charleston, SC: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Henrietta Vallee, dancer;
Henry Marks, cond; orch
also on bill: The Merchant of Venice
(Charleston Courier)

4 Jan 1848 Charleston, SC: Theatre

Camillo Sivori, vn; Henrietta Vallee, dancer;
Henry Marks, cond; orch
also on bill: Belles Stratagem
(Charleston Courier)

1848 Havana, Cuba

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Ramírez, La Habana artística, p. 451)

Feb 1848 Matanzas, Cuba

Camillo Sivori, vn
(Spirit of the Times, rev, 26 Feb)

1848 Jamaica

(Herz, Travels, p. 98 [p. 322]).

30 Nov 1848 New York, NY: Tabernacle

"Great Solemnité Musicale"
Italian Opera Company and Orchestra; Herr Siede, fl;
Max Maretzek, cond; Joseph Gungl and his Orchestra
(New York Herald)

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14 Dec 1848 New York, NY: Astor Place Opera House

guest appearance: "Dramatic and Musical Soiree" of Italian Opera Company
Italian Opera Company and Orchestra; Max Maretzek, cond
(New York Herald)

16 Dec 1848 New York, NY: Musical Hall

guest appearance: Farewell Concert of Maurice Strakosch
Maurice Strakosch, pf; Julia L. Northall, v;
Antonio Barili, pf acc
(New York Herald)

21 Dec 1848 New York, NY: Tabernacle

Madame Laborde, v; Amalia Patti, v;
Seato Benedetti, v (DNA); Settimo Rosi, v;
Signor Valtellina, v; Signor Giubilei, v;
Maurice Strakosch, pf; Frans Coenen, vn;
Max Maretzek, cond; Orchestra and
Chorus of the Italian Opera
(New York Herald)

30 Dec 1848 New York, NY: Tabernacle

guest appearance: "Grand Musical Festival . . . for the Benefit of the gentlemen of the Orchestra of the late Park Theatre"
Madame Laborde, v; Madame Rossi Corsi, v;
Adele Hohnstock, pf; Monsieur Rossi Corsi;
Joseph Burke, vn; Mr. Laborde; Mr. Novalli;
Henry C. Timm, pf; Charles Hohnstock, vn;
Max Maretzek, cond; orch from the Italian Opera, the late Park Theatre, and the greater part of the New York Philharmonic
(New York Herald)

8 Feb 1849 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Frans Coenen, vn; A. T. Thorrup, pf acc
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript)

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15 Feb 1849 Worcester, MA: Brinley Hall

Elsa Biscaccianti, v; Frans Coenen, vn
(Worcester Palladium)

16 Feb 1849 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Elsa Biscaccianti, v (DNA); Mr. Barker, v;
Frans Coenen, vn
(Providence Daily Journal)

17 Feb 1849 Boston, MA: Tremont Temple

guest appearance: Boston Philharmonic Society Fourth Musical Festival
Beethoven: Violin and Piano Sonata in A, "Kreutzer," (2nd and 3rd movements)
Elsa Biscaccianti, v; Signor Perelli, v;
Signor Avignone, v; J. L. Hatton, v;
Frans Coenen, vn; Mr. Baumbach, org, pf acc;
Orchestra of the Italian Opera (DNA)
(Boston Daily Evening Transcript; program)

19 Apr 1849 Baltimore, MA: Holliday Street Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Baltimore Sun)

20 Apr 1849 Baltimore, MA: Holliday Street Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Baltimore Sun)

21 Apr 1849 Baltimore, MA: Holliday Street Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Baltimore Sun)

23 Apr 1849 Baltimore, MA: Holliday Street Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Baltimore Sun)

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25 Apr 1849 Baltimore, MA: Carroll Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Baltimore Sun)

26 Apr 1849 Baltimore, MA: Carroll Hall - canceled

(Baltimore Sun)

27 Apr 1849 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Daily National Intelligencer)

28 Apr 1849 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Daily National Intelligencer, adv)

2 May 1849 Richmond, VA: Exchange Concert Room

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Richmond Daily Whig)

3 May 1849 Richmond, VA: Exchange Room

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Richmond Daily Whig)

7 May 1849 Norfolk, VA: National Hotel

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald)

8 May 1849 Norfolk, VA: National Hotel

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald)

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11 May 1849 Richmond, VA: Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v; orch
(Richmond Daily Whig)

12 May 1849 Richmond, VA: Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v; orch
(Richmond Daily Whig)

16 May 1849 Charleston, SC: Military Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Charleston Courier)

18 May 1849 Charleston, SC: Military Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Charleston Courier)

21 May 1849 Charleston, SC: Military Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Charleston Courier)

24 May 1849 Savannah, GA: Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Savannah Daily Republican)

25 May 1849 Savannah, GA: Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Savannah Daily Republican)

26 May 1849 Savannah, GA: Theatre

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Savannah Daily Republican, adv)

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30 May 1849 Augusta, GA: Masonic Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel)

31 May 1849 Augusta, GA: Masonic Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel)

1 Jun 1849 Augusta, GA: Masonic Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel, adv)

4 Jun 1849 Columbia, SC: Columbia Rooms

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Columbia Telegraph)

5 Jun 1849 Columbia, SC: Columbia Rooms

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Columbia Telegraph)

6 Jun 1849 Columbia, SC: Columbia Rooms

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Columbia Telegraph)

8 Jun 1849 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall - postponed

(Charleston Courier)

9 Jun 1849 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v;
Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Charleston Courier)

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12 Jun 1849 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

"Grand Farewell Concert, for the Benefit of the Apprentices' Library Society"
Frans Coenen, vn; Teresa Truffi, v; Sesto Benedetti, v; Settimo Rossi, v
(Charleston Courier, adv)

18 Jun 1849 Columbus, GA: Concert Hall

Frans Coenen, vn
(Columbus Enquirer)

19 Jun 1849 Columbus, GA: Concert Hall

Frans Coenen, vn
(Columbus Enquirer)

6 Aug 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Salon de la Lonja

Chávez, cond; orch
(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, p. 486)

18 Aug 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Teatro Nacional

(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, p. 487)

22 Aug 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Teatro Nacional

(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, p. 488)

25 Aug 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Teatro Nacional

Frans Coenen, vn
(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, pp. 488-89)

5 Sep 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Teatro Necional

Overture to William Tell performed on 8 pfs by 16 pianists
(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, p. 489)

7 Sep 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Teatro Nacional

Frans Coenen, vn; Eusebio Delgado, pf acc
(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, p. 489)

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12 Sep 1849 Mexico City, Mexico: Teatro Nacional

(Olavarría y Ferrari, Teatro en México, p. 489)

Sep - Oct 1849 San Juan del Rio, Mexico

(Alabama Planter, ann, 5 Nov, p. 386;
Saroni's Musical Times, ann, 17 Nov)

2 Apr 1850 San Francisco, CA: National Theatre

"Extemporaneous performance on several American,
French, Italian and German popular songs"
Alfred Roncovieri, v; Mr. Leya, fl; Mr. Luna, pf acc
(Alta California)

6 Apr 1850 San Francisco, CA: National Theatre

Mr. Hennecart, v; Mr. Leya, fl; Mr. Luna, pf acc
(Alta California)

11 Apr 1850 San Francisco, CA: National Theatre

"Monstre Concert"
"To conclude with the Marche Nationale on Four Pianos"
Signora Avalos, v; Monsieur Villiers, piston cornet;
Mr. Luna, v, pf acc; Mr. Jenkins, pf; Mr. Brown, pf;
"a lady," pf
(Alta California)

16 Apr 1850 Sacramento City, CA: New Hall

"Extemporaneous performance on several American,
French, Italian and German popular songs"
Mr. Reed, v; Mr. S. Brown, piston cornet (DNA);
Mr. G. Petinos, pf acc
(Sacramento Transcript)

18 Apr 1850 Sacramento City, CA: New Hall

Stephen C. Massett, v
(Sacramento Transcript)

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20 Apr 1850 Sacramento City, CA: New Hall

"Monster Concert"
"Several Pianists . . . to execute . . . 'Marche Nationale' on three piano fortes"
Stephen C. Massett, v
(Sacramento Transcript)

Apr 1850 Benicia, CA

(Herz, Letter to Frédéric Gaillardet, ca May 1850)

27 Apr 1850 San Francisco, CA: National Theatre

Madame Lacombe, pf; Mr. Hennecart, v; Signor Rossi, magician
(Alta California)

30 Apr 1850 San Francisco, CA: National Theatre

guest appearance: "Grand and Extraordinary Performance, by the unrivalled magician, Signor Rossi"
Madame Lacombe, pf
(Alta California)

Jun 1850 Guadalajara, Mexico

a series of at least 8 concerts
(Alabama Planter, rev, 15 Jul, p. 259; Revue et gazette musicale, rev, 25 Aug)

Jul 1850 Tepic, Mexico

(Revue et gazette musicale, ann, 25 Aug)

Jul 1850 Guayaquil, Ecuador

(Revue et gazette musicale, ann, 25 Aug)

Aug 1850 Lima, Peru: Gabinete Optico

a series of 4 concerts beginning 19 Aug
(Barbacci, "Diccionario biográfico," pp. 463-64)

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Sep 1850 Lima, Peru: Teatro Principal

a series of at least 5 concerts beginning in Sep and including a "concierto monstruo," which featured Herz's Gran marcha national militar, dedicated to the Peruvians, executed on 8 pfs by lady and gentlemen amateurs of Lima, with double orchestra, military band, and men's chorus
(Barbacci, "Diccionario biográfico," p. 464)

17 Nov 1850 Santiago, Chile

(Pereira Salas, Biobibliografía, p. 84)

12 Dec 1850 Santiago, Chile: Teatro de la Universidad

(Pereira Salas, Biobibliografía, p. 84; Pereira Salas, Música en Chile, p. 112)

Jan - Feb 1851 Valparaiso, Chile: Teatro de la Victoria

a series of at least 5 concerts concluding 4 Feb
(Pereira Salas, Biobibliografía, p. 84; Hernández, Teatros en Valparaíso, p. 189)

28 Feb 1851 Santiago, Chile: Teatro de la calle de Duarte

Herz: Marcha patriótica, executed on 8 pfs, double orchestra, military band, and men's chorus
(Pereira Salas, Biobibliografía, p. 84)

Jan - May 1851 La Serena, Chile

(Pereira Salas, Música en Chile, p. 114)

Jan - May 1851 Copiapo, Chile

(Pereira Salas, Música en Chile, p. 114)

Jun 1851 Lima, Peru: Teatro Principal

a series of 10 concerts beginning 9 Jun
(Barbacci, "Diccionario biográfico," p. 464)

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CONCERTS GIVEN IN AMERICA

BY SIGISMOND THALBERG

10 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times)

11 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times; program)

13 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times; program)

15 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from
Lieder ohne Worte
Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(New-York Daily Times; program)

17 Nov 1856 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(New-York Daily Times; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, rev)

18 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(New-York Daily Times)

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20 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf
(New-York Daily Times)

21 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf
(New-York Daily Times; program)

24 Nov 1856 Albany, NY: Association Hall

Coral de Wilhorst, v; Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(Albany Atlas & Argus; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 29 Nov and 13 Dec)

25 Nov 1856 Troy, NY: Rand's Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(Troy Daily Times; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 13 Dec)

26 Nov 1856 Newerk, NJ: Oraton Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(Newark Daily Advertiser; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 29 Nov)

27 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

28 Nov 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

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29 Nov 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

1 Dec 1856 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(Brooklyn Daily Eagle, adv)

2 Dec 1856a New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Elena D'Angri, v; Mona D'Angri, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times)

2 Dec 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 5 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 13 Dec)

3 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

4 Dec 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

5 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Mr. Weinlich
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

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8 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
Cora de Wilhorst, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Jaime Nunó, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

9 Dec 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v; Madame E. Patania, v; Filippo Morelli, v; Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

10 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v (DNA); John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf; Jaime Nunó, pf acc; J. A. Getze
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

11 Dec 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v; Madame E. Patania, v; Filippo Morelli, v; Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

12 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Elena D'Angri, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

13 Dec 1856a Philadelphia, PA: Walnut Street Theatre

Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

13 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

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15 Dec 1856 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Cora de Wilhorst, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

16 Dec 1856 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Cora de Wilhorst, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

17 Dec 1856 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Elena D'Angri, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

18 Dec 1856s Baltimore, MD: Maryland Institute

Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v
(Baltimore Sun)

19 Dec 1856 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v (DNA);
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun; Dwight's Journal of Music, rev,
27 Dec)

20 Dec 1856 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf
(Daily National Intelligencer)

22 Dec 1856 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf
(Baltimore Sun)

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23 Dec 1856 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf
(Baltimore Sun)

24 Dec 1856 Washington, DC: National Theatre

"Grand Concert and Theatrical Entertainment"
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Signor Abella; Mr. and Mrs. Florence, actors
also on bill: The Yankee Housekeeper and
The Young Actress
(Washington Daily Union)

26 Dec 1856 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

guest appearance: Concert of Louis Moreau Gottschalk
Gottschalk: Grand Duet on Il Trovatore performed with
Gottschalk
Madame E. Patania, v; Charles Wels, pf
(New-York Daily Times; program)

27 Dec 1856 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc; Leopold Meignen, cond; orch
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

29 Dec 1856 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf; Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times)

30 Dec 1856 New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v
(New-Haven Daily Register)

31 Dec 1856 Springfield, MA: Hampden Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v
(Springfield Daily Republican)

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1 Jan 1857 Hartford, CT: Touro Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v
(Hartford Daily Times)

3 Jan 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

5 Jan 1857 Worcester, MA: City Hall - postponed

(Worcester Daily Spy)

6 Jan 1857 Providence, RI: Howard Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

7 Jan 1857 Worcester, MA: City Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Worcester Daily Spy)

8 Jan 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

9 Jan 1857 Salem, MA: Lyceum Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Salem Gazette)

10 Jan 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Carl Zerrahn, cond; orch
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

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12 Jan 1857a Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

12 Jan 1857 Lowell, MA: Huntington Hall - postponed

(Lowell Daily Citizen & News)

13 Jan 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 5 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc; Carl Zerrahn, cond; orch
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

14 Jan 1857 New Bedford, MA: Pierian Hall

Cora de Wilhorst, v
(New Bedford Daily Mercury)

15 Jan 1857 Providence, RI: Howard Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

16 Jan 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason;
Hummel: Septet (2nd, 3rd, and 4th movements)
Elena D'Angri, v; Cora de Wilhorst, v;
Filippo Morelli, v; William Mason, pf;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

17 Jan 1857a Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v
(Boston Evening Transcript)

17 Jan 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering Piano Warerooms

Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from
Lieder ohne Worte
(Boston Evening Transcript, rev; Boston Post, rev;
Dwight's Journal of Music, rev, 24 Jan; program)

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18 Jan 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

guest appearance: Concert of Handel and Haydn Society
Mozart: Requiem
Elena D'Angri, v; Mrs. J. H. Long, v;
Filippo Morelli, v; Mr. Arthurson, v;
F. F. Müller, org; Carl Zerrahn, cond; orch
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

19 Jan 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering Piano Warerooms - postponed

(Boston Evening Transcript)

19 Jan 1857 Worcester, MA: Brinley Hall - postponed

(Worcester Daily Spy)

20 Jan 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering Piano Warerooms

Beethoven: Adelaide (transcription); Bellini: Quartet from I Puritani (transcription); Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
William Mason, pf
(Boston Evening Transcript, rev;
Dwight's Journal of Music, rev, 24 Jan; program)

20 Jan 1857 New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall - postponed

(New-Haven Daily Register)

21 Jan 1857 Hartford, CT: Touro Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Hartford Daily Times)

22 Jan 1857 Troy, NY: Rand's Hall - postponed

(Troy Daily Times)

23 Jan 1857 Albany, NY: Association Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Albany Atlas & Argus)

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24 Jan 1857 Troy, NY: Rand's Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Troy Daily Times)

27 Jan 1857 Albany, NY: Association Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf
(Albany Atlas & Argus)

28 Jan 1857 Troy, NY: Rand's Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Gottschalk
Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Louis Moreau Gottschalk, pf; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Troy Daily Times)

30 Jan 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 7 Feb)

2 Feb 1857 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

3 Feb 1857 Baltimore, MD: Assembly Rooms

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

4 Feb 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 7 Feb)

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5 Feb 1857s Philadelphia, PA: Jayne's Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

5 Feb 1857 Wilmington, DE: Odd Fellows' Hall

Mathilde D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Delaware Republican)

6 Feb 1857 Lancaster, PA: Fulton Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Lancaster Daily Evening Express)

7 Feb 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Hummel: Septet
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

9 Feb 1857 Harrisburg, PA: Brant's Concert Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; John Frederick Rudolphsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Harrisburg Daily Telegraph, adv; Harrisburg Patriot and Union, rev)

11 Feb 1857s Philadelphia, PA: Jayne's Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

11 Feb 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

12 Feb 1857 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

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13 Feb 1857 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

14 Feb 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Concert Hall

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
John Frederick Rudolphsen, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

16 Feb 1857a New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

(New-York Daily Times)

16 Feb 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Mrs. E. L. Davenport, reciter
(New-York Daily Times)

17 Feb 1857 New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-Haven Daily Register)

18 Feb 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Mrs. E. L. Davenport, reciter
(New-York Daily Times)

19 Feb 1857a New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Elena D'Angri, v
(New-York Daily Times)

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19 Feb 1857 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Mrs. E. L. Davenport, reciter
(New-York Daily Times)

20 Feb 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (1st series)

Beethoven: Sonata in C-sharp minor ("Moonlight");
Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on
Alexandre Organ
(New-York Daily Times; program)

20 Feb 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

guest appearance: Concert in aid of the Charitable Fund
of the St. George's Society of New-York
Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Filippo Morelli, v; Signor Tiberini, v;
Paul Julien, vn; William Mason, pf;
George Bristow, cond; Maurice Strakosch, cond;
New-York Harmonic Society; Dodworth's Band
(New-York Daily Times)

21 Feb 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Hummel: Septet
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Mrs. E. L. Davenport, reciter
(New-York Daily Times)

24 Feb 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (1st series)

Beethoven: Trio in B-flat major for pf, vn, and vc
(Op. 97) (3 movements only); Chopin: mazurkas;
Bellini: Finale from I Puritani performed on
Alexandre Organ
Joseph Burke, vn; Carl Bergmann, vc
(New-York Daily Times; program)

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24 Feb 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Mrs. E. L. Davenport, reciter
(New-York Daily Times)

26 Feb 1857a New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

(New-York Daily Times)

26 Feb 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (2nd series)

Beethoven: Sonata in C-sharp minor ("Moonlight");
Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on
Alexandre Organ
(New-York Daily Times)

26 Feb 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Beethoven: Sonata in C-sharp minor ("Moonlight");
Thalberg: Duo on Les Huguenots performed with Burke
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Mrs. E. L. Davenport, reciter
(New-York Daily Times)

27 Feb 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (1st series)

Beethoven: Adelaide (transcription); Hummel: Septet
(3rd, 4th, and 5th movements); Meyerbeer: Trio from
Robert le diable performed on Alexandre Organ;
Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
William Mason, pf; members of the New York Philharmonic
(New-York Daily Times; program)

27 Feb 1857 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Thalberg: Duo on Les Huguenots performed with Burke
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, rev)

28 Feb 1857a New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

(New-York Daily Times)

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28 Feb 1857 Williamsburg [now in Brooklyn], NY: Odeon

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times)

2 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (3rd series) - postponed

(New-York Daily Times)

2 Mar 1857 New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall - postponed

(New-Haven Daily Register)

3 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (2nd series)

Beethoven: Adelaide (transcription); Bellini: Finale from I Puritani performed on Alexandre Organ
(New-York Daily Times)

3 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Thalberg: Duo on Les Huguenots performed with Burke
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times)

4 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon (single subscription)

Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on Alexandre Organ
(New-York Daily Times)

5 Mar 1857s Williamsburg [now in Brooklyn], NY: Odeon

(New-York Daily Times; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, rev)

5 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (3rd series)

Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on Alexandre Organ
(New-York Daily Times; program)

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5 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Maurice Strakosch, cond; Orchestra and Chorus of
the Italian Opera Company
(New-York Daily Times)

6 Mar 1857 Newark, NJ: Library Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Newark Daily Advertiser)

7 Mar 1857 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 [1st movement];
Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on
Alexandre Organ
Elena D'Angri, v; Teresa Parodi, v;
Amalia Patti Strakosch, v; Signor Tiberini, v;
Joseph Burke, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Maurice Strakosch, pf acc; Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

10 Mar 1857a New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (3rd series)

(New-York Daily Times)

10 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

"Grand Concert and Oratorio"
Rossini: Stabat Mater
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Filippo Morelli, v; Signor Tiberini, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc; Maurice Strakosch, cond;
George F. Bristow, cond; Italian Opera Company;
New-York Harmonic Society;
Orchestra from the Academy of Music
(New-York Daily Times; program)

11 Mar 1857a New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Elena D'Angri, v
(New-York Daily Tribune, rev)

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12 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (single subscription)

Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on Alexandre Organ
(New-York Daily Times)

12 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

Rossini: Stabat Mater
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v; Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v; Filippo Morelli, v; Signor Tiberini, v; Signor Abella, pf acc; Maurice Strakosch, cond; George F. Bristow, cond; Italian Opera Company; New-York Harmonic Society; Orchestra from the Academy of Music
(New-York Daily Times)

13 Mar 1857 New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v; William Mason, pf; Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-Haven Daily Register)

16 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (single subscription)

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor; Mendelssohn: 2 Lieder ohne Worte
Elena D'Angri, v
(New-York Daily Times)

16 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Garden

"Benefit of the German Society. Grand Combination Festival. Concert and German Opera."
Beethoven: Fidelio (1st act)
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v; Carl Bergmann, cond; United Sängerbund; orch
(New-York Daily Times)

18 Mar 1857 Trenton, NJ: Temperance Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Trenton Daily True American)

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19 Mar 1857m New York, NY: Dodworth's Saloon (single subscription)

Elena D'Angri, v
(New-York Daily Times)

19 Mar 1857 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Rossini: Stabat Mater
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Filippo Morelli, v; Signor Tiberini, v;
Maurice Strakosch, cond; Orchestra and chorus
from the Academy of Music
(New-York Daily Times)

20 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Academy of Music

guest appearance: "Italian Opera. Benefit of Maurice Strakosch"
Mozart: Don Giovanni
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Cora de Wilhorst, v; Filippo Morelli, v;
Signor Tiberini, v; Maurice Strakosch, cond
(New-York Daily Times)

21 Mar 1857 New York, NY: Academy of Music

guest appearance: "Italian Opera. Close of the Season"
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v (DNA);
Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Cora de Wilhorst, v; Carl Bergmann, cond;
Maurice Strakosch, cond; Signor Abella, pf acc
(New-York Daily Times)

23 Mar 1857 Hartford, CT: Touro Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Hartford Daily Times, adv)

24 Mar 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

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25 Mar 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering's Piano Warerooms (1st series)

Beethoven: Sonata in C-sharp minor ("Moonlight");
Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Verdi: Miserere from Il Trovatore performed on Alexandre Organ
(Boston Evening Transcript)

25 Mar 1857 Providence, RI: Howard Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

26 Mar 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt
(Boston Evening Transcript)

27 Mar 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering's Piano Warerooms (1st series)

Bellini: Finale from I Puritani performed on Alexandre Organ
(Boston Evening Transcript)

27 Mar 1857 Worcester, MA: Brinley Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Worcester Daily Spy)

28 Mar 1857 Boston, MA: Chickering's Piano Warerooms (soiree and piano recital)

Beethoven: Adelaide (transcription), Trio in C major for pf, vn, and vc; Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor; Schubert: "Ave Maria" and "Lob der Tränen" (transcriptions)
Theodore Thomas, vn; Carl Bergmann, vc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

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29 Mar 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

"Oratorio and Sacred Concert"
Mozart: Requiem
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Mrs. J. H. Long, v; Mr. Arthurson, v;
Mr. Weinlich, v; F. F. Müller, org;
Carl Zerrahn, cond; Handel and Haydn Society; orch
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

30 Mar 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering's Piano Warerooms (1st series)

Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
(Boston Evening Transcript)

30 Mar 1857 Lowell, MA: Huntington Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Louis Schreiber, tpt;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Lowell Daily Evening Advertiser)

31 Mar 1857m Boston, MA: Chickering's Piano Warerooms (2nd series) - postponed

(Boston Evening Transcript)

31 Mar 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement)
Elena D'Angri, v; Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

1 Apr 1857 New Bedford, MA: Pierian Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Louis Schreiber, tpt;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(New Bedford Daily Mercury)

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2 Apr 1857 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Beethoven: Trio in B-flat major for pf, vn, and vc (Op. 97); Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Weise
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v; Louis Schreiber, tpt; Theodore Thomas, vn; Carl Bergmann, vc; Carl Weise, pf; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

3 Apr 1857a Providence, RI: Howard Hall

(Providence Daily Tribune)

3 Apr 1857 Worcester, MA: Mechanics Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
Elena D'Angri, v; Mathilde D'Angri, v; William Mason, pf; Louis Schreiber, tpt; Julia Bennett Barrow, reciter
(Worcester Daily Spy; program)

4 Apr 1857a Boston, MA: Chickering's Piano Warerooms (2nd series) - postponed?

(Boston Evening Transcript)

4 Apr 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 5 (1st movement); Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v; Louis Schreiber, tpt; German Opera Company; Julia Bennett Barrow, reciter; Carl Bergmann, cond; orch
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

6 Apr 1857 Lowell, MA: Huntington Hall

Beethoven: Trio in B-flat major for pf, vn, and vc (Op. 97); Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn; Carl Bergmann, vc; William Mason, pf; Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Lowell Daily Evening Advertiser)

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7 Apr 1857a Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript)

7 Apr 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Louis Schreiber, tpt;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

8 Apr 1857m Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
German Opera Company; Carl Bergmann, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

8 Apr 1857 Providence, RI: Westminster Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Louis Schreiber, tpt;
Theodore Thomas, vn; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Providence Daily Journal)

9 Apr 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript)

10 Apr 1857 New Bedford, MA: Pierian Hall

Beethoven: Trio in B-flat major for pf, vn,
and vc (Op. 97); Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma
performed with Mason
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Thedore Thomas, vn; Carl Bergmann, vc;
William Mason, pf; Louis Schreiber, tpt;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(New Bedford Daily Mercury)

11 Apr 1857 Boston, MA: Music Hall

Mendelssohn: "Volkslied" and "Frühlingslied" from
Lieder ohne Worte
Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

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13 Apr 1857 Salem, MA: Mechanic Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Salem Gazette)

14 Apr 1857m Boston, MA: Music Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript)

15 Apr 1857m Hartford, CT: Touro Hall

Beethoven: Trio in B-flat major for pf, vn,
and vc (Op. 97); Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma
performed with Mason
Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
Carl Bergmann, vc; William Mason, pf;
Louis Schreiber, tpt
(Hartford Daily Times)

15 Apr 1857 Hartford, CT: Touro Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Mason
Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
William Mason, pf; Louis Schreiber, tpt
(Hartford Daily Times)

16 Apr 1857m New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall

Beethoven: Trio in B-flat major for pf, vn,
and vc (Op. 97)
Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
Carl Bergmann, vc; Louis Schreiber, tpt
(New-Haven Daily Register)

16 Apr 1857 New Haven, CT: Brewster's Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
Louis Schreiber, tpt
(New-Haven Daily Register)

17 Apr 1857m Northampton, MA: Town Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Carl Bergmann, pf acc
(Hampshire Gazette)

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17 Apr 1857 Springfield, MA: City Hall

Bertha Johannsen, v; Theodore Thomas, vn;
Louis Schreiber, tpt; Carl Bergmann, pf acc
(Springfield Daily Republican)

20 Apr 1857m Utica, NY: City Hall

Teresa Parodi, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Signor Nicola, v; Heinrich Mollenhauer, vc;
Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette)

20 Apr 1857 Syracuse, NY: Wieting Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Syracuse Daily Standard)

21 Apr 1857 Rochester, NY: Corinthian Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Rochester Union and Advertiser)

22 Apr 1857 Buffalo, NY: St. James Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy)

23 Apr 1857 Toronto, Ontario: City Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Toronto Globe)

24 Apr 1857m Toronto, Ontario: City Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Toronto Globe)

24 Apr 1857 Hamilton, Ontario

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Hamilton Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce, rev)

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25 Apr 1857 Buffalo, NY: St. James Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch;
Verdi: "Miserere" from Il Trovatore performed on
Alexandre Organ
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m; J. F. Taust, v
(Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy)

27 Apr 1857 Cleveland, OH: Melodeon

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer)

28 Apr 1857 Pittsburgh, PA: Masonic Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Pittsburgh Gazette)

29 Apr 1857 Pittsburgh, PA: Masonic Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Pittsburgh Gazette)

30 Apr 1857 Wheeling, WV: Washington Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Wheeling Daily Intelligencer)

1 May 1857s Wheeling, WV: Convent of the Visitation

(Wheeling Daily Intelligencer, rev)

1 May 1857 Zanesville, OH: Nevitt's Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Zanesville City Times, adv)

2 May 1857 Columbus, OH: Concert Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Ohio State Journal)

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4 May 1857 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

5 May 1857 Dayton, OH: Huston Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Dayton Daily Journal)

6 May 1857 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

7 May 1857 Indianapolis, IN: Masonic Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Indiana Daily State Sentinel)

8 May 1857 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

9 May 1857 Louisville, KY: Mozart Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Louisville Democrat)

11 May 1857m New Albany, IN: Woodward Hall - canceled

(New Albany Daily Ledger)

11 May 1857a Louisville, KY: Kentucky Institution for the Blind

(Louisville Courier, quoted in Daily Missouri Democrat, 18 May)

11 May 1857 Louisville, KY: Mozart Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Louisville Democrat)

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12 May 1857 Lexington, KY: Medical Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Kentucky Statesman, adv)

13 May 1857 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch;
Verdie: "Miserere" from Il Trovatore performed on Alexandre Organ
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

14 May 1857 Louisville, KY: Mozart Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Louisville Democrat)

18 May 1857 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Missouri Democrat)

19 May 1857 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Missouri Democrat)

21 May 1857 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Missouri Democrat)

22 May 1857m St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall (lower hall)

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Missouri Democrat)

22 May 1857 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Missouri Democrat)

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23 May 1857 Springfield, IL: Concert Hall - canceled

(Daily Illinois State Journal)

25 May 1857 Chicago, IL: Metropolitan Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Chicago Daily Tribune)

26 May 1857 Chicago, IL: Metropolitan Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Chicago Daily Tribune)

27 May 1857 Milwaukee, WI: Albany Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Milwaukee News)

28 May 1857 Chicago, IL: Metropolitan Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Chicago Daily Tribune)

29 May 1857m Kenosha, WI: Phelps' Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Kenosha Tribune & Telegraph)

29 May 1857 Milwaukee, WI: Albany Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Milwaukee News, adv)

30 May 1857 Janesville, WI: Lappin's Hall - postponed

(Janesville Morning Gazette)

30 May 1857 Madison, WI: Baptist Church

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Wisconsin Patriot)

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1 Jun 1857 Galena, IL: De Soto Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Galena Daily Advertiser)

2 Jun 1857 Dubuque, IA: Congregational Church

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Dubuque Daily Tribune, adv)

3 Jun 1857 Davenport, IA - canceled

(Daily Iowa State Democrat)

3 Jun 1857 Janesville, WI: Lappin's Hall - canceled

(Janesville Morning Gazette)

4 Jun 1857 Chicago, IL: Metropolitan Hall

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m; Henry Ahner, cond;
orch including members of the Great Western Band
(Chicago Daily Tribune)

6 Jun 1857 Detroit, MI: Firemen's Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Detroit Daily Free Press)

8 Jun 1857 Detroit, MI: Firemen's Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Detroit Daily Free Press)

9 Jun 1857 Toledo, OH: Stickney Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Daily Toledo Blade)

10 Jun 1857 Cleveland, OH: Chapin's Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer)

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11 Jun 1857 Buffalo, NY: St. James Hall - postponed

(Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy)

12 Jun 1857 Rochester, NY: Corinthian Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Hill
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m; Julia Hill, pf
(Rochester Daily American)

13 Jun 1857 Syracuse, NY: Wieting Hall - postponed

(Syracuse Daily Standard)

13 Jun 1857 Buffalo, NY: St. James Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy)

15 Jun 1857m Utica, NY: City Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette)

15 Jun 1857 Syracuse, NY: Wieting Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Syracuse Daily Standard)

16 Jun 1857 Auburn, NY: Stanford Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Auburn Daily Advertiser)

18 Jun 1857 Hamilton, Ontario: Mechanics' Institute Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Hamilton Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce, adv)

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19 Jun 1857 Toronto, Ontario: St. Lawrence Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Lazare
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m; Martin Lazare, pf
(Toronto Globe, adv)

20 Jun 1857 Kingston, Ontario: City Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Kingston Daily British Whig)

22 Jun 1857 Montreal, Quebec: Mechanics' Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Montreal Commercial Advertiser)

23 Jun 1857 Montreal, Quebec: Mechanics' Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Montreal Commercial Advertiser)

25 Jun 1857 Montreal, Quebec: Mechanics' Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Strakosch
same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Montreal Commercial Advertiser)

30 Jun 1857 Quebec, Quebec: Music Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Quebec Gazette; Le Canadien)

1 Jul 1857 Quebec, Quebec: Music Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Quebec Gazette; Le Canadien)

3 Jul 1857 Burlington, VT: Town Hall

same performers as 20 Apr 1857m
(Burlington Daily Free Press; New-York Musical Review and Gazette, rev, 11 Jul)

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22 July 1857 Cape May, NY: ?Congress Hall

Elena D'Angri, voc; Heinrich Mollenhauer, vc;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger, adv)

29 July 1857 Saratoga Springs, NY: St. Nicholas Hall

Elena D'Angri, v; Heinrich Mollenhauer, vc;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Daily Saratogian)

15 Sep 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Claudine Cairoli, v;
Signor Gassier, v; Signor Rocco, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc; Karl Anschütz, cond;
orch
(New-York Times)

17 Sep 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Claudine Cairoli, v;
Signor Gassier, v; Signor Rocco, v;
Signor Labocetta, v; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(New-York Times)

19 Sep 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon - postponed

(New-York Times)

24 Sep 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Anna de la Grange, v;
Signor Gassier, v; Signor Rocco, v; Josephine
Vieuxtemps, pf acc; Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(New-York Times; program)

25 Sep 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Signor Rocco, v; Signor Labocetta, v
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

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26 Sep 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Signor Rocco, v; Signor Abella, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

28 Sep 1857 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

29 Sep 1857 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

30 Sep 1857 Baltimore, MD: New Assembly Rooms

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v
(Baltimore Sun)

2 Oct 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Erminia Frezzolini, v;
Amelia Patti Strakosch, v; Signor Gassier, v;
Signor Rocco, v
(New-York Times)

3 Oct 1857 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Anna de la Grange, v;
Signor Gassier, v; Signor Rocco, v
(New-York Times)

9 Oct 1857 New York, NY: Academy of Music

"Opera and Concert"
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn
(New-York Times)

10 Oct 1857 New York, NY: Academy of Music

"Opera and Concert"
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn
(New-York Times)

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14 Oct 1857 Boston, MA: Melodeon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Anna de la Grange, v;
Signor Rocco, v; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Boston Evening Transcript; program)

15 Oct 1857 Portland, ME: Deering Hall - canceled

(Portland Eastern Argus)

16 Oct 1857 Boston, MA: Melodeon - canceled

(Boston Evening Transcript)

19 Oct 1857 Providence, RI: Howard Hall - canceled

(Providence Daily Journal)

23 Oct 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Feri Kletzer, vc; Erminia
Frezzolini, v; Karl Anschütz, pf acc; Josephine
Vieuxtemps, pf acc; Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(New-York Times; program)

29 Oct 1857 Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohnè Worte
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Feri Kletzer, vc;
Erminia Frezzolini, v (DNA); Claudine Cairoli, v;
Signor Gassier, v; Signor Labocetta, v;
Signor Rocco, v
(New-York Times)

30 Oct 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Feri Kletzer, vc;
Erminia Frezzolini, v; Signor Gassier, v;
Signor Labocetta, v; Signor Rocco, v
(New-York Times)

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5 Nov 1857 New York, NY: Niblo's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Claudine Cairoli, v; Erminia Frezzolini, v (DNA);
Signor Gassier, v; Signor Labocetta, v;
Signor Rocco, v
(New-York Times; program)

11 Nov 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Erminia Frezzolini, v;
Amalia Patti Strakosch, v; Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

12 Nov 1857 Reading, PA: Odd Fellows' Hall - canceled

(Reading Adler, adv; Reading Gazette and Democrat,
cancellation notice)

13 Nov 1857 Philadelphia, PA: Musical Fund Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Feri Kletzer, vc;
Erminia Frezzolini, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Philadelphia Public Ledger)

14 Nov 1857 Lancaster, PA: Fulton Hall - canceled

(Lancaster Inland Daily Times)

16 Nov 1857 Baltimore, MD: Carroll Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Erminia Frezzolini, v;
Amalia Patti Strakosch, v; Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

17 Nov 1857 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Erminia Frezzolini, v;
Amalia Patti Strakosch, v; Josephine
Vieuxtemps, pf acc; Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

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18 Nov 1857 Alexandria, VA: Liberty Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Amelia Patti Strakosch, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc;
Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Alexandria Gazette)

19 Nov 1857 Baltimore, MD: Carroll Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Feri Kletzer, vc;
Erminie Frezzolini, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Baltimore Sun)

21 Nov 1857 Washington, DC: Carusi's Saloon

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Feri Kletzer, vc;
Erminia Frezzolini, v; Amalia Patti Strakosch, v;
Maurice Strakosch, pf acc
(Daily National Intelligencer)

28 Nov 1857 New York, NY: Academy of Music

"Combination of Opera and Concert for the Benefit of the New-York Fire Department Fund"
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Annie Milner, v;
Ernest Perring, v
(New-York Times)

28 Dec 1857 New York, NY: Academy of Music

Opera and Concert
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn
(New-York Times)

2 Jan 1858 New York, NY: Academy of Music

Thalberg Testimonial
(1) Opera Matinee (Lucia di Lammermoor) - 1:00 PM
(2) Orchestra Concert - 7:30 PM
(3) Thalberg's Concert - 8:30 PM
Schubert: "Erlkönig" performed by Formes and Thalberg
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Annetta Caradori, v;
Karl Formes, v
(4) Oratorio (Mozart: Requiem) - 9:30 PM
(New-York Times)

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4 Jan 1858 New York, NY: Academy of Music

Thalberg Testimonial
(1) Opera Matinee (La Traviata) - 1:00 PM
(2) Orchestra Concert - 7:30 PM
(3) Thalberg's Concert - 8:30 PM
Schubert: "Der Wanderer" performed by Formes and Thalberg
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Karl Formes, v
(4) Oratorio (Mozart: Requiem) - 9:30 PM
(New-York Times)

7 Jan 1858 Fredericksburg, VA: Citizen's Hall - canceled

(Fredericksburg News)

7 Jan 1858 Charlottesville, VA

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Annie Kemp, v; Signor Lehman, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Richmond Daily Dispatch, ann, 5 Jan; Charlottesville Advocate, rev, quoted in Lynchburg Virginian, 13 Jan)

8 Jan 1858 Richmond, VA: Metropolitan Hall

same performers as 7 Jan 1858
(Richmond Daily Whig)

9 Jan 1858 Lynchburg, VA: Dudley Hall

same performers as 7 Jan 1858
(Lynchburg Virginian)

11 Jan 1858 Lynchburg, VA: Dudley Hall

same performers as 7 Jan 1858
(Lynchburg Virginian)

12 Jan 1858 Richmond, VA: Metropolitan Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Annie Kemp, v; Signor Lehman, v;
Signor E. Hasslocher, pf acc;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Richmond Daily Whig)

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13 Jan 1858 Petersburg, VA: Mechanics' Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Petersburg Daily Express)

14 Jan 1858 Richmond, VA: Metropolitan Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Richmond Daily Whig)

15 Jan 1858 Norfolk, VA: Johnson's Hall

"Grand Opening and Dedication of Johnson's New Concert Hall"
same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Norfolk Day Book)

16 Jan 1858 Norfolk, VA: Johnson's Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Norfolk Day Book)

19 Jan 1858 Wilmington, NC: Mozart Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Wilmington Daily Journal)

22 Jan 1858 Charleston, SC: Institute Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Charleston Daily Courier)

23 Jan 1858 Columbia, SC: Kinsler's Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Columbia Daily South Carolinian)

25 Jan 1858 Charleston, SC: Institute Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Charleston Daily Courier)

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26 Jan 1858 Charleston, SC: Institute Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Charleston Daily Courier)

27 Jan 1858 Columbia, SC: Kinsler's Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Columbia Daily South Carolinian)

28 Jan 1858 Augusta, GA: Masonic Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel)

29 Jan 1858 Savannah, GA: St. Andrew's Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Savannah Daily Republican)

30 Jan 1858 Savannah, GA: St. Andrew's Hall

same performers as 12 Jan 1858
(Savannah Daily Republican)

1 Feb 1858 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Annie Kemp, v; Signor Ardavani, v;
Signor E. Hasslocher, pf acc;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Charleston Daily Courier)

2 Feb 1858 Charleston, SC: Hibernian Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Petit
same performers as 1 Feb 1858; Herminia Petit, pf
(Charleston Daily Courier)

3 Feb 1858 Augusta, GA: Masonic Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel)

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4 Feb 1858 Atlanta, GA: Atheneum

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Atlanta Daily Examiner)

5 Feb 1858 Macon, GA: Ralston's Hall

"Grand Opening and Dedication of Ralston's New Hall"
same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Georgia Journal and Messenger)

6 Feb 1858 Columbus, GA: Temperance Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Columbus Enquirer)

8 Feb 1858 Montgomery, AL: Commercial Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Mongtomery Mail)

9 Feb 1858 Montgomery, AL: Commercial Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Mongtomery Mail)

11 Feb 1858 Mobile, AL: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Mobile Daily Register)

13 Feb 1858 Mobile, AL: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(Mobile Daily Register)

15 Feb 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 1 Feb 1858
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

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17 Feb 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Bertha Johannsen, v;
Annie Kemp, v; Signor Ardavani, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

18 Feb 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

20 Feb 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858, except: Johannsen (DNA)
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

23 Feb 1858a New Orleans, LA: Varieties Theatre

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Annie Kemp, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

24 Feb 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

25 Feb 1858m New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall Lecture Room

Beethoven: Sonata in D minor for violin and piano
performed with Vieuxtemps;
Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor;
Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

26 Feb 1858a New Orleans, LA: Varieties Theatre

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Annie Kemp, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

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26 Feb 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with "his pupil Mons. De Delcroix"
same performers as 17 Feb 1858; M. De Delcroix, pf
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

27 Feb 1858m New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall Lecture Room - postponed

(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

1 Mar 1858m New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall Lecture Room

Beethoven: Sonata in F major for violin and piano performed with Vieuxtemps
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

1 Mar 1858 Mobile, AL: Temperance Hall - postponed

(Mobile Daily Register)

2 Mar 1858m New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall Lecture Room

Beethoven: Sonata in A for violin and piano ("Kreutzer") (1st and 2nd movements) performed with Vieuxtemps
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

3 Mar 1858 New Orleans, LA: Odd Fellows' Hall

Chopin: "Marche funèbre" from Sonata in B-flat minor; Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

5 Mar 1858 New Orleans, LA: Orleans Theatre

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement)
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Bertha Johannsen, v; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc; "Artists of the French Opera"; Eugene Prevost, cond; orch
(New Orleans Daily Picayune)

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8 Mar 1858 Natchez, MI: Institute Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(Natchez Daily Courier)

9 Mar 1858 Natchez, MI: Institute Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(Natchez Daily Courier)

12 Mar 1858 Memphis, TN: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(Memphis Daily Appeal)

13 Mar 1858 Memphis, TN: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 17 Feb 1858
(Memphis Daily Appeal)

16 Mar 1858 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall - canceled

(Daily Missouri Republican)

17 Mar 1858 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elisa Cairoli, v;
Annie Kemp, v (DNA); Ernest Perring, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Daily Missouri Republican)

18 Mar 1858 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elisa Cairoli, v;
Annie Kemp, v; Ernest Perring, v;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Daily Missouri Republican)

20 Mar 1858 Louisville, KY: Masonic Hall

same performers as 18 Mar 1858
(Daily Louisville Democrat)

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22 Mar 1858 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

same performers as 18 Mar 1858
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

23 Mar 1858 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

same performers as 18 Mar 1858
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

25 Mar 1858 Pittsburgh, PA: City Hall

same performers as 18 Mar 1858
(Daily Pittsburgh Gazette)

26 Mar 1858 Cleveland, OH: Melodeon Hall

same performers as 18 Mar 1858, except: Perring (DNA)
(Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer)

27 Mar 1858 Buffalo, NY: St. James Hall

same performers as 18 Mar 1858, except: Perring (DNA)
(Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy)

3 Apr 1858m New York: Academy of Music

Annie Milner, v; H. C. Cooper, vn;
Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

5 Apr 1858m Brooklyn, NY: Athenaeum

Annie Milner, v; Signor Tiberini, v;
H. C. Cooper, vn; Karl Anschütz, pf acc
(New-York Times; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, adv)

12 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

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13 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

14 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

15 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond;
Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

16 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond;
Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

17 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond;
Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

19 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Berlioz: Les Francs-Juges, Le Carnaval Romain,
Rákóczy March; Weber, orchestrated Berlioz:
Invitation to the Dance
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

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20 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Berlioz: Les Franc-Juges, Le Carnaval Romain, Rákóczy March; Weber, orchestrated Berlioz: Invitation to the Dance
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

21 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Berlioz: Les Franc-Juges, Le Carnaval Romain, Rákóczy March; Weber, orchestrated Berlioz: Invitation to the Dance
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

22 Apr 1858m New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

23 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Berlioz: Les Franc-Juges, Le Carnaval Romain, Rákóczy March; Weber, orchestrated Berlioz: Invitation to the Dance
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v; Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

24 Apr 1858m New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v; Signor Tiberini, v; Alfred Musard, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

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25 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Mozart: Requiem
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Annetta Caradori, v; Annie Milner, v;
Karl Formes, v; Ernest Perring, v;
Signor Tiberini, v; Liederkranz Society;
Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

26 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Juliana May, v;
Alfred Musard, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

27 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Beethoven: Symphony No. 5, Namensfeier Overture (US premiere), King Stephen Overture (US premiere), Piano Concerto No. 3 (1st movement), Violin Concerto (1st movement)
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Juliana May, v;
Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

28 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Beethoven: Symphony No. 6, Namensfeier Overture, King Stephen Overture, Piano Concerto [No. 3 or 5] (1st movement), Violin Concerto (1st movement)
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Juliana May, v;
Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times; program)

29 Apr 1858m New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Alfred Musard, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

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30 Apr 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Beethoven: Namensfeier Overture;
Berlioz: Les Francs-Juges
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

1 May 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Beethoven: Namensfeier Overture;
Berlioz: Les Francs-Juges
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Alfred Musard, cond; Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times; program)

2 May 1858 New York: Academy of Music

guest appearance: Musard Concert
Beethoven: Symphony No. 6; King Stephen Overture;
Berlioz: Les Francs-Juges
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Karl Formes, v; Alfred Musard, cond;
Karl Anschütz, cond; orch
(New-York Times)

3 May 1858 Albany, NY: Association Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Annetta Caradori, v;
Juliana May, v; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Albany Atlas & Argus)

4 May 1858 Troy, NY: Rand's Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Troy Daily Times)

5 May 1858 Utica, NY: Mechanics' Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 3 May 1858
(Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette)

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6 May 1858 Syracuse, NY: W'sting Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 3 May 1858
(Syracuse Daily Standard)

7 May 1858 Rochester, NY: Corinthian Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Rochester Union and Advertiser)

8 May 1858 Toronto, Ontario: St. Lawrence Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Toronto Globe)

10 May 1858 Toronto, Ontario: St. Lawrence Hall

Thalberg: Fantasia on Norma performed with Lazare
same performers as 3 May 1858; Martin Lazare, pf
(Toronto Globe)

11 May 1858 Buffalo, NY: St. James Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 3 May 1858
(Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy)

12 May 1858 Hamilton, Ontario: Mechanics' Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Hamilton Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce, ann;
Toronto Globe, rev, 15 May)

13 May 1858 Detroit, MI: Russell House Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 3 May 1858
(Detroit Daily Free Press)

14 May 1858 Detroit, MI: Russell House Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Detroit Daily Free Press)

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15 May 1858 Toledo, OH: Stickney Hall

Mendelssohn: "Frühlingslied" from Lieder ohne Worte
same performers as 3 May 1858
(Daily Toledo Blade)

17 May 1858 Sandusky, OH: Norman Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Sandusky Daily Commercial Register)

18 May 1858 Cleveland, OH: Melodeon Hall

same performers as 3 May 1858
(Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer)

20 May 1858 Pittsburgh, PA: City Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Annetta Caradori, v; Juliana May, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Daily Pittsburgh Gazette)

21 May 1858 Wheeling, WV: Washington Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Juliana May, v; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Wheeling Daily Intelligencer)

22 May 1858 Columbus, OH: Concert Hall

same performers as 21 May 1858
(Daily Ohio State Journal)

24 May 1858 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

same performers as 21 May 1858
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

25 May 1858 Dayton, OH: Clegg's Hall - canceled

(Dayton Daily Journal)

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26 May 1858 Cincinnati, OH: Smith & Nixon's Hall

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Juliana May, v; Ernest Perring, v;
Signor Abella, pf acc; Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Cincinnati Daily Commercial)

27 May 1858 Lexington, KY: Odd Fellows' Hall

same performers as 21 May 1858
(Kentucky Statesman, adv)

28 May 1858 Louisville, KY: Mozart Hall

same performers as 21 May 1858
(Daily Louisville Democrat)

31 May 1858 Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre - postponed

(Nashville Republican Banner)

1 Jun 1858 Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre - postponed

(Nashville Republican Banner)

2 Jun 1858 Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre - postponed

(Nashville Republican Banner)

3 Jun 1858 Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre

Henry Vieuxtemps, vn; Elena D'Angri, v;
Ernest Perring, v; Signor Abella, pf acc;
Josephine Vieuxtemps, pf acc
(Nashville Republican Banner)

4 Jun 1858s Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre

(Nashville Republican Banner)

4 Jun 1858 Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre

same performers as 3 Jun 1858
(Nashville Republican Banner)

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5 Jun 1858 Nashville, TN: Gaiety Theatre

same performers as 3 Jun 1858
(Nashville Republican Banner)

8 Jun 1858 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

same performers as 3 Jun 1858
(Daily Missouri Republican)

9 Jun 1858 St. Louis, MO: Mercantile Library Hall

same performers as 3 Jun 1858
(Daily Missouri Republican)

10 Jun 1858 Springfield, IL: Metropolitan Hall

same performers as 3 Jun 1858
(Daily Illinois State Journal)

12 Jun 1858 Peoria, IL: Theatre

same performers as 3 Jun 1858
(Peoria Daily Transcript)

14 Jun 1858 Chicago, IL: Light Guard Hall

same performers as 3 Jun 1858, except: Thalberg (DNA)
(Chicago Daily Tribune)

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*AAS - American Antiquarian Society
BPL - Boston Public Library (Music Department, unless otherwise stated)
CU - Columbia University (David Stanford scrapbook of programs in Rare Book and Manuscript Library, unless otherwise stated)
DLC - Music Division, Library of Congress
HSP - Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
HTC - Harvard Theatre Collection
NYPL - Music Division, New York Public Library

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