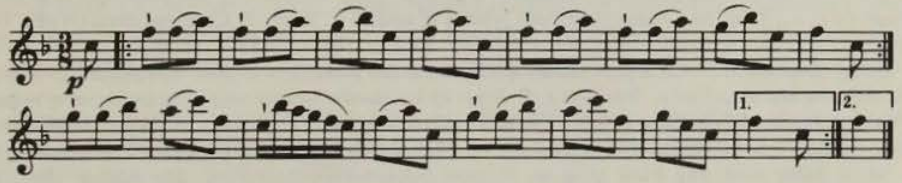
The Latin Tinge 1800–1900

Concerning John Storm Roberts's The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin Music in the United States, *see the book notice at page 139 of this issue. The following essay is expanded from a paper read at the 1976 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, in Washington, D.C. Translated into Spanish with the title "Visión musical norteamericana de las otras Américas hacia 1900," this article appeared in* Revista Musical Chilena *XXXI/137 (1977), 5–35. Dr. Luis Merino, editor, kindly permitted publication in English.*

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, American interest in Latin American political events stimulated a constant stream of sheet music publications. The two decades during which Latin America was most to the fore were of course the 1840's and the 1890's. However, as early as 1810 the New York-based Peter Weldon[1] published there a *Brazilian Waltz* for flute, clarinet, or violin and piano, welcoming King John VI of Portugal to the New World. In an article tracing musical relations between Brazil and the United States, Carleton Sprague Smith began with Weldon's waltz, the Portuguese title of which was *Favorita Waltz Brazilense Para Piano Forte com Accompanhamento de Flauta Clarinete ò Violin.*[2] The engraving on Weldon's cover shows the royal disembarkation at Rio de Janeiro in January of 1808.

According to Smith, a change from major to minor would infuse more Brazilian character into the perky waltz theme. Weldon's piano part glistens with brilliant sixteenth-note arpeggiated figuration in the treble supported by a close-position waltz bass. The opening strains of the melody for flute, clarinet, or violin read thus:

Brazilian Waltz (1810)



[1]Peter Weldon's New York City addresses from 1800 through 1808 are listed in Virginia Larkin Redway, *Music Directory of Early New York City* (New York: New York Public Library, 1941), p. 24. Musicians with French and Italian surnames frequently turn up in the pre-1850 New York City directories indexed by her, but not those with Spanish surnames. As an exception, she found Antonio C. Martínez variously listed as "professor of music" or "musician" from 1844 through 1875. Only in the 1850's and 1860's did New York begin receiving Spanish surname musicians such as Jaime Nunó and the Carreños.

[2]"Relações musicais entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos de Norte America," *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*, VI (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), pp. 140–141. See also his remarks on Weldon's Brazilian Waltz in Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801–1825 A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1964), I, xv–xvi.

Whether in any true sense Brazilian or not, Weldon's music did catch the American public's fancy. Richard J. Wolfe listed ten further issues at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, all presumably antedating 1825.[3]

Among other sheet music antedating 1825, Carleton Sprague Smith signaled a song and two marches paying tribute to Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), a set of five waltzes dedicated to Bernardo O'Higgins (1778–1842), and two marches dedicated to Jean Pierre Boyer (1776–1850), the ruler of Haiti from 1818 to 1843.[4] The second of the marches honoring Haiti's longest ruler is additionally significant because Francis Johnson (1792–1844), who wrote it, was in his epoch by all odds the most published composer of African descent. Around 1823 President Boyer had begun offering free passage and a small settlement allowance to attract free Blacks from the United States. By 1825 enough Blacks from the North had arrived at Port-au-Prince to start an African Methodist Episcopal church there.[5] Johnson's *Recognition March* not only called attention to the guaranteed safety of Haiti's coasts, now that France had for a promised indemnity relinquished all claims to what was formerly her richest New World colony, but also cast a glow on President Boyer's immigration offers. Decisively his most elaborate published work, Johnson's tribute to the ruler of Haiti presents some Beethovenish motives, modulates effectively, and contains a few bars in which melody and accompaniment answer each other imitatively.[6] Boyer, who had in his youth visited Paris and who died there, presumably had sufficient musical taste to appreciate these gestures.

Sometime within the years 1824 through 1826, Carl[7] Meineke (1782–1850), who is still represented in most Protestant hymnals with a Gloria Patri,[8] published at

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[3]*Secular Music in America*, III, 949-950.

[4]*Bolivar. A Peruvian Battle Song. As sung by Mr. Howard with unbounded applause at the Chatham Theatre. Written by G. P. Morris, Esqr. Arranged by T. W. H. B. B.* Philadelphia, Published and sold by Geo. Willig, 171 Chestnut st. Price 38 cts. (Wolfe, item 384); *General Bolivar's Grand March.* New York, Published by N. Thurston, and *General Bolivar's March Dedicated to the Columbians by the Publishers.* New York, Published by A. & W. Geib, 23 Maiden lane (Wolfe, 2938, 2939; both marches are by George Geib).

Five South American waltzes. Dedicated to Don Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Dictator of Chili. New York, Engraved, printed & sold by E. Riley, 29 Chatham street. In numerical order the five waltzes are thus entitled: O'Higgins waltz, Buenos Ayres waltz, Constellation waltz, The Siege of Callao, Gen. San Martin's waltz (Wolfe, 8458). These waltzes were copyrighted August 29, 1823.

The President of Hayti's march. Composed for & respectfully dedicated to His Excellency Jean Pierre Boyer by E. C. Riley. New York, Engraved, printed & sold by E. Riley, 29 Chatham street (Wolfe, 7487 [1825]).

Recognition march on the Independance of Hayti. For the piano forte & flute. Composed expressly for the occasion and dedicated to President J. P. Boyer by his humble servant with every sentiment of respect. Francis Johnson. Philadelphia, Published & sold by G. Willig, No. 171 Chestnut st. (Wolfe, 4662; Haitian independence was recognized by France April 17, 1825, conditional on the payment of an indemnity).

[5]Mark Baker Bird, *The Black Man; or, Haytian Independence* (New York: The Author, 1869), pp. 152–153. As originally conceived in 1823, Boyer's plan envisaged attracting to Haiti 20,000 free American Blacks.

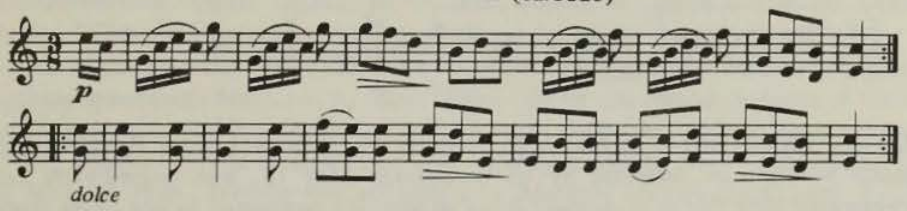
[6]In 1976 Arthur La Brew concluded *Selected Works of Francis Johnson A Study in Military and Terpsichorean History* with facsimile reproductions of the *Recognition March*, original imprint, and of a 1976 orchestration by Joseph Hayes, pp. 189–210. See also his perceptive comments on the *Recognition March* and incipient Pan-Americanism, p. 5.

[7]His first name is alternately given as Christopher. John Cole, the Baltimore publisher listed on the cover of *The Mexican Waltz* with No. 123 Market Street as his location, did business there in 1824, 1825, and 1826. George Willig published the same waltz at Philadelphia.

[8]Robert G. McCutchan, *Our Hymnody A Manual of the Methodist Hymnal* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1937), pp. 538–539. Meineke's Gloria Patri dates from 1844. Earlier he published a *Railroad March For the Fourth of July* (Baltimore: G. Willig, junr., 1828) that counts as another historic first.

Baltimore *The Mexican Waltz for the Piano Forte*. For what the two contrasting strains in this fast 3/8 waltz tell, they are shown here. The left hand plays a repetitious bass (CEG twice, G,DG four times, CEG, Ccc for the first strain; Ccc four times, Ggg twice, CEG, C for the second strain). If neither strain sounds idiomatically Mexican, neither was there anything self-identifiably Moorish in the *Moorish March* intruded as a bit of local color in *The Siege of Tripoli* published in 1804 or 1805 by Benjamin Carr,[9] or Turkish in *Commodore Decatur's* Turkish March published around 1817 by Philip Trajetta, or Spanish in the *Spanish Waltz* published between 1818 and 1821 by Julius Metz (Wolfe, 1653, 9401, 5849).

The Mexican Waltz (ca.1825)



To honor the memory of Bolívar, more profound music than this was needed. Accordingly, the second movement of Beethoven's Eroica was in 1831 fitted to Samuel Woodworth's poetic translation of Bolívar's proclamation dated December 10, 1830, only a week before his death.[10] The "Beethoven of America," as Anthony Philip Heinrich began being called in the Boston *Euterpeiad* of April 13, 1822, gave one of his nine symphonies a South American cachet when he entitled it "The Ornithological Combat of Kings; or, The Condor of the Andes, and the Eagle of the Cordilleras." He subtitled the four movements "The Conflict of the Condor in the Air," "The Repose of the Condor," "The Combat of the Condor on the Land," and "Victory of the Condor."[11] It was the first movement of this symphony which the longtime guardian of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, Anselm von Hüttenbrenner, rehearsed with the Styrian Musik-Verein at Graz on May 25 and June 7, 1836, and performed on June 9.[12] The printed program specified the movement as a "characteristically American tone-painting" by a composer "of Kentucky." Whether or not any of its themes was characteristically American, at least Heinrich chose the right year for a "combat" symphony. On March 6, 1836, Santa Anna captured the Alamo and slew the 183-man garrison, only to be himself captured on April 22, after his forces were defeated at the battle of San Jacinto on April 21. A decade later the long brewing war between the

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[9]Carr attributed the Moorish March in *The Siege of Tripoli* to Storace. Samuel Arnold's Moorish March in *The Mountaineers* (London: Preston & Son, 1795, p. 19) appeared at Boston in *The Musical Magazine*, 1802-1803, Vol. I, p. 15 (Wolfe, 268).

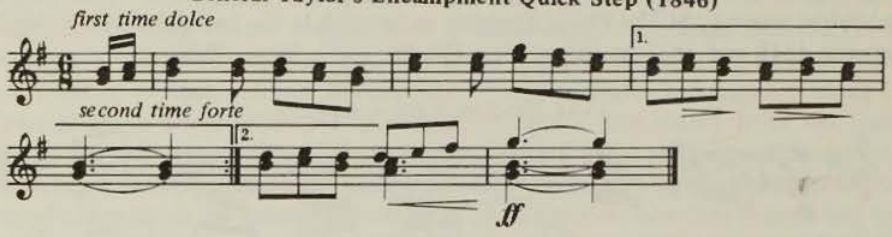
[10]*"I pity and forgive" The Last Words of Gen.l Simon Bolivar Sung by Mr. Jones the Poetry by S. Woodworth Esq.r Music from Beethoven Arranged with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by N. C. Bochsa Respectfully Dedicated to Silas E. Barrows Esq.r* (New York: Firth & Hall, 1831). The first stanza reads: "Just Heav'n, from each oppressor / Preserve my country's wealth; / And if my death can bless her, / Oh then I welcome death."

[11]William Treat Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 286-287.

[12]Wilbur Richard Maust, "The Symphonies of Anthony Philip Heinrich based on American Themes," Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation, 1973, pp. 281-321, includes a facsimile of the Library of Congress manuscript of this first movement. According to the printed program, the Sunday evening concert began with the *Erster Satz der Simfonie, The Combat of the Condor (Der Kampf des Condor), amerikanisch charakteristisches Tongemählde von Anton Philipp Heinrich, of Kentucky*. See Upton, p. 141.

United States and Mexico broke out, simultaneously loosing a flood tide of sheet music. Among the first publications to acclaim Zachary Taylor (1784–1850) for occupying a base in disputed territory at Corpus Christi was *General Taylor's Encampment Quick Step, as performed by The Bands of the United States Army (in Texas)* (New York: Jacques & Brother, 1846 [25¢]). The opening strain went thus:

General Taylor's Encampment Quick Step (1846)



Zachary Taylor's arrival on March 28, 1846, at the north bank of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, followed by its occupation May 18, was immediately commemorated with *The Matamoras Grand March, As performed by the Brass Bands, Arranged & partly Composed for the Piano Forte, And most Respectfully Dedicated to Major. Gen.l Z. Taylor by W. C. Peters* (Louisville: W. C. Peters, 1846 [5 pp., 25¢]). Next came off the press in fast succession *The Rio Grande Quick March dedicated to Gen.l Z. Taylor Commander of the Army of Occupation* by John C. Andrews (New York: Firth, Hall, 1846) and *The Rio Grande Funeral March Composed and Dedicated to the Philadelphia Greys* by A. R. Breiter (Philadelphia: A. Fiot, 1846). The Battle of Palo Alto fought on May 8, 1846 was at once commemorated by a *Palo Alto Grand Military Waltz dedicated to General Z. Taylor and his gallant associates by a Lady* who declared her breeding by elegant turns in 3/8, C Major (New York: Firth & Hall, 1846). Each battle had its heroes. The martyr of Palo Alto was an artillery major, Samuel Ringgold, who as he lay mortally wounded was reported to have urged his fellow combatants on to the fray with these words: "Leave me to my fate, there's work for every man to do."[13] These dying words were used by John Hill Hewitt (1801–1890)[14] as the motto for his song sung in Baltimore at Ringgold's burial with highest civic and military honors December 22, 1846, *On to the Charge! Inscribed to the memory of Major Ringgold Late of the U.S. Light Artillery* (Baltimore: F. D. Benteen, 1846). Further to enshrine Ringgold's name, T. H. Chambers composed a *Palo Alto Triumphant Grand March The Music arranged & inscribed to the Memory of the late Major Ringgold* (New York: J. F. Atwill, 1847).

After Palo Alto Taylor advanced on Monterrey. With 6,000 men he invested the city on September 19, 1846, capturing it five days later. To celebrate this victory Francis Buck of Richmond published before the year's end the *Storming of Monterey September 21st 22d & 23d 1846 A Descriptive Military Waltz Composed and dedicated to Genl Z. Taylor and Officers of the American Army in Mexico* (Baltimore: F. D.

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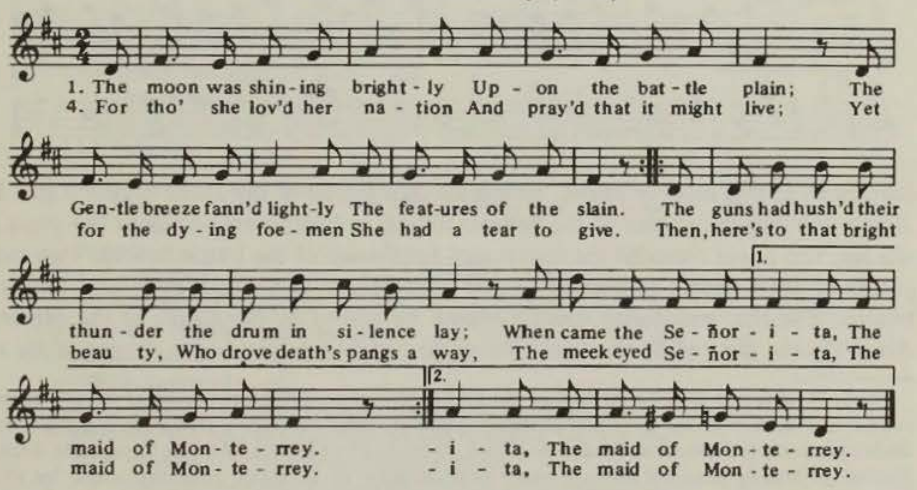
[13]For his biography, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1897), VII, 69. He died three days after the battle. Lieutenant Slover who tried to help him reported his words as: "Never mind, you have work to do; go ahead with your men; all are wanted in front."

[14]Concerning Hewitt, see Richard B. Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), pp. 28–40, and Coy E. Huggins, "John Hill Hewitt: Bard of the Confederacy," Florida State University Ph.D. dissertation, 1964.

Benteen, 1846), the strains of which bear such captions as "General Worth successfully storms the forts by the Saltillo Road. The gallant Texans cut their way from house to house," "Attack of the Mexican lancers," "An armistice proposed by Gen. Ampudia," and "Rejoicing of the conquering troops." In 1847 Karl W. Petersilie published with the heading *Monterey: Co.[I] Campbell's March dedicated to the Officers & members of the 1st Regt. Tennessee Volunteers* (Philadelphia: George Willig; Lexington, Ky.: Bodley & Curd). Austin Phillips published in 1847 *Monterey A National Song The Words by F. W. Watson* (New York: Wm. Vanderbeek). On the other hand, sorrow over the American death toll inspired *The Field of Monterey Ballad Affectionately dedicated to Mrs. Virginia Q. S. (of Virginia)* by M. Dix Sullivan (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1846). This lament for a son lost in the battle begins: "The sweet church bells are pealing out / A chorus wild and free."

None of the Mexican War publications heretofore mentioned professed to contain anything specifically Mexican. As if to compensate for the spread-eagleism of *On to the Charge!* John Hill Hewitt did in 1848 return to the subject of Monterrey with an entirely different sort of song entitled *The Maid of Monterey from "Illustrations of the Mexican War" Written and adapted to a Mexican Melody* (Baltimore: F. D. Benteen; New Orleans: W. T. Mayo, 1848). The four stanzas tell the story of a Mexican Florence Nightingale who succored the American wounded and dying. The purportedly Mexican melody runs thus:

The Maid of Monterey (1848)



After securing Monterrey, Taylor's forces occupied Saltillo November 16, 1846, and on February 22–23, 1847, prevailed against Santa Anna's 20,000 troops at the Battle of Buena Vista. Charles Grobe, the most prolific and most published composer in American history,[15] had already in 1846 rushed into the Mexican War market with a jaunty C Major piece in 6/8, *General Taylor's Grand March arranged for the Piano . . . Most respectfully dedicated to General Taylor by the Publishers* (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker) and *Old Rough and Ready. Quick Step dedicated to General Zac.*

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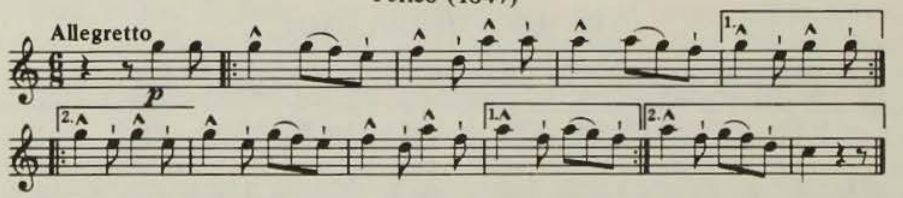
[15]H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974, pp. 75–77. Eventually Grobe garnered almost 2,000 published opuses.

Taylor (Philadelphia: George Willig, Jr.), the latter an *allegro molto* 2/4 piece in E flat heavily laden with touch and expression signs. His war piece *pièce de résistance* came out however in 1847 with the title *Veni, Vidi, Vici. The Battle of Buena Vista A Descriptive Fantasie for the Piano. Composed and most respectfully inscribed to Gen.[1] Z. Taylor The Hero who never lost a battle by Ch.[3] Grobe. Opus 101. Price 75 cts. net* (Baltimore: G. Willig, J.[r]). Grobe's *Buena Vista* was yet another in the long procession of the Willigs's expensive battles that by 1815 and 1816 had already included Philippe Laroque's 15-page *Battle of the memorable 8th of January 1815* selling for $1.50, presumably because it gave battle descriptions in both French and English, Ricksecker's *The Battle of New Orleans* that contained a British March on page 4, followed by various American generals' marches on pages 3 and 9.[16] What was unquestionably new about Grobe's 13-page *Buena Vista* was the Mexican march at page 4. The incidents immediately preceding its introduction are thus labeled (page 3): "Gen. Taylor apprized of the Mexican approach, breaks up his camp at Agua Nueva and takes post in a strong position at Buena Vista." Next comes: "The Mexicans appear immediately in front of the American forces, their bands playing their favorite march 'Perico.' " Grobe accompanied the 6/8 *Perico* C Major tune first with an Alberti bass, next with galloping chords marked *crescendo* to suggest the Mexican band's approach. The rest of the battle events,[17] all portrayed with the usual

Perico (1847)



literalness in this class of music, terminate in a Burial of the Dead (pages 9 and 10) closely echoing the strains of the funeral march in Beethoven's Eroica. The coda on the last two pages contains the customary apotheosis of the battle heroes. Two more pieces of sheet music published in 1847 purported to contain authentic Mexican strains. The first was *Santa Anna's March As played by the Bands of the Mexican Army On the field of Buena Vista the night previous to the battle Arranged for the*

[16]Peter Weldon's 15-page *La Battalla de Baylen y rendicion de el General Dupont al exercito Español patriotico al mando de los Generales Castaños y Reding. Pieza historica y militar para el piano forte Dedicada a la Junta Suprema de Sevilla* (New York, 1809) sold for $2; James Hewitt's 15-page *The Battle of Trenton. A favorite historical military sonata* (Philadelphia: G. E. Blake, 1812-1814), sold for $1.25. Denis-Germain Etienne's 20-page *Battle of New Orleans* (Boston: For the Author by G. Graupner, 1816) was sold by subscription. See Wolfe, items 9730A, 3683, and 2718.

[17]"The following incidents lead up to the most famous phrase coined during the war. P. 4: Flag of truce from Santa Anna who demands an unconditional surrender; "Gen. Taylor never surrenders" (German augmented-6th chord); The American army gives one-two-three cheers. The enemy attempts to turn the American left flank. P. 5: Sherman's and Bragg's batteries order'd to the left. Col. Bissell takes position between them and the Kentuckians, under Col. McKee, move from the right to the centre. The artillery of both armies opens its fire. P. 6: The Mexican infantry opens a tremendous fire on the entire American line which is returned with fatal effect by the Kentuckians under Clay and Fry. Gen. Taylor in the thickest of the Battle encourages his troops. The battle rages with greatest fury. Washington's Battery opens a fire and repulses a body of lancers. P. 7: Col. [Jefferson] Davis throws his troops into the form of a [wedge] the opening towards the enemy and is reinforced by a body of cavalry under Col. Lane. Gen. Taylor advises Capt. Bragg to supply the enemy with a "little more grape."

Composiciones musicales

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PIANO.

POR

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México H. NAGEL SUCESORES, Editores
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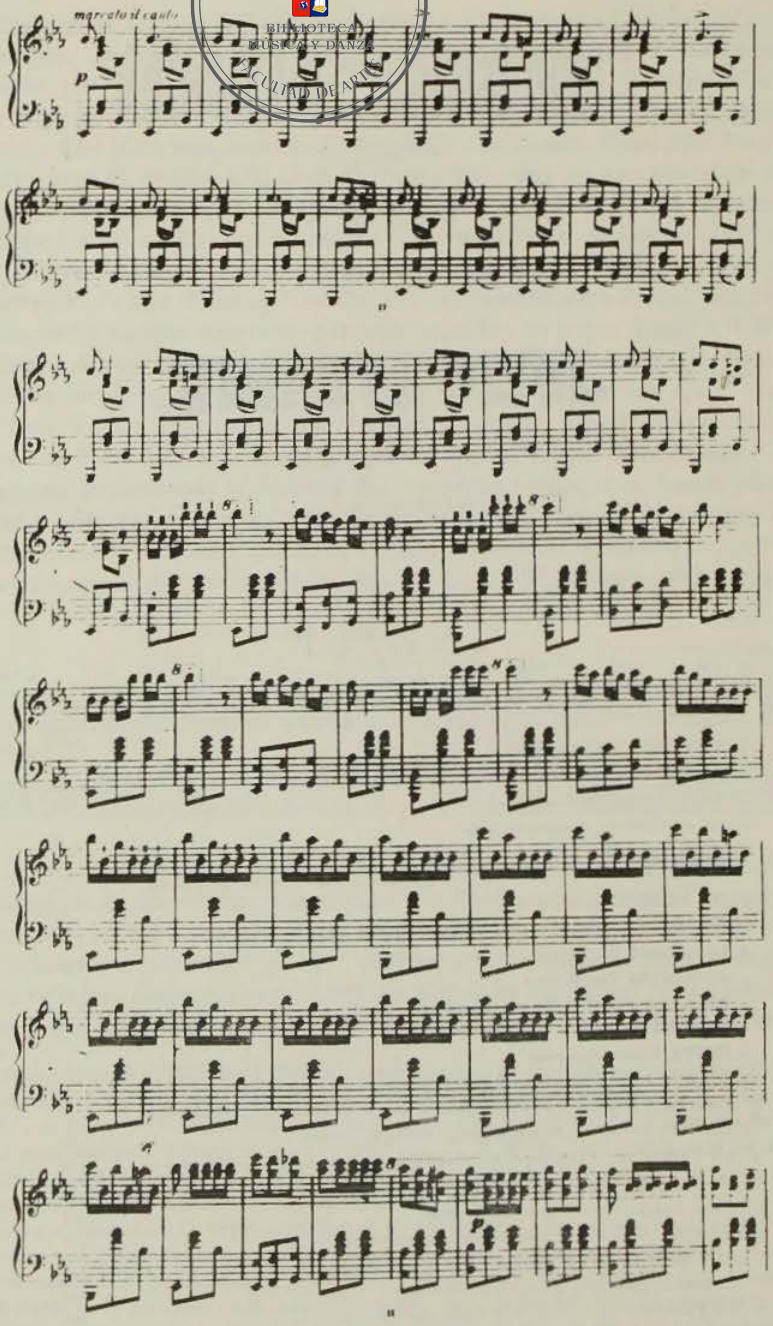
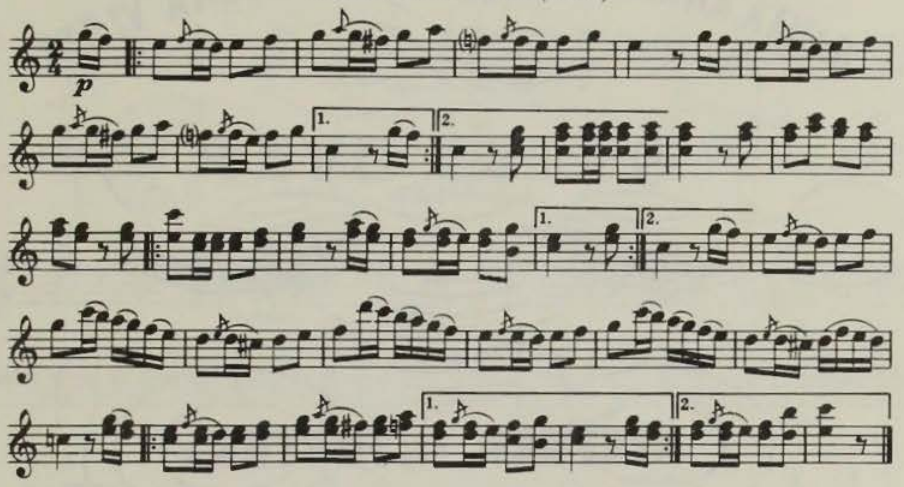
ÍNDICE.



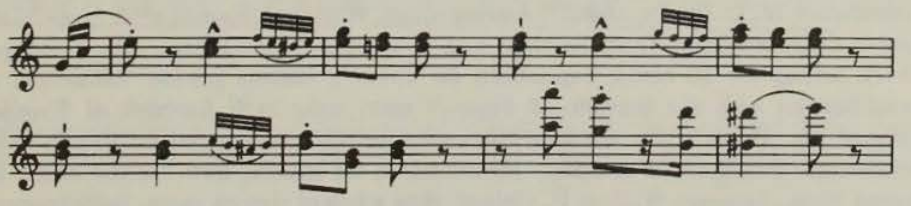
Julio Ituarte's *Ecos de México* (published about 1880 in his collected *Composiciones musicales*) contains his concert arrangement of *Perico*.

Piano Forte by William Ratel. NB This beautiful air was brought on by some Kentucky Volunteers having heard it played by the Mexican Bands at Buena Vista while on sentry duty (Philadelphia; George Willig; Lexington, Ky.: Bodley & Curd). The wistful C Major Santa Anna march tune brought back by Kentuckians goes thus (compare it with *The Maid of Monterey*):

Santa Anna's March (1847)

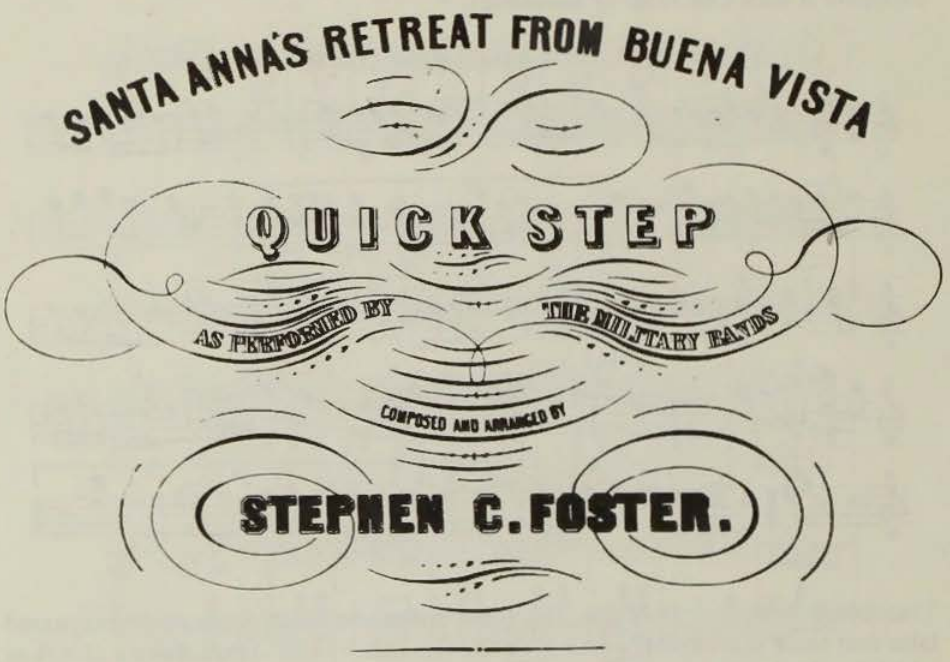


Transposed from C to G Major, this same optimistic Santa Anna tune reappeared later that same year of 1847—now with the explanatory title: *Santa Anna's March to which is added a Popular Melody composed on the Battle field of Buena Vista by an American Officer Arrang'd for the Piano Forte And Inscribed to Miss* [Mary-Ann] *Fitzgerald by W. C. Peters* (Louisville: W. C. Peters; Cincinnati: Peters & Field). Copyrighted in Ohio, this arrangement sold as either a piano duet or solo for 25¢. A few bars of the C Major trio section "composed on the Battle field of Buena Vista by an American Officer" deserve reprinting here; if only because this is the first published example of Mexican-American collaboration:



Taylor's success at Buena Vista inspired more sheet music tributes than any other engagement of the war. The majority were instrumental pieces.[18] Even Stephen

[18] *General Taylor's Quick March at Buena Vista Dedicated to him by Louis Reimer* (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1847); *Buena Vista Grand Triumphal March Composed in Honor of Major General Taylor's Victory in Mexico February 23d. 1847* [by F. Weiland] (Philadelphia: J. G. Osborn [1847]); *Buena Vista March Composed for the Piano Forte* (Louisville: Tripp & Cragg [1847]); *Buena Vista Quick Step Composed and Dedicated to Lieut John F. Reynolds Compy E. 3.rd Artillery U.S.A. by John B. Müller* (Philadelphia: George Willig, 1847); *Buena Vista Grand March Respectfully Dedicated to Major Gen.l*



Collins Foster, not usually thought of as an instrumental composer, published *Santa Anna's Retreat from Buena Vista Quick Step As performed by the Military Bands* (Louisville: W. C. Peters, 1848).[19] Among songs, William J. Lemon's "*A Little More Grape Captain Flagg*" (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker; New Orleans: W. T. Mayo, 1847), selling for 50 cents, capitalized on Taylor's famous phrase. Musically, it swashbuckles with the bravado of Figaro's entry song in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*. Edward O. Eaton's *To the boy defender of Kentucky's honor* (Vicksburg, Mississippi: Blackmar & Brother, 1860) told in six stanzas how "at the Battle of Buena Vista, Sergeant William F. Goines, then a boy of sixteen years, twice rescued

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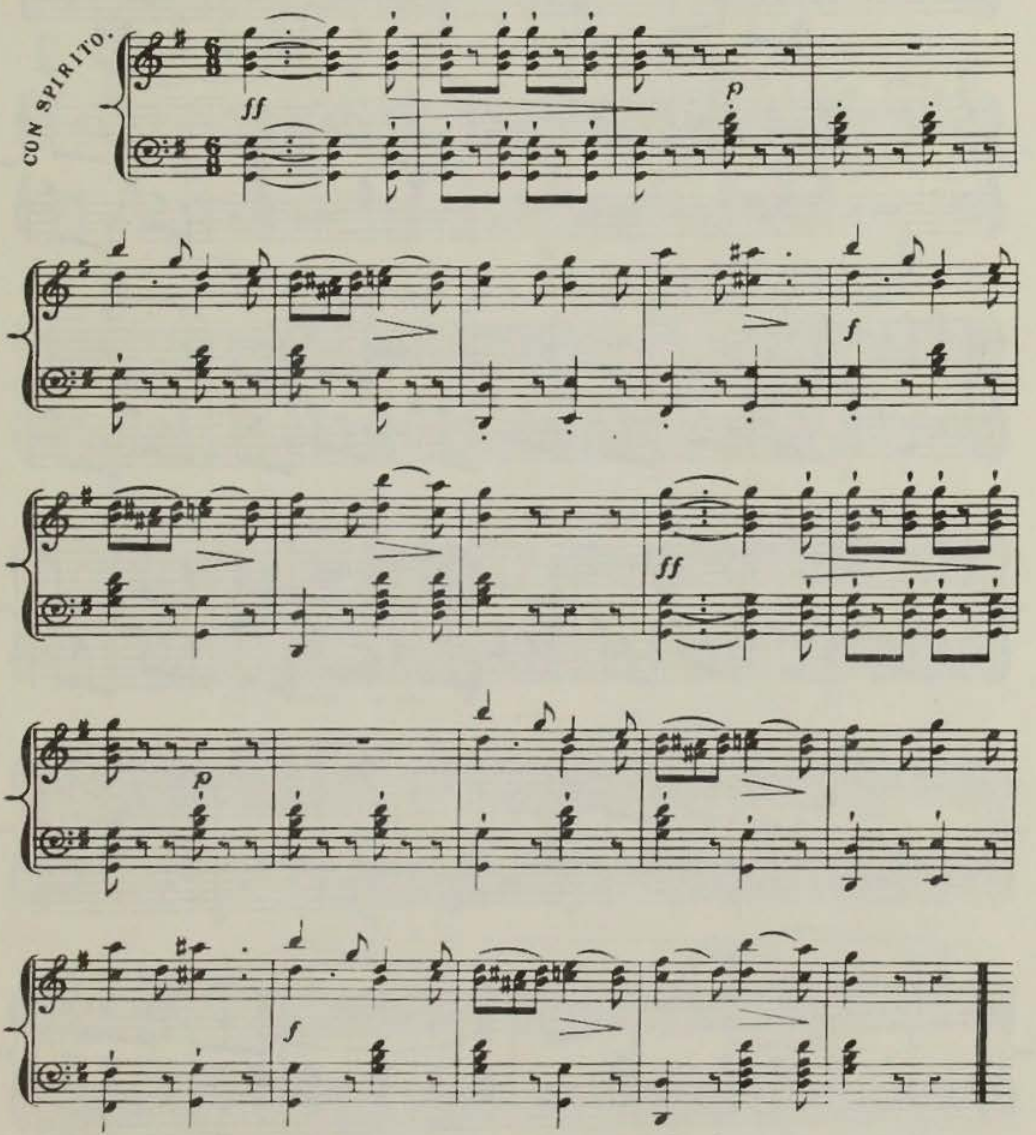
Zachary Taylor. Subject from Mercadante Arranged for the Piano Forte, by E. Nathan (New York: Pond & Cº, 1847); *The Buena Vista Polka, Composed & dedicated to Brigadier General Wool, by a Lady of Virginia* (New York: F. Riley & Cº, 1848). Other instrumental pieces possibly tied to Buena Vista include A. G. Pickens, *General Taylor's Quick Step* (Boston: Oliver Ditson) and Matthias Keller, *General Taylor's Quick Step* (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker).

[19]Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Music For Patriots, Politicians, and Presidents* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975), p. 317, shows in facsimile the first page of this galloping 6/8 *con spirito* G Major effusion.

SANTA ANNA'S RETREAT FROM BUENA VISTA.

Composed by. ——— S. C. Foster Esq^r



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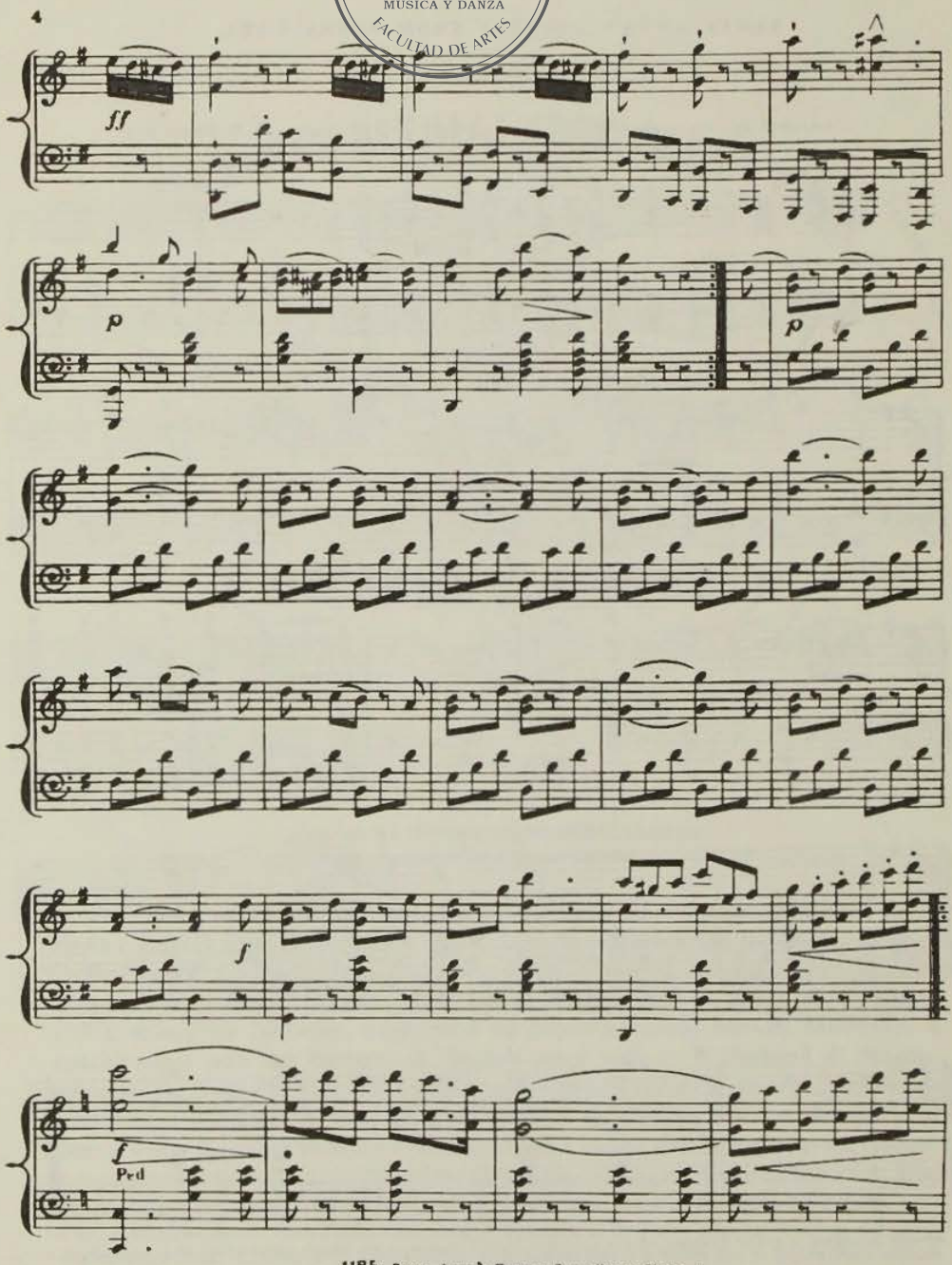

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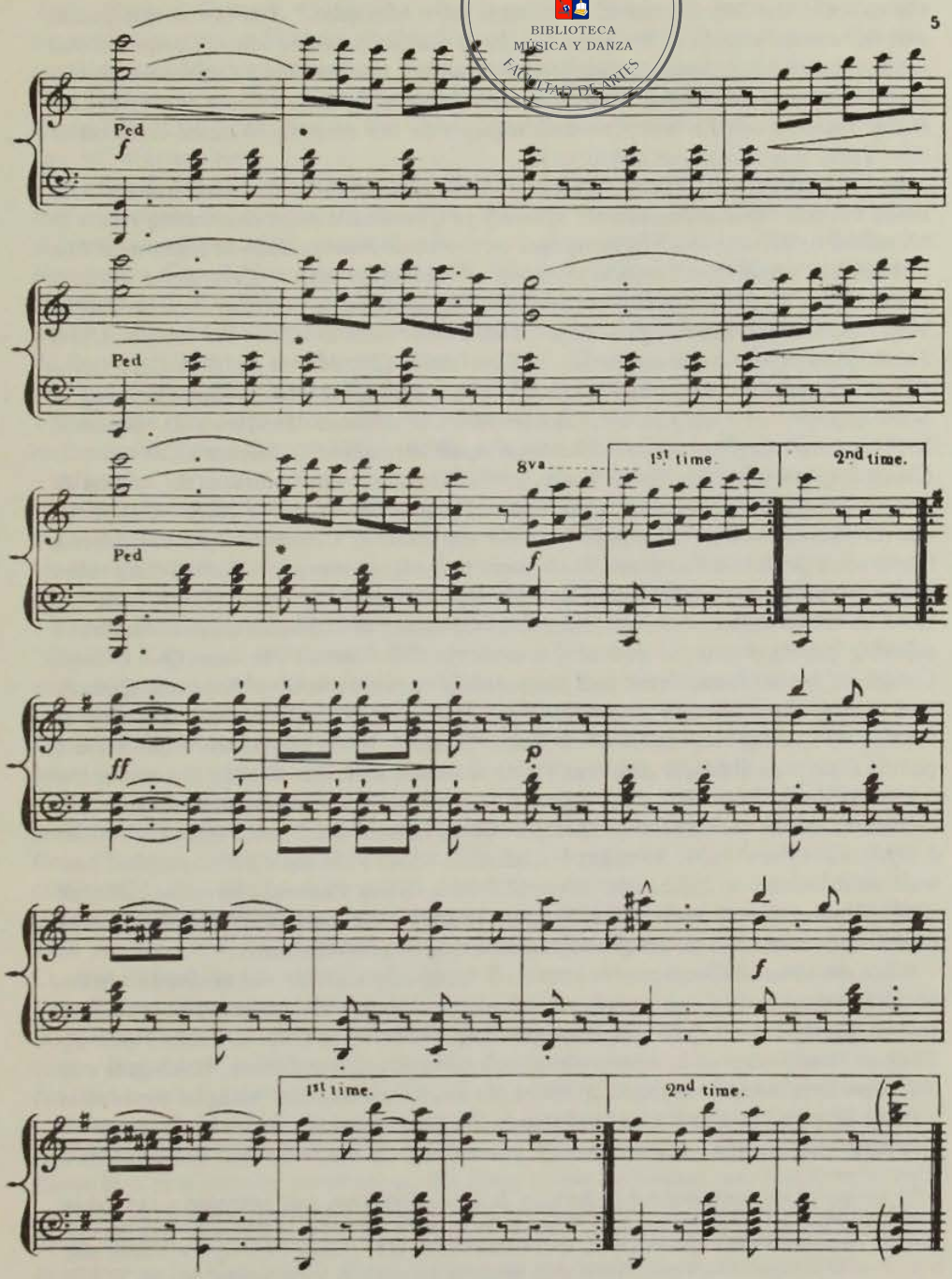


1185. Santa Anna's Retreat from Buena Vista. 4.

the colors of the 2nd Regiment, Kentucky, from Mexicans." The fate of Americans who fell was mourned in *The Dying Soldier of Buena Vista The Music Composed and most respectfully dedicated to his Honor Charles J. M. McCurdy Lieutenant Governor of the State of Connecticut by Orramel Whittelsey, of Salem Conn. Words by Col. Henry Petrikin* (with a lachrymose lithograph on the cover by William Endicott of New York, but no date or publisher).

In comparison with Taylor, Winfield Scott (1786–1866) surrounded himself with much less of a musical penumbra. The only programmatic piece celebrating events in his ascent to Mexico City was composed by the same Francis Buck of Richmond who in 1846 had celebrated Taylor's storming of Monterrey with *A Descriptive Military Waltz.* Buck's 1847 nine-page sequel honoring Scott came out with the title *Fall of Vera Cruz And Surrender of the City & Castle of S.t Juan D'Ulloa* [San Juan de Ulúa] *To the American Forces under Major Gen.l Scott (29. March 1847) A Descriptive Piece Composed & respectfully Dedicated to the Officers & Men of the U.S. Army & Navy Engaged in that Glorious Achievement* (Baltimore: Frederick D. Benteen, 1847).[20] Scott's capture of Cerro Gordo on April 18 inspired T. Bricher's *Cerro Gordo Quick Step* (Boston: Martin & Beals, 1847). The victory at Contreras on August 20 evoked a tribute not to Scott but to one of his generals—*Smith's March Composed and dedicated to Gen. Persifor F. Smith the Hero of Contreras by J. T. Martin* (Baltimore: Miller & Beacham, Successors to F. D. Benteen, 1848).[21] Unlike other music related to Scott's campaign *Smith's March* or *Smith's Grand March,* as it was titled in Oliver Ditson and National Music Company of Chicago reissues, continued enjoying popularity to the end of the century. *Gen.l Scott's Mexican Quick Step: Composed for the Piano Forte, and Respectfully dedicated to Gen.l Scott and Officers and men of the American Army in Commemoration of the Capture of the City of Mexico* by Ludwig Hagemann (New York: C. Holt, 1847) was on the other hand a puerile four-page C Major piece ending on a second-inversion chord. The rest of the Scott repertoire, from *Gen. Scott's Quick Step arranged for the Piano Forte from the celebrated Sturm March Gallop* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1852) and *Festival March* by J. Pychowski (New York: William Hall & Son, 1852) with Scott's lithographed portrait on the cover, to *Lieutenant General Scott's Grand Funeral March* by E. Mack (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1866), tried to keep alive the memory of his Mexican exploits but contained nothing remotely savoring of Mexican music.

Once the successful outcome was assured, all apostolic fervor was drained from the Mexican cause and American songsters could turn somewhat cynical. The crusading zeal of *'Tis a Nation's Jubilee A Patriotic Song dedicated to General Zach. Taylor by Thomas Power adapted to a favorite melody* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1846) gave way two years later to the arrogance of *We're the boys from Mexico* "sung to the tune of Yankee Doodle" in *The Rough and Ready Songster: Embellished with Twenty-Five Splendid Engravings, illustrative of the American victories in Mexico* (New

[20] A synopsis of the events depicted by Buck: p. 3: Two o'clock. Gen. Scott addressed at two o'clock P.M. a summons to the Governor of Vera Cruz &c.; p. 4: Seven mortars in battery open upon the City. Part of Commodore Perry's squadron firing towards the Castle; p. 5: Gallant Capt. John R. Vinton shot; p. 6: Funeral of Capt. J. R. Vinton. Three guns fired over his grave. A heavy Norther then set in; p. 7: Attack on the 24.th of March. At page 9 the American flag waves over the Castle.

[21] Concerning Smith (1798–1858), see T. F. McNeill, "Smith, Persifor Frazer," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII, 331–332. "His arrival on the field of Contreras was welcomed by the soldiers with cries of 'Here he is!' and 'Now we'll have them'." His surprise attack in the early morning of August 20, 1847, "resulted in the destruction of Valencia's army."

York: Napis & Cornish, 1848). The other tunes specified in this same 1848 songster containing poetry by William Cullen Bryant and William Gilmore Simms echoed anything but Mexico: Boatman's Song, Bruce's Address, Campbells are coming, Dan Tucker, Draw the sword Scotland, Fine old English Gentleman, Gray Goose, Green Mountain Boys, Hail to the Chief, Lucy Neale, Rose of Alabama, Scots wha hae' wi' Wallace bled.

In 1856 Nicaragua became the scene of another Latin American adventure but one that ended less happily for the invaders. William Walker (1824-1860) having proclaimed himself president, music at once appeared to signal the event, *Gen.l Walker's Nicaraguan Grand March composed by E. Haskell* (Baltimore: Miller & Beacham, successor to F. O. Benteen, 1856 [plate 2994]). One of the few "Latin American" works of the century unconnected with any military incursion was *The Andes Marche di Bravura. Homage to Church's Picture "The Heart of the Andes"* by George William Warren (New York: William A. Pond & C.°, 1863). This 17-page exercise in Thalbergian runs, arpeggios, and other virtuositic figuration, paid tribute to a canvas by Frederick Edwin Church (1826-1900), who had spent 1853 in South America.[22]

After the Mexican Cession and the Gadsden Purchase, American sentiment did sanctimoniously deplore any further incursions on Mexican territory. In 1865 mounting opposition to the Emperor Maximilian was typically vented in a song burlesquing his foreign accent, *"Oh! I vants to go home" or Maxmilian's Lament Song & Chorus Music by T. M. Brown Words by Bob Barkis* (Saint Louis: Endres & Compton). On the cover is a lithograph lampooning him as a big overgrown crybaby. Advertised as "Sung by Harry Pell at Morris & Wilson's Opera House," the song begins: " 'Oh, I vants to go home' was the doleful cry / That came mournfully over the sea / To the ears of the Emperor of the French / From his Austrian protégé. / 'Oh, I vants to go home vare de sauerkraut groes / And de lager bier flows like de streams. / Oh goot leber vurst, mit pretzels and bier, / Are the themes of my midnight dreams.' "

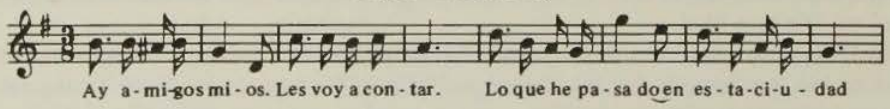
Scenting Yankee profit, but ostensibly to show solidarity with the first widespread revolt in Cuban history, Rosaline V. Murden in 1869 dedicated *The Cuban Patriots Grand March* (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker) to Carlos Manuel de Céspedes (1819-1874), the leader of the rebels who before defeat in 1878 controlled half the island. Typical of the many musical encouragements to Cuban revolt in the 1890's were Arthur M. Cohen's *Belle of Cuba Quickstep*, Opus 284 (Philadelphia: The Current Publishing Co., 1895) and George H. Hayes's five-page *Cuban March "Viva Cuba Libre"* (Boston: G. W. Setchell, 1896) dedicated to Gonzalo de Quesada. With insouciance born of remoteness from the action Hayes's text begins: "To combat advance, Bayameses, / Fear not death when the death will be glorious / For to die for the land is to live / And in bondage to live, is to live in disgrace / Hark the trumpet!"

However, these "Cuban" pieces were all as devoid of anything authentically Latin American as had been the bulk of the Mexican War repertory. For piquant Mexican flavor in a mid-century publication, the sheet music enthusiast can best turn to *La pasadita A Satirical Mexican Song as sung with rapturous applause by Madame Anna Bishop* [1814-1884] *in the Cities of Mexico* (Philadelphia: J. E. Gould, Successor to A. Fiot, 1850). This is labeled on the cover "A Mexican National Air" with her harpist husband, the scandal-ridden Nicolas Bochsa (1789-1856) cited as ar-

[22]Church's *The Falls of Niagara* (1857) hangs at the Corcoran Gallery. His *Heart of the Andes* (1855) was the first of his panoramas that eventually "made him rich as well as world famous." Warren (1828-1902) was the American-born organist who wrote the tune to which *God of Our Fathers* is sung.

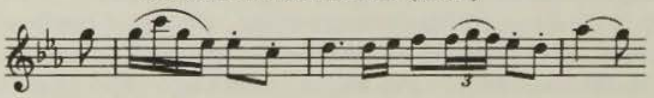
ranger. The Spanish text of the song facily recounts how only the ladies of Mexico had found ways to subdue the Yankees (the bowdlerized English translation softens the sense considerably).

La pasadita (1850)



The 1850's was the decade during which Gottschalk began distilling Antilles flavor in *El Cocoyé, Ojos criollos, Escenas campestres cubanas,* and numerous other Caribbean classics that deserve a chapter apart. A growing awareness of the West Indies imparted something of the same authentic local flavor to the *Cuba Plantation Dance* by Charles H. Walker (Philadelphia: Edward L. Walker, 1855). His cover shows Blacks dancing. The opening melodic strain, typical of the rest of this C-minor piece, goes thus:

Cuban Plantation Dance (1855)



At San Francisco in 1871 Matthias Gray, the Steinway West Coast representative, published a Spanish-text song, *La Chacha Canción Española Regalada por M. Gray Almacen de Steinway No. 117 Calle Post,* as a souvenir to give Spanish-speaking customers who entered his showrooms. Not San Francisco but New Orleans and Chicago became however the two cities in which were published during the rest of the century most songs and instrumental pieces by Cuban and Mexican composers. Because these frequently appeared with no indication of copyright, they resist easy dating. *A la sombra de un sauce* by Angela Peralta (1845-1863), the greatest Mexican operatic diva of the century, was, for instance, published at New Orleans by Junius Hart for 50 cents, in a series of 76 items of "Mexican Music," none of which bears a copyright date. From Mexican sheet music catalogues of the 1890's the composers represented in the series can usually be identified as salon writers, singers, orchestral musicians, or band leaders active in mid-Porfirian Mexico. A closer study would probably reveal A. Wagner y Levien[23] at Mexico City as the chief publisher from whose files Hart of New Orleans borrowed with or without authorization the repertory attributed on his covers to Leonardo F. Bolado, J. H. Cuevas, J. Dávila, P. M. Fuentes, N. Martínez, F. J. Navarro, J. Olague, G. Ortiz, Miguel Ríos Toledano, R. Susano Robles, and others. However, only one of these composers' names turns up among the 391 pieces of Mexican sheet music assembled in 1883 for the Bolívar centennial celebration at Caracas—Miguel Ríos Toledano.[24] Hart did publish with

[23]The other Mexican sheet music publishers named in the official inventory list prepared in 1883 for Caracas were H. Nagel Sucesores, Rivera hijo y Cía, and D. Carlos Godard. See the next footnote.

[24]Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, "Aportación musical de México para la formación de la Biblioteca Americana de Caracas, 1882-1883," *Revista Musical Mexicana,* II/2 (July 21, 1942), p. 31. Complete list alphabetized by composer at pp. 28-32. Next to Melesio Morales and Iganacio Tejeda, Miguel Ríos Toledano is the composer most voluminously present in this list signed May 22, 1883, by the director of the Conservatorio Nacional Alfredo Bablot.

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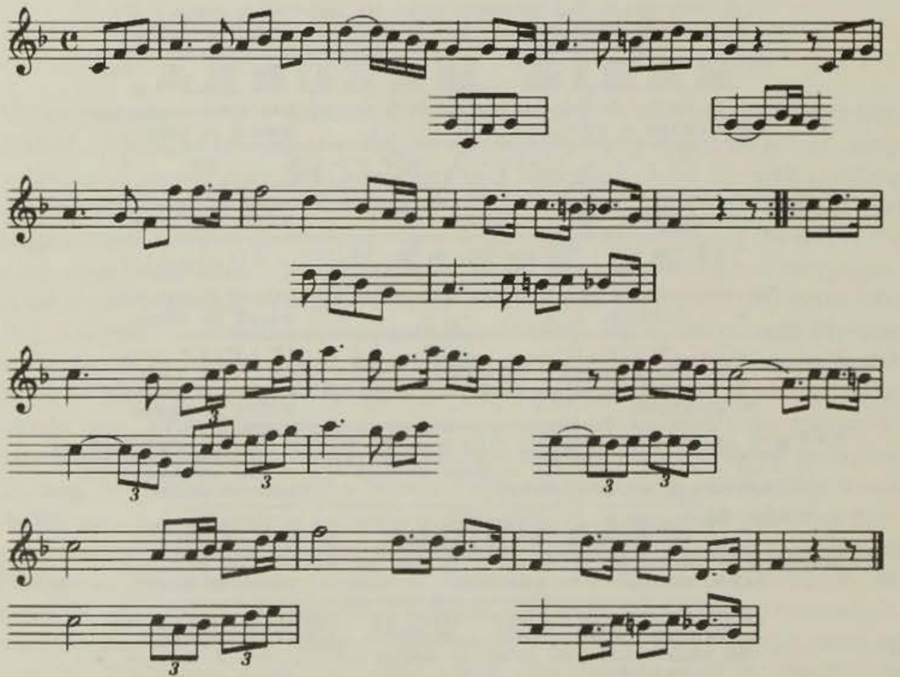
copyright date of 1885 a piece called *El Nopal (The Cactus) Mazurka* by the fifth composer in his list, Narciso Martínez. The copy gives Hart's address as 191 Canal Street, New Orleans. Both Mexican and American flags in color grace the cover and the pianist D. Delacroix is named as the dedicatee. (Inside, Mrs. Frank C. Hamilton is listed as the dedicatee.)

The first known issue anywhere of the music of *La Golondrina*[25] by Narciso Serradell (1843-1910) was not in Mexico but in September 1883 at Chicago, engraved by Poole Brothers Printers and Engravers for the General Passenger Department of the Mexican National Railway to pass out as a tourist inducement. On the front cover appear the two republics' flags in color, and on page 4 a railway map by "Poole Map Engravers." The English translation, credited to "Rev. Thos. M. Westrup,"[26] a pioneer missionary in Monterrey, still widely known as a hymn translator, bears the title "An Exile to a Swallow." An accompanying note calls *La Golondrina* "next to the national anthem the most popular song in Mexico." The tune, as published at Chicago in 1883 and 1885 differs in small details from the present-day *textus receptus*, and is therefore worth repeating here.

La Golondrina (1885)



[25]James J. Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music*, revised edn. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971), p. 254. The reissue of January 1885 contains only Westrup's English translation, not Francisco Martínez de la Rosa's Spanish text set by Serradell.

[26]Although of English birth and an Anglican, Westrup greatly aided in the establishment of the first Baptist church at Monterrey January 30, 1864. In 1866 he became Mexican agent for the American Bible Society. See Gonzalo Baez Camargo and Kenneth G. Grubb, *Religion in the Republic of Mexico* (New York: World Dominion Press, 1935), pp. 88, 117, 122.

The chief Chicago houses specializing in Mexican music throughout the 1890's were the National Music Company and McKinley Music Company. In 1892 National at 215 to 220 Wabash Avenue issued a *Choice Collection of Mexican Music* consisting of 15 pieces denominated either schottische, waltz, or mazurka. Luis de Aranjo, Julio Ituarte, Tomás León, Francisco J. Navarro, Juventino Rosas, and Ignacio Tejada were the composers. In 1893 National copyrighted Rosas's *Amelia* Waltzes (50 cents) and *Josefina* Waltz (60 cents). His *Ensueño Seductor*[27] was advertised on the National Music cover as "nearest to *Over the Waves* in popularity."[28] Other National copyrights in 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, included *La Serenata de la luna* by José Alvarado (dedicated to Juventino Rosas), three schottisches, *Adora y tenete quedo*, *Casada de perlas*, and *Mexico Adios*, by Alvarado, Ortiz, and Tejada, a *Polka de los Toreros* by Navarro, and much similar ephemera designed for quick sale. In 1897 National published something more substantial, Rosas's 11-page tribute to Mexico's First Lady, *Carmen Valse pour piano A la digna Señora Carmen Romero Rubio de Díaz*. Short parlor waltzes continued, however, National's favorites when around the same year this firm published Damián López Sánchez's *Dolores Waltz*, Genaro Codina's[29] *Culto a lo bello Valse* dedicated "to the studious young ladies in the Zacatecan regional orchestra directed by Professor Primitivo Calero,"[30] and Casimiro Alvarado's *En Medio del Mar* ("Upon the Sea Waltz").

Since no such stream of Mexican waltzes, and other dance pieces would have continued flowing from Chicago presses unless they had proved commercially viable, their publication showed no great altruism. Nor can any yearning to "glorify Mexico" be imputed to McKinley Music Company, publisher of Narciso Martínez's *Victorioso March*, Armstrong and Bacon, publisher of Genaro Codina's *Zacatecas March*, or National with numerous like-minded regional titles. What did show loftier musical ideals at Chicago in the late nineteenth century, so far as Mexico goes, was a work of entirely different cast—*Montezuma*, a three-act opera by Chicago's finest composer of the epoch, Frederic Grant Gleason (1848–1903; in Chicago from 1877 to his death). Begun in October of 1878 only a year after arriving in Chicago, and finished August 30, 1884 (except for some scoring), *Montezuma*, Opus 16, was his second opera, *Otho Visconti*, Opus 7, completed in 1877 while he was organist at New Britain, Connecticut, was his first. According to Edward E. Hipscher's parochial and unreliable *American Opera and its Composers* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1927), pages 216–217, Gleason left instructions that neither *Otho Visconti* nor

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[27]M. D. Swisher of Philadelphia (115 South Tenth Street) copyrighted this in 1892 with the alternate English title "Impassioned Dream Waltz," publishing in the same year what was titled Rosas's *Carmela Polka*. Opus 13; *Cantar llorando* and *Rumor de Brisas* by T. Moreno; *Te volví a ver* (set of waltzes) by Manuel Estrada; and *Eterno amor* by Francisco J. Navarro.

[28]*Sobre las olas*, according to Fuld, was copyrighted by A. Wagner y Levien "about August 1888."

[29]Concerning Genaro Codina (1852–1901), see Jesús C. Romero, *La música en Zacatecas y los músicos zacatecanos* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1963), pp. 38–39. He composed his *Marcha Zacatecas* in 1891 (premiered October, 1893). The Orquesta Típica Zacatecana of 19 players (7 *bandalones*, 2 violins, 1 viola, 1 flute, 2 psalteries, 2 cellos, 1 harp, 1 piano, 2 basses) left for their United States tour February 24, 1893. See Romero, *op. cit.*, p. 144, for further details.

[30]Dedicated *A las estudiosas Señoritas que forman la Orquesta Típica Zacatecana bajo la dirección del Profesor Primitivo Calero*, this set of five waltzes starts with an Andante religioso introduction, but after thus invoking the Blessed Virgin soon gets down to business.

Montezuma[31] was to be performed or even examined until fifty years after his death. How false was this report is proved at once by *Otho Visconti*, which was four times performed entire at the new College Theatre of De Paul University, Chicago, under Walter Keller's baton June 4, 6, and 8 (twice), 1907, with Joseph F. Sheehan (1869–1936) in the title role. As a result of the cavalier treatment of most things American by most American musicologists, Franz Stieger's *Opernlexikon* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975) got everything wrong about both *Otho Visconti* and *Montezuma*.[32] Gleason himself wrote the librettos for both operas. *Montezuma*, after having been a favorite subject for eighteenth-century Italian three-act operas from Vivaldi at Venice in the autumn of 1733 to Zingarelli in 1781,[33] fell out of favor in the nineteenth century. Before Gleason, nothing like it had ever been attempted by an American. Nor was it to be quickly followed with a *Montezuma* by any other American. At Mexico City, only Aniceto Ortega[34] had composed an *episodio musical* in nine sections entitled *Guatimotzin* (= Montezuma's nephew). Premiered at the Gran Teatro Nacional by the Angela Peralta company September 13, 1871,[35] Ortega's score included a *Danza Tlaxcalteca* reminiscent of the third movement in Beethoven's Symphony, Opus 92.

On April 19, 1964, eighty years after Gleason put the finishing touches on his *Montezuma*,[36] was at last premiered Roger Sessions's *Montezuma*—the only subsequent opera with that title by an American. Premiered at the Deutsche Oper, Berlin, Sessions's three-act *Montezuma* calls for an enormous singing cast of nine sopranos, a mezzo soprano, ten tenors, eight baritones, and four basses, plus four choruses on

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[31]Gleason left fragments of another three-act opera, *Galahad*, from which came the "Processional to the Holy Grail" played by the Exposition orchestra under Theodore Thomas July 7, 1893. During the next decade he worked on a one-act *Benedicta* set in a convent in Germany, and a three-act-with-prologue (or four-act) *Luciferos* based on *Paradise Lost*. He died while pushing himself unmercifully to compose the latter. See Aileen M. Peters, "Analysis of Frederic Grant Gleason Collections of Music, Songbooks and Diaries," M. Ed. thesis, Department of Library Science, Chicago Teachers College South, August 1964, p. 45. Concerning the Gleason materials bequeathed to the Newberry Library by Mrs. Robert Perez of Poughkeepsie, Gleason's niece, see Thomas Willis, "Newberry Library Acquires Manuscripts and Diaries of Tribune Critic of 1880's," *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1963 (Gleason served as *Tribune* critic from 1884 to 1889).

[32]Umberto Manferrari, *Dizionario universale delle opere melodrammatiche* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1955) does not admit that he existed. Only Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597–1940*) (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1943; 2d ed., 1955), I, 1280, includes *Otho Visconti*.

[33]Majo (1765), Paisiello (1772), Galuppi (1772), Sacchini (1775), Anfossi (1776), and Insanguine (1780), composed operas entitled *Montezuma* or *Motezuma*. At Berlin Graun's *Montezuma* was given in 1765 and 1771. To 1771 belongs also Mysliweczek's three-act *Montezuma*. The first opera introducing Aztecs playing their own idiomatic instruments (ayacachtlis) was Spontini's *Fernand Cortez*, 1809. Prior operas with Cortez as the named protagonist were mounted in 1787, 1789, and 1798. See O. G. T. Sonneck, *Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1914), I, 490–491.

[34]Ortega wrote his own libretto. The tenor Enrico Tamberlick who sang the role of Cuauhtémoc = Guatimozín was largely responsible for the success of *Guatimozín*. However, Ortega's one-act opera never reached the boards again. See Armando de María y Campos, *Angela Peralta El Ruiseñor mexicano* (Mexico City: Ediciones Xochitl, 1944), pp. 112–114.

[35]Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la Música en México. III. La música en el período independiente* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1964), pp. 221–231, with thematic analysis.

[36]Although not performed in entirety in Gleason's lifetime, his *Montezuma* was heard in excerpts. Theodore Thomas programmed the Priests March from Act I at his last summer concert in 1882, the Introduction to Act II August 11, 1883, the Introduction, Processional, and Storm from Act III August 5, 1885. Among events for the National Music Teachers Convention, Gleason conducted the New York City premiere of the Introduction to Act II at the Academy of Music July 2, 1885.

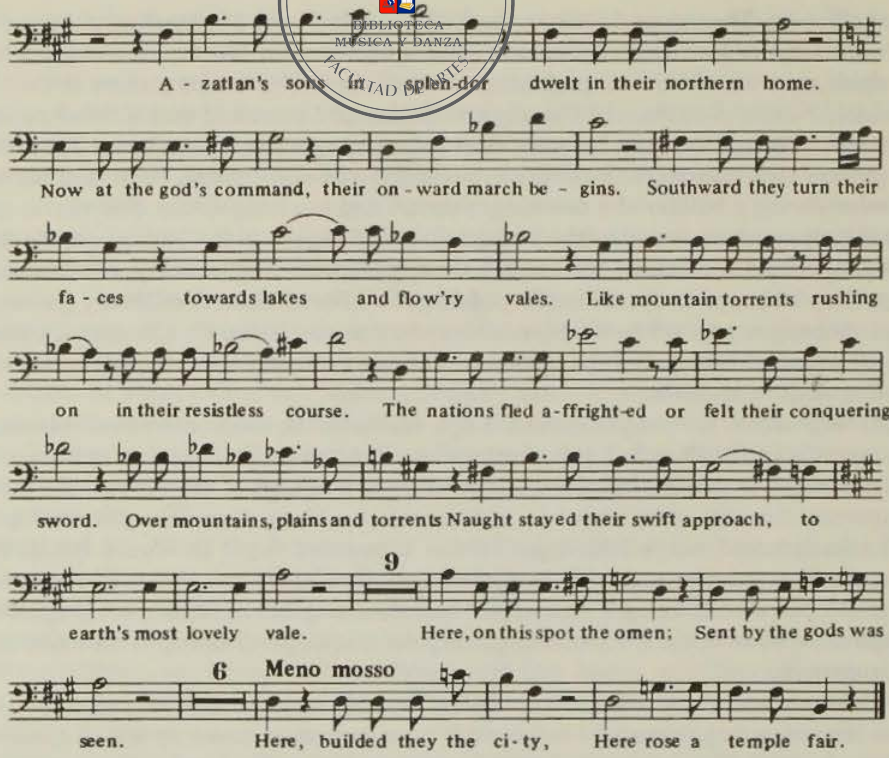
and off stage. The scenes shift from the Gulf Coast in March 1519 to Tenochtitlan (= Mexico City) in June 1520. Because of the exigencies of the libretto, Sessions's opera unfolds more as a historical pageant framed within the backward glances of the old Bernal Díaz del Castillo, than as any straightforward march of events. Montezuma himself, although the title character, does not even begin singing until page 201 of the extremely elaborate score. By the time pages 456-458 are reached, he praises Malinche for "being a builder of a new race of men," and to exculpate her defection to the Spaniards, equates her with Mary Magdalene. At page 463-464 he foresees the day when Spaniard and Indian will live in harmony "for this land is roomy, of bounteous lap, fit to be happy under the custody of all gods." For all these conciliatory gestures, Cuauhtémoc at pages 465-466 brands him who has now become a Christian a traitor to the ancestral deities. Not the Spaniards but Aztec warriors shoot Montezuma blind and stone him to death.

Among other exotica, Sessions's huge orchestra includes two-toned Mexican teponaxtlis and huehuetli. To emphasize diversities, his is the first opera in history to mix passages in Latin with dialogue in Náhuatl, language of the Aztecs. All these disparate elements swirl about in a harmonic cauldron where every morsel is a relentlessly urged minor 9th, major 7th, or augmented 4th.[37] In reward for all the complexities, one German critic lauded him, another lashed him. What all the critics agreed upon was its being a "message" opera exalting Montezuma's noble spirit of forgiveness while at the same time deploring the fanatic partisanship of his underling Cuauhtémoc.

Gleason's opera was also message-laden. But his message differed radically. His told the redeeming power of a woman's love—a love untinctured by sexual passion. Yeteva is a vestal priestess who loves Montezuma with such intensity that to save his kingdom from the war-god's threatened revenge she spontaneously offers herself as human sacrifice to Huitzilopochtli. Instead of being a fiery Aztec zealot, Cuauhtémoc —or as he is called in this opera, Guatemozin—blesses the coming of the White God, Quetzalcóatl. It is the White God who promises to liberate the Mexican people from the loathsome eternal round of human sacrifices demanded by Huitzilopochtli. Upon being falsely accused of treasonable designs against Montezuma, Guatemozin in Scene ii of Act I is summarily banished. But he creeps back in minstrel's disguise. In Scene iii he sings a long narrative telling how at divine command the Aztec nation journeyed south to found their capital of Tenochtitlan. As a sample of Gleason's melos, 36 measures from pages 60-63 of the piano score are shown on the following page.

Guatemozin the minstrel continues by contrasting the former golden age with the present bloody and degenerate epoch of Huitzilopochtli. Just as he is about to have his heart torn out for blasphemy, a messenger rushes in to announce that the White God has indeed arrived. Now that his prophecy has been so soon vindicated the populace demands that the minstrel be spared. Huitzilopochtli through his priests agrees only

[37]Heinz Joachim, "Montezuma and the Messiah," *Musical America*, 84 (May 1964), p. 20: "The harsh and austere sound of the score surprisingly complements the exotic coloration and the sacerdotal rigidity of the scenery"; Werner Oehlmann, "'Montezumas' Untergang: Roger-Sessions-Uraufführung in der Deutschen Oper," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 125/6 (1964), p. 266: "Der Komponist braucht viele Noten, um wenig damit zu sagen." H. H. Stuckenschmidt, "Sessions's 'Montezuma'," *Opera*, 15 (June 1964), pp. 401-402, remarked that Sessions had begun it 23 years earlier, that the libretto by Giuseppe Antonio Borgese (Thomas Mann's son-in-law) had been shortened by Sessions himself to bring it within a three-hour span, and that the high intellectual and ethical level had in a measure redeemed it.

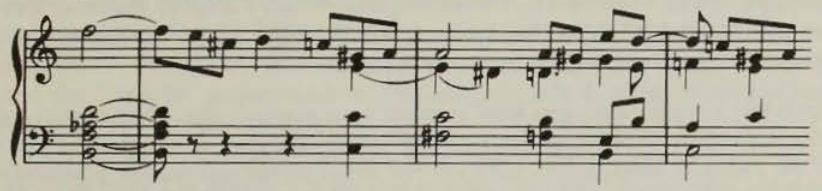


on condition that some other human victim be found who will absolve the guilt of blasphemy by willingly taking the blasphemer's place on the sacrificial altar. Faced with so impossible a demand the assembled worshipers give vent to despair and horror in the chorus closing Act I. As the curtain opens on Act II, Montezuma's daughter Tula is seen reclining on a couch of jaguar skins while her attendant does feather work. Guatemozin, to whom Tula was affianced before his banishment, sneaks in: whereupon they sing a love duet. They are no sooner done than Montezuma walks in unannounced, unarmed, and unattended. Guatemozin convinces Montezuma of his loyalty, inasmuch as he could easily have killed him at that very moment had he so desired. They are reconciled and exit together to fight the Spanish invaders as Act II closes. When the curtain draws for Act III, Yeteva is alone in the garden of the Great Temple. Montezuma, whose plight has now become desperate, joins her with an offer to escape through enemy lines—she at his side—so that he can continue fighting elsewhere. She renounces such a plan and convinces him that duty requires his remaining in the capital with his people. He is slain immediately upon leaving her, whereupon she mounts the pyre in a last vain effort to regain Huitzilopochtli's favor. But the war god will have none of his formerly darling Aztecs. Guatemozin and Tula try to restrain her from what they now conceive as useless self-immolation. But she herself lights the pyre so that she may join Montezuma in The Great Yonder.

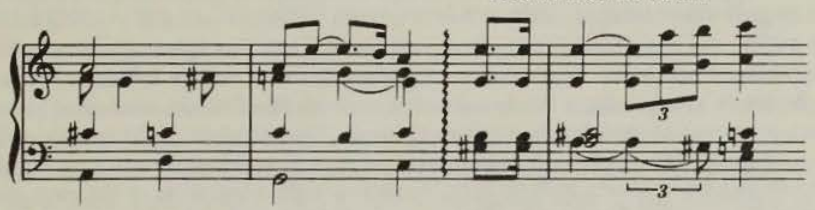
As for influences, Gleason could not escape Wagner who by 1880 was so much an American fad that for a cool million he was considering locating in the United

States.[38] Gleason therefore unified *Montezuma* with 28 motives variously labeled Festival, Adoration, Fate, Quetzalcóatl, Peace, Huitzilopochtli, Human Sacrifice, Montezuma, Guatemozin, Banishment, Vale of Mexico, Migration, Tula's sorrow, Tula's love, Separation of Montezuma and Yeteva, Fire and Yeteva's Sacrifice Motive, and the like. The latter two motives (shown here) illustrate the lushly chromatic character of Gleason's harmonies. In extenuation, he could look only to the perfect Wagnerite Theodore Thomas for performances of so much as excerpts. Not

Separation motive



Yeteva's sacrifice motive



yet the epoch when Carlos Chávez in his *Xochipilli-Macuilxóchitl* (1940)[39] and Candelario Huízar in his *Oxpaniztli* (1936) succeeded in imposing upon the international public their concepts of "reconstructed" Aztecan, Gleason's *Montezuma* deserves no more to be faulted for lack of authenticity than does Sessions's *Montezuma*.

While writing it Gleason was himself passing through the crisis of being deserted by his first wife, the soprano Grace Hiltz, who in December of 1881 sailed for Europe, ostensibly to study with Sbriglia.[40] Around the same time he was co-editing with Mrs. Sara Hershey-Eddy (wife of Clarence Eddy) the *Musical Bulletin* published by The Hershey School of Music and Art in three volumes (from December 1879 through November 1882). With considerable foresight, Gleason—through the columns of this periodical—was during the very years of composing *Montezuma* voicing his misgivings for the future of his opera. His forebodings in "American Opera" (I/2 [January 1880]), "Native Composers" (II/10 [September 1881]), and "The Future of Opera in America" (III/5 and 10 [April and September 1882]), took such shape as these: "The Americans are the only people who take no pride in the works of native writers, and

[38]The literature on Wagner's American settlement plans that came to a head in 1880 is summarized (with bibliographical footnotes) in Curt von Westernhagen, "Wagner und das Reich," *Neue Wagner-Forschungen*. Erste Folge (Karlsruhe i. B.: G. Braun, 1943), 70–72.

[39]Published with the title *Xochipilli: An Imagined Aztec Music* (New York: Mills Music, 1964). Chávez's two-page literary introduction covers Instruments, Technical Aspect, and Stylistic Aspect of Aztec music; and the piece itself for piccolo, flute, E flat clarinet, trombone, and six percussionists.

[40]G. L. Howe and W. S. B. Mathews, *A Hundred Years of Music in America* (Chicago: G. L. Howe, 1889), pp. 220–221; *Musical Bulletin* (Chicago), III/8 (July 1882), p. 116.

extend to them no sympathy or encouragement"; "Mr. [Theodore] Thomas is the only orchestral conductor who has always shown himself ready and willing to place worthy works of American composers before the public"; "America promises no future for operas more ambitious than imitation Pinafores."

In the American musical climate of the 1880's, all the more remarkably *Montezuma* excerpts did enjoy some success. Charles A. Brittan, the supercilious critic who preceded Gleason on the *Chicago Tribune*, sniffed at the portions premiered at Thomas's summer concerts in 1882, 1883, and 1885. Nevertheless when Gleason himself conducted a symphonic portion of Act II at the New York Academy of Music July 2, 1885, William M. Thoms responded with a lengthy encomium in the *American Art Journal*, XLIV/3 (November 7, 1885), pages 33-34. Although lengthy, Thoms's review merits more than casual attention.

> Judging from this fragment, the opera must be one of great musical value. The harmony is rich, flowing and melodious, while possessing a certain unique tone that we would characterize as typical of the nation of which Montezuma was the heroic representative. The possibilities of such a subject as the gifted composer has chosen are very great, and as the ability of the composer, rich in imagination, individuality and musical erudition and enthusiasm is undisputed, we should be glad when the opportunity offers to present the entire opera in a fitting manner before the public. The instrumentation to the introduction is free and vigorous, the motives are fresh and particularly that which is most prominent and which vividly depicts the sombre depths of the nation's despondency is original and impressive. Mr. Gleason conducted his work with an easy grace and showed familiarity with the post. The entire effect of his work excited both astonishment and admiration—[amazement] that such a magnificent orchestral composition should be so long unknown in New York [combined with] admiration of the great talent and genius of Mr. Gleason displayed in this particular field of work. Mr. Thomas has played the following selections from *Montezuma*, namely "Introduction and March of the Priests [of Huitzilopochtli]," Act I; "Introduction" to Act II; "Introduction," "Death Song," "Yeteva's Processional," and the "Storm Finale" to Scene ii, the latter being four selections from Act III.[41]

Continuing in like encomiastic vein, Thoms commended Gleason for not hoarding his gift, instead rearing up worthy pupils. At Chicago John A. West, five years his pupil, had conducted two original large choral works with orchestra, and Eleanor Smith had conducted an original cantata for soloists and chorus.

Despite whatever solace such hearty praise brought him, *Montezuma* not only during his lifetime but even yet remains unmounted. The fact that only excerpts were performed at Chicago in the 1880's foreshadows the fate of Antônio Carlos Gomes (Campinas, July 11, 1836; Pará, September 16, 1896), Latin America's leading Romantic opera composer. Brought to Chicago in 1893 three years before his death, as the stellar musical attraction during the World's Columbian Exposition, Gomes made first contact with a big United States exposition as early as 1876. To coincide with the first centennial, Dom Pedro II (1825-1891), Emperor of Brazil, paid the United States a state visit that lasted from April 15 to July 12.[42] On April 20, Gomes

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[41] For all the excerpts played by Thomas, the Gleason bequest to the Newberry Library includes scores and corrected sets of parts with the printed program notes written for the respective Chicago concerts by G. M. McConnel.

[42] Dom Pedro II was the first reigning monarch ever to visit the United States. During his three months' stay he travelled to San Francisco and back, everywhere enthusiastically received. For details of his historic American tour, see Heitor Lyra, *Dom Pedro II 1825-1891* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938-1940), II (1939), 371-379. In footnote 8, page 146, of Smith's article, *Boletín Latino-Americano de*

replied to Salvador de Mendonça, the librettist of his opera *Joanna de Flandres* (1863). This very opera had won him the emperor's patronage for European studies that culminated in the triumph of *Il Guarany* at La Scala March 19, 1870. Mendonça, only recently appointed Brazilian Consul General at New York, began in 1875 a 23-year diplomatic sojourn in the United States. Despite their intimate friendship, Gomes in a letter dated April 20 declined Mendonça's invitation to write a work to be sung at Philadelphia during Dom Pedro's visit. "Last year I was invited to write a Cantata for the Chile Exposition but had to refuse; however, I will write any musical piece that my own native land desires, which I love more than all the Chiles and Philadelphias of this world!"[43] But no sooner was the letter to Mendonça dispatched when there arrived at his Milan residence a telegram from the Brazilian minister at Rome, Barão de Javary, informing Gomes that it was the Emperor himself who wished the hymn for performance at Philadelphia July 4, 1876. What kind of hymn? Gomes asked by return telegram. For large orchestra something majestic, but without voices was the reply. Gomes set to work at once, and within a week had it sketched. In his letter of May 2 to Mendonça he now wrote: "My most important message for the Emperor is that the orchestra must absolutely have at least eight harps, let me repeat, *eight harps*. I rely on the cabled promise of a perfect performance. If performed exactly according to my written indications, it will make a good effect, otherwise not." He also insisted that the orchestra be large enough that it would be capable of making a huge crescendo, little by little, from pianissimo to a formidable fortissimo.[44]

Forwarded from Rome, nine rolls of Gomes's hymn reached the Brazilian legation at Paris on June 1 and two days later were sent from Havre on a steamship destined to arrive at New York June 12 or 13. In a letter dated June 4, the Brazilian minister at Rome complimented Gomes extravagantly. "I greatly like your ppp introduction with the gradual tremolo crescendo over the E in the horns resolving to A at the moment the tutti motive is introduced. Your work will enjoy resounding success. It is colorful, contains fine contrasts of forte and piano, the harps play wonderful chordal sweeps,

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Música. VI (April 1946), Francisco Curt Lange itemized three pieces of sheet music published in the United States to welcome Dom Pedro II: P. J. Boris, *Dom Pedro Grand March In honor of His Imperial Majesty's visit to the United States (Centennial Year, 1876)* (Boston: John F. Perry & Co.); H. May Lath, *Brazilian Grand March Dedicated to Dom Pedro II Emperor of Brazil* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co.); E. de Barry, *Columbia's Flag is waving a Welcome to All Centennial Song and Chorus A.S.I.M. O Imperador do Brazil com os mais humildes respeitos da autora. N. York. Junho 29 1876* (New York: J. L. Peters). A fourth piece dedicated to him was August Buechel's *We mourn our Country's loss* (New York: P. A. Wundermann). The copies in the Seção de Música of the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, are catalogued IV, 103, 6, 5/4; IV, 103, 6, 5/5; IV, 103, 6, 13/14; and IV, 103, 6, 5/6.

[43] Itala Gomes Vaz de Carvalho, *A vida de Carlos Gomes*, 2.ª edição (Rio de Janeiro: A Noite, 1937), pp. 124–125: "Meu Poeta e Amigo: Estou desolado mas falta-me tempo material para isto; estou abarbado com o remodelamento da "*Fosca*", e com minha nova opera "*Maria Tudor*" que, por contracto, devo entregar ao Editor Ricordi no mez de Setembro deste anno, senão . . . multa (e multa formidavel). O anno passado fui convidado para escrever uma Cantata para a Exposição do Chile. Recusei . . . mas não recusarei quando fôr convidado para escrever uma peça qualquer de musica para a minha terra, que amo mais que todos os Chiles e as Philadelphias do mundo!"

[44] "*Ibid.*, pp. 127–128: "Infelizmente não posso ir até lá mas tu vaes me substituir para obter uma orchestra que seja mesmo grande e que saiba fazer os pianissimos, os crescendos, pouco a pouco, até o "calmo" e "fortissimo", que deve ser formidavel! O mais importante, que dirás de minha parte ao Imperador, é que eu faço absoluta questão de ter pelo menos oito harpas na orchestra: torno a dizer. *Oito Harpas* . . . . Eu sou forte da promessa do Imperador que me garante por telegrapho a execução perfeita do meu Hymno. Se a execução fôr conforme às indicações que eu escrevi na partitura, fará bom effeito, do contrario farei má figura!"

and the chief theme is given out with great pomp."[45] That Javary rightly foresaw its success is proved by the Emperor's letter of July 10, 1876, from New York written in his own hand congratulating and thanking Gomes in the warmest terms.[46]

Gomes's contribution to the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago 17 years later loomed much larger. Already in Volume I of the first edition of *Grove's Dictionary*, 1880, Grove himself wrote an article on Gomes in which he mentioned the successful premiere of *Il Guarany* at Covent Garden July 13, 1872, and called his music "full of spirit and picturesque effect." Having been admitted to Grove and to Fétis (*Supplément*, I, 399),[47] Gomes had entered every American encyclopedia from John Denison Champlin and William Foster Apthorp (1889) onward.

Because it was Columbus's discovery that inspired the Chicago exposition, all the more reason for Latin America to be represented copiously. Not only Brazil but also Argentina, Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay were therefore all invited to send compositions for display. Argentina was represented by Hilda Fortunato with *A Salute to Chicago Symphony for grand orchestra*, Eduardo García Mansilla (1866-1930) with an *Oración Dominical* for solo voice, piano, and cello, and a *Chicago Waltz*, Francisco A. Hargreaves (1849-1900) with a *Chicago March*, and Vicente Mazzacco with an orchestral ode, *Glory to Columbus (Gloria a Colón)*. Argentina also sent an 1889 *Tratado Completo de la Música Moderna* by Saturnino Filomeno Berón (1847-1898), band leader "of Buenos Ayres."[48] Apart from Gomes, whose *Côndor* (1891) and *Colombo* (1892) were advertised as having been especially composed with the thought of performance at the World's Colombian Exposition in mind, Brazil was represented by José Gomes de Araujo (1846-1943, quartets), Francisco Braga (1868-1945, piano and orchestral works), Henrique Braga (dance music), F. de Carvalho (piano compositions), Alexandre Levy (1864-1892, orchestral and piano compositions), A. Cardosa de Menezes (orchestral and piano compositions), Carlos de Mesquita (1864-1953, *Esmeralda*, opera), Henrique Alves de Mesquita (1838-1906, serious and bouffe opera scores), Leopoldo Miguéz (1850-1902, symphony), and Artur Napoleão (1843-1925). Two Rio de Janeiro publishers of sheet music sent displays, Izidoro Bevilacqua and Bushamn & Guimarães.[49]

Guatemala in addition to sending for display a five-octave marimba "made entirely of native woods," sent Benedicto Sáenz's *Missa solemnis*, the only mass from any Latin American country, and a symphony by Yndalecio Castro. With both works came complete sets of orchestral parts—proof that the Chicago authorities had advertised for large compositions with an eye to possible performance. Five other

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131. So much overnight musical analysis of a large orchestral work would have exceeded the powers of any American diplomat of the epoch but A. W. Thayer, consul at Trieste from 1865.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 132. After having heard the string parts rehearsed Dom Pedro heard the premiere July 9. For information on the other Centennial music, see Abram Loft, "Richard Wagner, Theodore Thomas and the American Centennial," *Musical Quarterly*, XXXVII/2 (April 1951), pp. 184-202, and Robert A. Gerson, *Music in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser Co., 1940), pp. 134-141.

[47] The *Supplément et complément*, I, ed. by Arthur Pogin (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878-1880), 154, also put Teresa Carreño in all subsequent foreign and American encyclopedias.

[48] Frank D. Abbott, ed., *Musical Instruments at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Presto Company, 1895), p. 258. All Abbott's other information concerning Argentine representation is at his page 256. Argentine composers listed above without dates are those not mentioned in the second volume of Vicente Gesualdo, *Historia de la música en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Beta, S.R.L., 1961). Brazilian composers without dates are those not included in Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, *150 Anos de Música no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1956).

[49] Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

Guatemalans sent band music, Julián Paniagua (of Quezaltenango), Lucas Paniagua, Manuel Montúfar, Lorenzo Morales, and Salvador Iriarte. Band music also loomed large among Mexican works on exhibition at Chicago.[50]

As a sample of the provincial Mexican composers' biographies submitted with their works, Marciano Morales sent this *curriculum vitae:*[51] Born at Oaxaca, November 2, 1861, he was at 12 flautist there of the First Regiment Infantry Band directed by Francisco Zacar, with whom he studied. At 15 he transferred to Puebla Battalion but lost his post during the revolution of Tuxtepec. After several months of self-study he became in 1878 a sergeant and First Musician of the 17th Battalion. In 1881 he left the Army to reside at Jalapa and to direct the Jalapa Seguridad Pública Band (police band). His works composed for Chicago were: *Don Carlos, Hasta el Cielo,* and *La Tempestad.* Another Mexican provincial composer who sent a similarly lengthy biography was Francisco Villalpando of Zacatecas. To add zest to her displays, Mexico was the second Latin American nation represented by women: among them María Galicia de Charro of Mexico City, composer of a march, and Adela Rodríguez of Durango, responsible for *Por claro de luna,* "full of the grace and fire of the Southland," according to the Exposition catalogue.[52] Under Group 158, Class 937, the catalogue listed a "collection of 40 books & pieces of music for bands, orchestras, the piano, violin, and other instruments, representing the national music of Mexico" —without however giving the titles of individual works. The same failure to itemize obscures the contents of "a book containing several classical pieces by Félix M. Alcerreca of Mexico."

Uruguay was represented by Antonio Metallo of Montevideo with a *Protector Waltz* and Damiro Costa, composer of some unitemized piano pieces awarded a prize "for sweetness of melody." The works by all these other Latin Americans served however but as the base of a pyramid at the top of which dwelt Gomes. As the catalogue stated:[53] "In some respects he was distinguished above all others in the host of famous foreign musicians." The concert of fifteen numbers, all of them his own works, given September 7, 1893, under auspices of the Brazilian Commission, glowed with "marvelous energy and nervous force," thanks not only to the genius that wrought the music but also his "firm control over the Exposition orchestra."[54]

As benefited what was intended as a transcendental event Gomes's concert made prime news copy the next day. *The Chicago Record* of Friday, September 8 (XIII/215, 4:5) carried a long review under the caption "All Roads lead to the World's Fair." Illustrated with a drawing of the handsome Brazilian Building at the Exposition, the review read:

> Maestro Carlos Gomes is the Brazilian master of music. He has a bronzed countenance, a pair of flashing eyes, a thin and whitening mustache and iron-gray hair falling nearly to his shoulders. It was only natural that having come all the way from Brazil to conduct the concert on the day of Brazilian independence, he should be given a great welcome. Music Hall held several hundred invited guests. The entire Brazilian colony was there . . . Every true Brazilian wore a bow made of the national colors. Very few people knew, perhaps, that 200 Brazilians are at the Columbian Exposition . . . . The Exposition Orchestra played, the great Brazilian master waved the baton and the whole programme was punctuated with rousing cheers, bravos and floral offerings. When Maestro Carlos Gomes first came on the stage his countrymen rose to

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

their feet and greeted him with waving hats and fluttering handkerchiefs. The first orchestral number of the programme was the dashing symphony of the opera *Il Guarany*. At the conclusion the happy Brazilians cheered for the maestro, who in turn applauded the orchestra. Mr. Al. Boetti, the tenor, sang the romance of the opera *Salvator Rosa* and Miss Kate Bensberg, the soprano, gave a ballad from the opera *Il Guarany*. Both singers were applauded to the echo and another outbreak of enthusiasm awaited Mr. Orne Darval, the basso, who appeared later in the program. All the music was selected from the operas of *Côndor, Il Guarany, Salvator Rosa, Fosca,* and *Schiavo*.

The concert was the main incident of the day's celebration. On September 7, 1822, Brazil secured independence, so that yesterday was the Fourth of July for the Estados Unidos do Brasil. On the programmes and invitations appeared another date, November 15, 1889, for it was then that Brazil became a republic.

The remainder of the account gives the number of musicians in the Festival Orchestra as 160, states that Gomes conducted at 3 in the afternoon, and gives the total paid attendance at the Fair on September 7 as 172,765. After the concert, Gomes went with his countrymen to the Brazilian building for coffee, Francisco Manuel da Silva's national anthem music was several times repeated by a Fair band, and then Gomes and the soloists adjourned to a dinner at which they were honored guests.

The Chicago Herald reviewing the same concert gloried in the enormous orchestra ("far larger than Wagner's 114"), compared Gomes's waving hair with Paderewski's and claimed that his ovation equaled Paderewski's best, continued with further rapturous details concerning his reception, declared that this event was the loudest and longest homage ever paid Brazil in any foreign land, and concluded by giving the entire itemized program.[55]

Recalling Gomes's Chicago triumphs 42 years later, his daughter added however some less sanguine details. The program consisted of excerpts because the stingy republican government of Brazil refused to appropriate matching funds for the stage presentation of *Côndor*, premiered at La Scala February 21, 1891, *Lo Schiavo*, first heard of the Theatro Lyrico in Rio September 27, 1889, and *Il Guarany*.[56] The root of the problem was a change of régimes. Gomes had been a favorite of the emperor who in 1888 was forced into exile. In requital, the new ministers of state treated him coldly and would have denied him any funds whatsoever, had not the Columbian Exposition authorities so widely advertised him that his absence would have caused scandal. Even so, the Brazilian government representative at Chicago, a certain "cidadão Maurity," had the gall to present Gomes with a bill for $1,114 after the one September 7 concert of excerpts,[57] on the pretext that he had overspent the budgeted amount.[58]

Gomes was the most renowned Latin American composer to visit the United States before 1900. The most renowned executant, Teresa Carreño, was born at Caracas December 22, 1853, spent August 1862 to April 1866 chiefly at New York and Boston,

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[55]Gomes Vaz de Carvalho, *op cit.*, pp. 249-250.

[56]*Ibid.*, p. 244. For details of his *Via crucis* in getting funds for the trip, see pp. 233-244.

[57]Although not the place to discuss the excerpts, a study of the program with the opera scores in hand shows that Gomes made some extremely judicious choices. For instance, the Nocturno from *Côndor* (item 4) foreshadows thematically the Serenata from Act III of that opera (item 5).

[58]*Ibid.*, p. 260.

and returned from Europe to spend 1874 to October of 1885 and May 1887 to July 1889 again in the United States—the rest of her life being that of a world touring artist recognized everywhere as the finest living woman pianist. On the same ship with her and her father, the deposed Venezuelan minister of finance, when in 1862 they voyaged to the United States was Juan Buitrago, a Colombian violinist and pianist who gave Edward A. MacDowell his first lessons,[59] before handing the youth over to Pablo Desvernine,[60] a Cuban expatriate pianist teaching in New York after 1869.

Carreño's championing of MacDowell crucially established his worldwide reputation. While European-born celebrities such as Anton Rubinstein, Josef Hofmann, Paderewski, Joseffy, Backhaus, Rosenthal, Godowsky, and their ilk did nothing for any native-born Americans, only she among worldwide celebrities committed herself time and again at her most glittering appearances in Europe as well as the United States to large works by MacDowell, not miniatures.[61] In earlier life, she also played William Mason and especially Gottschalk,[62] who briefly taught her. Her resplendent career, properly studied by anyone taking the true measure of Latin American contributions to United States music, entitles her name to be capitalized in large golden letters. Indeed it may fairly be argued that no paramount foreign-born executant anytime thus far in history has so placed any United States composers in her debt as did wonderful, beautiful Teresa Carreño of Venezuela.

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[59]See Marta Milinowski, *Teresa Carreño "by the grace of God"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 121. See also pp. 122, 146, 308.

[60]Pablo Desvernine born at Havana in 1823 toured the United States in 1848 (New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile) as piano accompanist to Arditi and Bottesini. After twenty years of teaching at Havana he settled at New York, his mother's native city, to begin there in 1869 a 22-year teaching career. He died in 1910, two years after MacDowell. See Serafin Ramírez, *La Habana artística* (Havana: Imp. del E. M. de la Capitanía General, 1891), pp. 75–79.

[61]Milinowski, *op. cit.*, indexed entries under MacDowell, Edward. Up until at least 1900 Carreño was "the only great artist who had the courage and the will to actually play his music" (p. 308).

[62]*Ibid.*, p. 52. She was the first to play for Lizst any of Gottschalk's music. See pp. 69–70. She played variations on Richard Milburn's *Listen to the Mocking Bird* for Lincoln, p. 62.