

Schubert in America: First Publications and Performances



FROM THE BEETHOVEN AND SCHUBERT centennials in 1927 and 1928 to Josquin des Prez's 450th anniversary commemorated at a Festival-Conference, Lincoln Center, New York City, in June 1971, Americans have no less eagerly pressed to their bosoms the anniversaries of great European composers than have Europeans themselves. True, local color has now and then been attempted with such an article as M. D. Herter Norton's "Haydn in America (Before 1820)" in the Haydn number of *The Musical Quarterly*, XVIII/2 (April, 1932), 309-337, or Otto Kinkeldey's "Beginnings of Beethoven in America" in the Beethoven number, XIII/2 (April, 1927), 217-248.

However, the 1928 Schubert number of the *Quarterly* lacked any history whatsoever of first Schubert publications and performances in America. To remedy this lack, an anonymous five-page "History of Schubert Performances in America" was published in the *Bulletin from National Headquarters Schubert Centennial, 1819 Broadway, New York*, Schubert Week November 18-25, 1928. It began thus:

The first written record of a Schubert work played in this country goes as far back, as 1835—seven years after the Master's death. One of New York's oldest music publications, *The American Musical Journal*, for May 1835 carries the following account, under the heading "Domestic Musical Report"—

"Mr. Hermann gave a concert at the City Hall Thursday evening, April 2, 1835. Beethoven's overture to *Egmont* and Weber's overture *Der Freischütz* were well performed. Messrs. Taylor and Trust played a pleasing fantasia on the harp and flute by Franz Schubert, the gifted romantic composer who died before he reached his prime."

But is this indeed a correct citation from the *American Musical Journal*, I/6, May, 1835? By no means. Instead, the last two sentences properly read (page 143): "Messrs. Taylor and Trust played a pleasing fantasia on the harp and flute. Mr. Schubert's clarionet solo was highly creditable to him; he has a fine tone and good execution." Nothing whatsoever about "Franz Schubert, the gifted romantic composer" whose harp and flute fantasia was played by J. H. Trust (harp) and P. H. Taylor (flute). Faced with such misquotation, one asks: how did the author of the 1928 *Bulletin* article ever find his pseudo-notice? By the simple expedient of checking George C. D. Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), Volume IV [1834-1843], the index of which refers to two concerts on April 2 and June 20, 1835—both including solos by the visiting clarinetist Schubert.

First Schubert Song Publications in the North

Obviously another article is therefore now needed to correct the 1928 travesty. Limited by Odell, the 1928 author never so much as mentioned C. E. Horn and F. W. Rosier, the two English-born immigrants responsible for the earliest Schubert publications in the United States. From his arrival at New York City in the summer of 1827,¹ Charles Edward Horn (1786-1849) tirelessly propagated what he deemed to be the best European classics. On November 8, 1827, he triumphed at the Park Theatre in the role that three years earlier had catapulted him to fame at London—that of Caspar in an Englished *Der Freischütz*.² On January 21, 1828, he played the part of Almaviva in his English adaptation of *Le Nozze di Figaro*. In May of 1828 he appeared in both these same roles at Philadelphia, where however audiences were less prepared for them.³ On October 9, 1828, he gave New Yorkers their first *Oberon* and on April 17, 1833, their first *Die Zauberflöte*.⁴

His own personal success in roles so diverse as Caspar, Count Almaviva, Sir Huon, and Sarastro, depended not solely on his own wide vocal range but even more on his musicianship that enabled him to transpose, adapt, and rewrite. Having himself begun his professional life as a London theater orchestra double bass player and cellist⁵ during an epoch when opera adaptations were the rule rather than exception, he did not scruple to facilitate such a work as the *Der Freischütz* overture for the Park Theatre orchestra, even though that orchestra ranked among America's best the year of his arrival.⁶ To bring *Die Zauberflöte* within his associates' capabilities he changed the Queen of the Night into one of the three fairies who replace Mozart's Three Ladies. Meanwhile he allotted himself as Sarastro an air from Auber's opéra-ballet, *Le Dieu et la bayadère* (Paris, October

¹*Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., IV, 378, dates his first visit in 1828. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Company), VI, 146 and the *Cyclopaedia of American Biography New Enlarged Edition of Appleton's Cyclopaedia* (New York: The Press Association Compilers, Inc., 1915), III, "Horn, Charles Edward," correctly date his arrival in 1827. *The New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, V/13 (October 6, 1827), 102, lauds him as "the celebrated singer and popular composer" now performing at the Park Theatre.

²According to the "Domestic Musical Report," *American Musical Journal*, 1/9 (August, 1835), beginning in 1824 Horn's "success in the character was complete, and in it he has been without rival to the present time. So great was the sensation he produced that Kiesewitter, the celebrated violinist, endeavored to persuade him to perfect himself in the German language that he might play it in Germany." *The Albion*, VI/33 (January 26, 1828), 284, rated Horn's *Der Freischütz* as the "very finest performed opera ever given in this country in the English language."

³Horn's versions of *Der Freischütz* and of *Le Nozze di Figaro* opened at the Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia on May 16 and 21, 1828. See Reese D. James, *Old Drury of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), pp. 431-432, and Francis C. Wemyss, *Twenty-Six Years of the Life of an Actor and Manager* (New York: Burgess, Stringer and Co., 1847), I, 172.

⁴George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), III [1821-1834], 382 ("*Oberon* made a hit; it was repeated on the 11th and 18th"), 621 ("the opera [*Magic Flute*] was repeated several times before the month ended").

⁵"Memoir of Charles Edward Horn," *New-York Mirror, A Weekly Journal, Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts*, XII/37 (March 14, 1835), 294.

⁶"Remarks on the life of Von Weber," *American Musical Journal*, 1/9, 215. Concerning the orchestras in the chief Eastern seaboard centers, see the knowledgeable anonymous article, "The Orchestras, New-York—Boston—Philadelphia—Baltimore," *New-York Mirror*, XII/27 (January 3, 1835), 211. William Penson who led the Park Theatre orchestra extemporized too many flourishes.

13, 1830), that immediately became a hit and was twice published that same year with the title *Dark eyed one*.⁷

Vaunting himself as not only the finest English stage singer but also the best song composer ever yet to have visited America, Horn did Beethoven what the New York public took to be a favor when on June 10, 1828, he premiered *Adelaide*⁸ in Masonic Hall at a New York Musical Fund concert—but with lyrics far removed from the sense of the original text. Retitled *Rosalie*,⁹ Horn's lyrics tell the woes of a swain abandoned by a treacherous maiden. So popular did Horn's improvement of the original become that in 1842 he published the music for a sequel called *Remorse*, with lyrics by his wife telling of the tears Rosalie shed for her misdeed.¹⁰

Schubert first attracted Horn's attention in 1835—the year in which *American Musical Journal* (New York) presented a gallery of living celebrities that included composers so diverse as Cherubini (1760–1842), Hummel (1778–1837), Neukomm (1778–1858), Ferdinand Ries (1784–1838), George Onslow (1784–1853), and Carl Loewe (1796–1869), but only Felix Mendelssohn born after 1800.¹¹ The May, 1835, issue of this same journal carried a review of “The Elf King composed by F. Schubert, adapted and arranged by Charles Edward Horn, to the translation of Goethe's poem by M. C. Lewis. Hewitt & Co., 137 Broadway.”¹² Since the reviewer put himself to considerable trouble, even quoting three musical excerpts to prove his case, and more particularly since this provocative review is unknown to even so exhaustive a compilation as Willi Kahl's *Verzeichnis des Schrifttums über Franz Schubert 1828–1928* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1938), the first three paragraphs must be here quoted verbatim.

This peculiar and fine composition is arranged from the German by Mr. Horn, and is a study in itself, both as regards the modulation, and the adaptation of the poetry to music.

⁷*Dark eyed one, a ballad. The poetry by J. R. Planché; arr. by C. E. Horn* (New York: Dubois & Stoddart, 1833). Another 1833 imprint is subtitled *Persian love song sung in the opera Magic Flute. Arranged for the Mirror by an amateur* (New York: A. R. Jollie).

⁸Concerning *Adelaide von Matthison Eine Kantate für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Clavier* (Vienna: Artaria et Comp., 1797), see Martial Douël, “Beethoven's ‘Adelaide’,” *Musical Quarterly*, XIII/2 (April, 1927), 208–216.

⁹*Rosalie. Cantata Sung by Mr. Horn at the Musical Fund concert. Adapted by him to the Celebrated Adelaide of Beethoven*. Library of Congress has New York imprints by Dubois & Stoddart, 167 Broadway (1828–1834) and Mesier, 28 Wall St.; Philadelphia by G. E. Blake; Boston by O. Ditson. Horn unfolds the swain's tale of woe artfully. First, he calls her Fair Rosalie, Sweet Rosalie, Dear Rosalie; then Chang'd Rosalie, Proud Rosalie; and finally False Rosalie.

¹⁰*Remorse, a Cantata. Composed with an obligato Accompaniment for the piano forte by Charles E. Horn. The words written by Mrs. C. E. Horn in answer to Rosalie originally adapted to Beethoven's celebrated Adelaide* (Boston: Wm. H. Oakes, 1842). This ambitious 11-page scena in B flat (modulating widely) deserves present-day performance.

¹¹Mendelssohn's biography (from the “Supplement of the Musical Library”), *American Musical Journal*, 1/11 (October, 1835), 241, is but one among many testimonials to the lightning spread of his reputation in America.

¹²*American Musical Journal*, 1/6 (May, 1835), 140–141. The publisher, James Dunn, 24 Thames Street, is not listed in Virginia L. Redway, *Music Directory of Early New York City* (New York: New York Public Library, 1941). Not M. C. but M. G. (Matthew Gregory [“Monk”] Lewis (1775–1818) translated *The Erlking*. See Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in American 1801–1825* (New York: New York Public Library, 1964), I, 145 (item 1455). Lewis also wrote the lyrics for Horn's popular *The banks of Allan water. A ballad* (Wolfe, I, 421 [items 4294–4295]).

Mr. Schubert is decidedly of the Weber or Beethoven school, but we are not quite sure that we can accord to him credit for that tenderness, that impassioned and delicate rendering of the softer feelings which is the attribute of both the great masters we have alluded to. On the contrary, while Mr. Schubert has created some bold and extraordinary effects, by the peculiarity of his modulation, which have the charm of novelty, he has not been equally happy in uniting with them the sentiment of his poetry; and throughout this song, the great powers of imagination which he had displayed in the modulation, seem to us totally to have failed him when applied to the melody.

Before we give our readers a few examples of the peculiarities of this composition, we beg to point out to them that the poetry of the "Elf King" is that which Callcott has set to the glee called the "Erle King;" they are so far one and the same thing. Callcott, however, has made a pleasing and interesting glee, which, divested of the refined modulation of Schubert's song, nevertheless, comes much more home to the feelings of the author; and, after all, that should be the grand aim of a composer. The dialogue between the father and his child, in this poem, certainly opens a wide field for the imagination of the musician. No stronger nor more dramatic situation can be well pictured than that of a father carrying a beautiful child in his arms, mounted on a favorite steed, and traversing the gloom of a forest by night. The supposed attacks of a fiend, depicted as the Erle or Elf King, who haunts their progress, and endeavors to deprive the father of his child, by art and force combined, are the materials; and on this arduous ground Mr. Schubert has determined to essay his powers.

Next, the reviewer quotes three passages that in his opinion belie the lyrics (measures 42-45, 73-76, 98-101: "Siehst Vater du den Erlkönig nicht," "Mein Vater, mein Vater, und hörst du nicht," "Mein Vater, mein Vater und siehst du nicht dort").¹³ Further to exacerbate the dissonances of the "My father" pleas Horn dared mark the bass half-notes with accents not specified in the Cappi und Diabelli first edition—whereas Schubert had been content to accent only the anacrusis ("Mein," page 9 and analogous later recurrences in the *editio princeps*).

To continue with the *American Musical Journal* review:

These three specimens are sufficient, but they might be extended to wherever the cries of the infant are introduced throughout the song. We cannot but think that the monstrous concatenation of discord of which these examples are a specimen, are misplaced, when applied to the complaints of a child. Surely the simple and pathetic minor mood to which Callcott has resorted, is more natural, and goes more directly to the feelings. The violation of all harmony, although the modern school may defend its absolute correctness, is here, in our thinking, misplaced; the discord is too piercing for the ear. We might overlook it in a chorus of devils *à la Weber*, but in this instance it is not to be endured. This is a song of the Rosalie [Beethoven's *Adelaide*] species certainly, but far, very far, its inferior; nor do we think that Charles E. Horn, with his excellent taste and his beautiful touch on the pianoforte, could reconcile us to this *monstrum horrendum*, which we, however, strongly recommend as a beautiful specimen of modulation, a good pianoforte lesson, and a useful exercise for the voice.

"*Monstrum horrendum*" are strong words. However, they seem less so in historical perspective. In the same year that this first American review appeared,

¹³The Vienna 1821 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, page 299, as quoted in Herbert Biehle, *Schubert's Lieder in Kritik und Literatur* (Berlin: Wölbung-Verlag, 1928), p. 3, strongly endorsed these dissonant passages: "Der Tonsetzer hat den Schauer des ersten bey dem Ausrufe „Mein Vater, mein Vater!" durch eine Dissonanz individualisiert, welche ihren Effekt wohl nicht verfehlen wird, obgleich die Stimme des Sängers sich einigermaßen sträubt, das oben liegende Intervall zu nehmen, besonders, da es im Accompagnement nicht angeschlagen wird."



have me at last The Fa ther He Trembled He

doubled his Speed O'er Hill and thro' forrest He Spun'd his black

Steed But when he ar rived at his own Castle

door life throb in the poor baby bosom no more no more

thro'd in its bo - - som no more. *Morendo.*

Dim.

The image shows a page of a musical score for Schubert's 'The Father He Trembled'. It consists of seven systems of music. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff with treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score features various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'Morendo.' and 'Dim.'. The piano part includes chords and arpeggiated figures.

Adolphe Nourrit (1802-1839) began popularizing Schubert's songs at Paris and Schubert for the first time became the subject of a biographical notice in a musical encyclopedia.¹⁴ Another two years were to elapse before Liszt began his campaign for Schubert's songs.¹⁵ Horn's pioneering therefore excuses his boldness in adding octaves to the ascending bass quarter notes in measures 2-4 preceding the cancellation of the two-flat key signature ("was Erenkönig mir leise verspricht" = "What words the Elf King whispers soft in my Ear") and again to the ascending quarters when the Child wails that "The King and his daughter are waiting for me" (marked *decres.* in the 1821 first edition but *Cres* in Horn, bottom of page 7). However, Horn's still more audacious improvement of the original awaits the close. Not satisfied with Schubert's sudden Recit., piano diminished-7th quarter-note chord, and forte V⁷-I abrupt final chords,¹⁶ Horn adds a six-bar coda of his own contriving. After requiring the singer to repeat "throb'd in its bosom no more," Horn assigns the pianist a twofold repetition of the same rising bass figure with which Schubert's piano part had begun—now marked "Morendo" and "Dim." In his last added bar Horn arpeggiates the chord of G Major (see accompanying facsimile of Horn's last page).

Discouraged by the cool reception of his 1835 edition, Horn thereafter left Schubert's songs to younger banner-bearers. Schubert's next propagator in the United States was F. W. Rosier, who like him was English-born.¹⁷ Twenty-two years Horn's junior, Rosier fully matched him in versatility. Composer, double-bassist and cellist, keyboard performer, singer, lyricist, linguist, and teacher, Rosier has to date been known chiefly as the secretary of the Philharmonic Society of New York in the year of its founding and as one of the solo performers in the Hummel D minor quintet and Beethoven septet, opus 20, played at the December 7, 1842, and April 22, 1843, concerts of the first Philharmonic season.¹⁸ Howard Shanet in his magisterial book, *Philharmonic A History of New York's Orchestra* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1975), added significantly to previous data when he culled the following comment on Rosier from the *New-York Mirror*, XX/32 (August 6, 1842), page 255: "Mr. Rosier, a musician of unusual ability, a fine writer, a sweet poet, a popular composer, and altogether a modest, unpretending man of merit.

¹⁴Berlioz reviewed Nourrit's singing of *Die junge Nonne* in the *Journal des débats*, January 25, 1835. For English translation and comment, see J. G. Prod'homme, "Schubert's Works in France," *Musical Quarterly*, XIV/4 (October, 1928), 500. August Gathy included Schubert in his *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Schuberth & Niemeyer, 1835), p. 300. See Kahl, *Verzeichnis*, p. 25.

¹⁵Signed J. Liszt, his "Lettre d'un bachelier ès-musique III" dated at Chambéry September of 1837 appeared in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 5^e année, n^o 6, February 11, 1838, pp. 61-62. In it he rhapsodized over Nourrit's singing of *Erlkönig* at Lyons. Liszt's piano transcription was first published at Vienna by Ant. Diabelli und Comp. in 1838 (D. et C. 6534).

¹⁶The 1821 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reviewer highly endorsed Schubert's abrupt ending: "Der Schluss durch ein Rezitativ ist höchst lobenswerth und beweist, dass der Tonsetzer das Göth'sche Gedicht wirklich verstanden hat."

¹⁷The United States 1860 Census, Henrico County, Virginia (2nd Ward, City of Richmond), Roll 1352, p. 421 [= 213], line 22, lists F. W. Rosier as 52 years of age, married, born in England, occupation: teacher.

¹⁸Henry E. Krehbiel, *The Philharmonic Society of New York* (New York and London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1892), pp. 38, 42, 95-96, 164; F. L. Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), p. 268. Leonard Ellinwood and Keys Porter, *Bio-bibliographical Index of Musicians in the United States of America since colonial times* (New York: Da Capo, 1971), p. 321, misdates him and calls him a horn player.

will, we hope, soon become as well known and appreciated by the many as he already is by the few."

Two years earlier, the *Mirror*, XVIII/25 (December 5, 1840), page 192, had published an attractive *Serenade*, with words beginning "Arise, fair maid, and listen to my lay" as well as music by Rosier. In 6/8 G Major, this song beginning with an upward anacrusis octave leap that immediately recalls Strauss, had been followed by other songs in the *Mirror* composed and written by him. "Oh! ask me not why my cheek is pale" dedicated to "Mrs. O-H" in the issue of February 14, 1842, page 56, being an especially popular example. To show his powers when setting other verse than his own, he published in 1841 "The coquette," dedicated to William Cullen Bryant (New York: Atwill).¹⁹ His labors as a compiler resulted in *The Quartett A Collection of Glee's, by the most Admired German, and Other Composers, the words (original and selected) adapted by F. W. Rosier* (New York: S. O. Dyer & Co., 1843).²⁰ For male quartet (TTBB) and optional piano part, this anthology includes 21 composers, six of whom fail to enter *Baker's Biographical Dictionary*.

Rosier began serving Schubert in 1842 with *Pearls of German Song, from the most Admired compositions of Spohr, Schubert, Beethoven, &c. adapted to English words and arranged with an accompaniment for the piano forte, by F. W. Rosier. Comprising, Wake, wake, my fairest. The posthorn. The parting serenade. Thou art a lovely flower. Farewell. The rose bud's request* (New York: Firth & Hall).²¹ His translation of *Der Wanderer*²² (D. 493) closed the first series²³ of *Gems of German Song from the most admired Compositions of Schubert, Thalberg, Kalliwoda, Weber and others* (Boston: Geo. P. Reed). The second series of Reed's *Gems* included *Das Fischermädchen*,²⁴ the *Serenade* (D. 957) and *Ave Maria*. Before 1850 *Gems of German Song* totalled 62 Englished *Lieder*—14 by Schubert. The pioneering firms at New York and Boston—Firth & Hall, George P. Reed, and Eben H. Wade²⁵—set the pace for Schubert song publication in the 1840's. Russell & Tolman, 291 Washington Street, at Boston, P. K. Weizel, 213

¹⁹The first of the three stanzas by William Grandin begins "In beauty's bower." Serious misprints mar the arpeggiated accompaniment.

²⁰Defective parts of Books 1, 3, 4, and 6 at New York Library and of 1 and 6 at Library of Congress. The identifiable composers anthologized: Beethoven, Karl Has[s]linger (1816-1868), Kalliwoda, Konradin Kreutzer (1780-1849), F. W. Kücken (1810-1882), Marschner, Mendelssohn, Julius Otto (1804-1877), Reichardt, Reissiger, Seyfried, Spohr, Viotti, Weber, Heinrich Werner (1800-1833), and Winter. Composers not in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* include Franz Xaver Eisenhofer (1783-1855) and Friedrich Ferdinand Flemming (1778-1813).

²¹Nos. 1 and 3 credited to Spohr, Nos. 2 and 6 by Schubert (*Die Post* [from *Die Winterreise*] and *Die Rose*).

²²His version of the first strophe of Schmidt von Lübeck's poem ("Ich komme von Gebirge her") reads: "From countries far away I come Where'er I go I find no home. I wander on devoid of peace. My joys diminish, woes increase. The sun's warm rays to me feel cold. My life's young days seem growing old. The blooming flowers dead and sere. I feel a stranger everywhere."

²³Item 1 of this series, although credited to Schubert, is the spurious *Last greeting* ("Voici l'instant suprême"), music by August Heinrich von Weyrauch first published in 1824. Item 2 is *The passing bell* = *Das Zügelglöcklein*, Thomas Oliphant (1799-1873), music cataloguer at the British Museum 1841-1850, translated both songs.

²⁴Published in 1847 as *The Fisher-girl*, "words written and adapted by J. T. S. Sullivan" (Philadelphia: E. Ferrett & Co.).

²⁵In 1848 Eben H. Wade, 197 Washington Street, Boston, published *Lob der Thränen* "translated & adapted from the French by Theodore T. Barker" with the title *Elogy* [sic] of *Tears*.

Fulton St., in Brooklyn, William Hall & Son, 239 Broadway, and William Dressler, 933 Broadway, in New York, continued it in the 1850's. However, only Beer & Schirmer, beginning in 1860, practiced listing Schubert's song titles in both German and English.²⁶



Schubert in the South (to 1865)

On April 15, 1844, Rosier's term as secretary of the New York Philharmonic Society closed abruptly.²⁷ During the next quarter-century he lived in Richmond, Virginia. At the November 5, 1844, meeting of the Vestry of historic St. John's Church (the church in which Patrick Henry made his "Give me liberty or give me death" speech March 23, 1775), he was appointed organist "so long as his services may be agreeable to the choir and congregation of the Church at the salary of \$150 per annum."²⁸ He introduced Schubert's song "The Grave of the Departed" to the Richmond public at his local début March 18, 1845, in the Exchange Concert Room.²⁹ The sponsor of this March 18 Soirée musicale was the flautist Patrick H. Taylor listed as a music teacher in New York directories from 1824 to 1833.³⁰ At his own initial Soirée musicale in the same Exchange Concert Room April 16, 1845, Rosier introduced his own delightful song "The Serenade"³¹ (first published in the *New-York Mirror*, December 5, 1840, page 192). He included his translated version of Schubert's *Das Zügelglöcklein* ("The Funeral Bell") at a Richmond concert in the "New Church on Church Hill" announced for Christmas Day, 1849.³²

No concert by such visiting vocal stars as Jenny Lind in Richmond Theatre on December 20, 1850, Catherine Hayes at the Universalist Church on January 21, 1852, Teresa Parodi at the Exchange Hotel on February 8, 1852, or any other before the War Between the States included a Schubert item. But the *Richmond Dispatch* of March 28, 1856, did announce the first performance of Schubert's *Der 23. Psalm* (D. 706), the original voice parts (SSAA) "arranged for two Cornets and

²⁶*My abode, Maiden's lament, Shepherd's song of complaint,* are crosslisted as *Aufenthalt, Mädchens Klage,* and *Schaefer's Klagelied.*

²⁷For the circumstances, see Shanet, p. 100: "He was impeached and tried on April 15, 1844, for having put into his pocket about \$42 worth of tickets charged to members of the Philharmonic and \$50 worth of subscriptions that he had collected." Whether sloppy bookkeeping caused his downfall, or deliberate speculation, was not argued.

²⁸St. John's Church, Henrico Parish, "Vestry Book 1785-1887," p. 288. "Mr. John Enders [vestry member 1816-1851] was called to the chair. On motion of Mr. W.^m Palmer the application of Mr. Rosier to act as the organist . . .". The rector earned \$800 annually plus parsonage. According to the Vestry Book, p. 290, Rosier was terminated May 13, 1846. "It appearing to the Vestry of St. John's Church that their organist does not give satisfaction to the congregation and that the interest of the Church requires a change. Therefore Resolved, that the secretary be directed to inform Mr. F. W. Rosier that his services as organist are dispensed with from this date."

²⁹Announced in the *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, XXII/21 (March 14, 1845), 2:6. P. H. Taylor's Soirée musicale introducing F. W. Rosier billed him as a cellist. At the concert given March 18 (not March 17, as Albert Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy* [Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972], p. 286, erroneously implies), Schubert's "The Grave of the Departed" was advertised "first time in public." Rosier was accompanied by his compatriot John Dunderdale (born in England, 1805). The piano was a Nunns & Clark "with Aeolian attachment."

³⁰Redway, p. 22.

³¹Announced in the *Whig and Daily Advertiser*, XXII/30 (April 15, 1845), 3:2. The song accompaniment included two obbligato flutes played by P. H. Taylor and John Dunderdale.

³²Stoutamire, p. 291.

two alto-horns," the piano part arranged for orchestra by the conductor, Volkmar Busch—"(of Copenhagen) Titular Orchestra Conductor and Composer to H. M. the King of Denmark, for the present Professor of the Piano Forte, Harmony and Instrumentation in the city of Richmond."³³ Busch's same grand concert in the Metropolitan Hall included also two songs billed as Schubert's, the Serenade³⁴ and *L'Adieu*.³⁵ A year later, at the Metropolitan Hall concert announced in the *Dispatch* of February 10, 1857, Busch conducted the Richmond Amateur Instrumental Club in his arrangements of the Serenade and Ave Maria. As a bow to local talent, John J. Fry's romance for voice and piano, *In after years*, was sung. Busch's own *March of Homage* dedicated to Oscar I (1799-1859), king of Sweden and Norway, opened Part II.

F. W. Rosier—whom Richmond City directories of 1855, 1856, and 1860, list successively as "teacher," "school teacher," and head of a private academy for young ladies³⁶—returned to the forefront of Richmond musical life during the Confederacy. At a wounded soldiers' benefit in Metropolitan Hall announced in the *Dispatch* of September 25, 1861, his pupils sang an unspecified duet and trio from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, and songs by Arne and Weber. His English-born compatriot and exact coetaneous, Frederick Nicholls Crouch (1808-1896), who still enjoys worldwide fame as the composer of the 1840 hit ballad *Kathleen Mavourneen*, sang it at the same concert, and also Schubert's *Wanderer*. So great was the success of *The Wanderer*, sung in Rosier's translation, that "by desire" Crouch repeated it in the African Church benefit concert announced in the *Dispatch* of October 24, 1861. The organizers of this benefit were Rosier, Crouch, and John Hill Hewitt. One of Rosier's pupils opened the program with the sole Schubert song published twice by Confederate publishers—the inevitable Serenade.³⁷ From September 25, 1863, when she gave her first formal concert in Metropolitan Hall until February 7, 1865, the leading concert singer in Richmond was Bertha Ruhl. She closed the Grand Classical Concert at the Exchange Hotel announced in the April 29, 1864, *Dispatch* with the "Grand Dramatic Song—Erlkoenig [by] F. Schubert." Her other concerts usually included the Serenade.

As his contribution to war songs, Rosier published at Richmond in 1863 *The Virginian Marseillaise* and *My Wife and Child*—the latter with verse credited to General "Stonewall" Jackson (1824-1863) but actually by Henry Rootes Jackson

³³On the same program Busch included a Duo Concertante, for flute and clarinet, "Composed for a Soprano and Contralto voice to Piano accompaniment, by John J. Fry of Richmond." John J. Fry, born in Virginia in 1824, was the eldest son of Hugh W. Fry. Stoutamire, p. 301, gives other details. The twenty-piece orchestra comprised players in the Richmond Theatre orchestra.

³⁴As program note for the Schubert Serenade, Busch wrote: "The unrivalled and most charming of all this celebrated composer's songs for a single voice. By general request arranged for this occasion, by V. Busch, and performed by the orchestra."

³⁵Concerning "L'Adieu (The Last Greeting)," the music of which is by Weyrauch (published 1824), Busch rhapsodized: "One of the most beautiful compositions of that immortal composer. Arranged by V. Busch. Performed by the Orchestra."

³⁶*Butters' Richmond Directory for 1855* (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson's Steam Printers, 1855) lists his residence on the north side of Clay between 7th and 8th; *The Richmond Directory . . . for 1856* places him on 11th between Broad and Marshall; W. Eugene Ferslew's 1860 directory places his private school on Broad between 24th and 25th.

³⁷Joseph Bloch at Mobile, Alabama, and C. D. Benson of Nashville, Tennessee, published undated versions. See Richard Barksdale Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 141.

(1820–1898). In 1864 he published *The Alabama* dedicated to Captain Raphael Semmes (1809–1877, Confederate naval hero), his officers and crew. At Christmas of 1863 he published a triptych of original song settings bound with the title, *Christmas and New Year Musical Souvenir*. Designed to serve as a gift, the *Souvenir* was embellished with an attractively colored cover.³⁸ All his 1863–1864 songs were issued by George W. Dunn and Company.³⁹

The same Richmond firm published in 1863 [cover date, 1864] his 143-page “careful revision of the 15th Edinburgh edition” of John Christison’s *A Complete Grammar of the French Language*. This was a unique effort. No other such foreign language manual was published in the Confederate States. Although still in Richmond in 1869 Rosier thereafter disappears from Richmond directories. Having started as a translator of Schubert songs published by Firth & Hall in 1842, he ended his career forty years later as a translator of Mercadante and Rubinstein oratorios published by G. Schirmer.⁴⁰

First Instrumental Publication

Except for his so-called *Trauerwalzer* (also known as *Sehnsuchtswalzer*)—first published by Cappi & Diabelli November 29, 1821, as Schubert’s opus 9, No. 2—his instrumental works gained much tardier acceptance in America than his songs. In thus delaying, America of course followed European precedent. Even Schubert’s *Trauerwalzer* might not have been repeatedly published in the 1830’s by such New York firms as James L. Hewitt (137 Broadway, 1829–1835) and Samuel Ackerman (sold by S. Bromberg’s,⁴¹ 145 Broadway, 1830–1832) and by such Boston firms as Charles Bradlee had not the work already been vastly popularized in Europe from 1826 onward as a “favorite waltz” by Beethoven.⁴² Needless to say, the earlier New York and Boston publishers attributed it not to Schubert but to Beethoven, always with some such title as *Le Desir[e] A favorite waltz for the Piano Forte Composed by Beethoven*. Only in 1845 or 1846 did any American publisher begin correctly ascribing it. The title page of the first Boston imprint rightly attributing it reads:

“Contents: his musical settings of three poems. “Fairies have broken their wands,” verse by the English Thomas Hood (1799–1845); “The Lover’s Wish,” F. W. Rosier’s own verse; and “I know a maiden fair to see,” verse by H. W. Longfellow.

³⁸Concerning music publishing activities of this firm, see Harwell, p. 15.

³⁹In 1882 G. Schirmer published Mercadante’s *Le sette ultime parole* with his English translation, in 1883 Rubinstein’s *Der Thurm zu Babel* Englished by him as *The Tower of Babel*. For four smaller works Englished by him and published in 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1881, see New York Public Library, *Dictionary Catalog of the Music Collection* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1964), XXVI, 84. *La América Musical*, 1/2 (February, 1882), edited at New York by José Godoy, included Verdi’s *Ave Maria*. “English version by F. W. Rosier, copyright, 1880, by Wm. A. Pond & Co.”

⁴¹Stamped “S. Bromberg’s Musical Repository, 145 Broadway, N.Y.” in the Library of Congress copy, MIA135 Case. See Redway, p. 30 for inclusive years at this address.

⁴²Georg Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens* (Munich: G. Henle, 1955), p. 727. Both Schott at Mainz and Bachmann in Hannover published Schubert’s *Sehnsuchtswalzer* as Beethoven’s as early as 1826. See also Otto Kinkeldey, “Schubert: Dance-Composer,” *Musical Quarterly*, XIV/4 (October, 1928), 615–617. The last of Liszt’s nine *Soirées de Vienne: Valses-Caprices d’après Fr. Schubert* (1853) was “a series of six variations with a coda on the *Sehnsuchtswalzer*.”

In what must be one of the earliest Schubert thefts, William Iucho plagiarized the *Sehnsuchtswalzer* in his 1835 sacred song “Ruth and Naomi” dedicated to Benjamin Bosworth Smith, first Episcopal bishop of Kentucky. Or at least so testified a critic who still attributed Schubert’s *Sehnsuchtswalzer* to Beethoven in the August, 1835, *American Musical Journal*.

Variations sur la valse favorite de F. Schubert (nommé Sehnsuchts Walzer de Beethoven) Pour le Piano par Charles Mayer [1799-1862] (de St Petersburg) (Wm. H. Oakes, for sale by E[ben] H. Wade, 197 Washington St.).⁴³



Symphonies

The American premiere of Schubert's C Major Symphony, D. 944 [1828], parts and scores of which were first published in 1840 and 1849, awaited the New York Philharmonic Society concert of January 11, 1851—when it opened a lengthy program in the Apollo Rooms conducted by Theodor Eisfeld (1816-1882). The composers whose symphonies had been chosen to open 16 Philharmonic concerts during the three previous seasons were Beethoven (6 concerts), Spohr (5), Mendelssohn (2), Mozart (1), Niels Gade (1), and Franz Lachner (1). To place the premiere of Schubert's "Great" in context, the openers had been: *Die Weihe der Töne*, opus 86, Spohr; E flat, Mozart; A Major, Beethoven; Eroica, Beethoven; *Die Weihe der Töne*, Spohr; Scotch, Mendelssohn; C minor, Beethoven; E flat, opus 20, Spohr; C minor, opus 5, Gade [1841]; *Irdisches und Göttliches im Menschenleben* for double orchestra, opus 121, Spohr; Eroica, Beethoven; Passionata, opus 52, Lachner [1835]; B flat, Beethoven; *Die Weihe der Töne*, Spohr; A Major, Beethoven; Scotch, Mendelssohn.⁴⁴

How much of a pioneer Eisfeld was in premiering Schubert's "Great" C Major at New York can best be judged by comparing the dates on which it was premiered by the Société Philharmonique of Paris and the Philharmonic Society of London. F.-J.-B. Seghers (1801-1881) introduced it to Parisians at a November 23, 1851, matinée, ten months after the New York premiere. Despite Berlioz's encomiastic review,⁴⁵ no further French performance occurred until January 17, 1897 (when it was revived in honor of the Schubert centennial). It was first performed by the London Philharmonic on May 22, 1871, as the opener of a concert conducted by W. G. Cusins (1833-1893) that included also Mendelssohn's Italian Symphony.⁴⁶

To Eisfeld's further credit, he twice again chose Schubert's "Great" C Major to open New York Philharmonic concerts: on January 15, 1853, and April 26, 1862. Carl Bergmann (1821-1876) conducted it to open the concerts on November 19,

⁴³Plate number 189. According to D. W. Krummel, *Guide for Dating Early Published Music* (Hackensack, New Jersey: Joseph Boonin, 1974), p. 234. W. H. Oakes's plate numbers ranged from 202 to 251 in 1847. According to Wolfe, *Secular Music*, III, 1143, E. H. Wade was at 197 Washington Street from 1845 to 1860. Charles Mayer's *Variations* transposes the theme from Schubert's A flat to E Major. Liszt's huge superiority as an arranger leaps to view, when Mayer's three variations and finale are compared with Liszt's six with coda.

⁴⁴Concerts of November 27, 1847; January 15, March 4, April 29, December 2, 1848; January 27, March 17, May 12, November 24, 1849; January 12, March 2, April 20, 1850. See H. E. Krehbiel, *The Philharmonic Society of New York*, pp. 101-105, for complete programs. At the opening concert of the ninth season, 1850-1851 (November 23, 1850), George Loder again conducted Gade's first symphony premiered by him December 2, 1848.

⁴⁵Berlioz wrote: "His second movement, the Andante in A minor, is in every way a marvel, and the remainder of the symphony, a trifle overdeveloped, perhaps, is also, to my thinking, worthy of a place among the loftiest productions of our art." See J. G. Prod'homme, "Schubert's Works," p. 511, for this comment and for the further fortunes of the "Great" at Paris.

⁴⁶Myles B. Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London: 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1912), pp. 329, 594. It was Mendelssohn who first conducted a London Philharmonic performance of any Schubert orchestral work—the 1823 *Fierabras* overture [D. 796], June 10, 1844 (*ibid.*, p. 187).

1859, April 23, 1864, December 21, 1874, and May 4, 1872. Theodore Thomas programmed it January 12, 1878, and April 19, 1884. In total it therefore enjoyed seven New York exposures during the third quarter of the century, compared with one at Paris. Ironically, however, the German-born Herrman S. Saroni who began editing *Saroni's Musical Times* at New York September 29, 1849, did not himself review the January 11, 1851, American premiere.

Instead, he allowed "A Stranger" who came from an unnamed place 250 miles distant to pen generalities published under the rubric "Philharmonic Society" in the issue of January 18, 1851 (II/17, 171). According to the Stranger, the orchestra totalled 60 performers, 24 of whom played violins. After reminding readers that Mendelssohn had discovered the work and premiered a somewhat abbreviated version (at Leipzig March 21, 1839), the Stranger lamented that only a small audience heard it in a small hall. Saroni's reason for himself failing to attend the performance comes to light in his elaborate review (published on the same page) of Max Maretzek's competing concert January 11, 1851, at the much larger Tripler Hall. In addition to his latest *Chit-Chat Polka* for full orchestra, Maretzek's event included a duet sung by Teresa Parodi and Adelina Patti. As star instrumentalists, Maretzek billed Maurice Strakosch (1825-1887), pianist, who entertained the overflow crowd with his *Fantaisie Romantique La Sylphide* and Miska Hauser (1822-1887), violinist, who played his scintillating *Ronde de concert La sicilienne* and "brilliant variations on an air from [Donizetti's] *Ugo Conte di Parigi*."

For an informed review by any American musical critic, Schubert's last symphony therefore languished until *Dwight's Journal*, II/1 (October 9, 1852), 6, included the editor's appraisal of its Boston premiere October 6 by the Germania Serenade Band. Despite performance defects caused by the smallness of the orchestra, Dwight still rose to the occasion with a 575-word tribute warm enough to fire the heart of any Schubert enthusiast. Having once taken Schubert's "Great" under his wing Dwight flew higher in praise of it after each subsequent encounter. Reviewing its third performance in Boston (Germania Sixth Concert), he rhapsodized: "After Beethoven we never heard a Symphony so beautiful, so thoroughly inspired, so wonderful" (*Dwight's Journal*, IV/15 [January 14, 1854], 117). Reviewing a Philharmonic Concert at Music Hall conducted by Carl Zerrahn [1826-1909], he thus qualified it: "Outside of Beethoven, we know of no work of instrumental music that appears to us so great, that so exalts and fills the listener (*Dwight's*, X/24 [May 14, 1857], 190).

Even more protective did he become when a New York correspondent signing himself "T.W.M." dared dissent from his opinion. "T.W.M." heard it for the first time at Eisfeld's New York Philharmonic Society performance in Irving Hall April 26, 1862. In his letter dated at New York May 3, 1862, and published in *Dwight's*, XXI/6 (May 10, 1862), 45, "T.W.M." thus reacted to it:

There is in it but little of that captivating sweetness that characterizes so many of Schubert's works. The second movement, the *Andante con moto*, is a most delicious strain and its quiet beauty is doubly appreciated, sandwiched as it is, between the commonplace themes and instrumentation of the other movements.

Continuing in like vein, "T.W.M." sighed with relief when Schubert gave way to Mozart's D Major "Coronation" Concerto, K. 537, played by Richard Hoffman [1831-1909] later in the same concert.

All this is too much for Dwight. Not only does he exercise editorial prerogative by rebutting "T.W.M." two pages later with a reprint of his own October 9, 1852, review, but also he allows the controversy to spill over into the May 17, 1862, issue. In that issue "T.W.M." concedes that he has heard the "Great" only the one time. However, he still holds fast to his first opinion that the C Major is an "overlabored, forced, and ambitious" effort to fill shoes too big for a song composer (XXI/7, 55).

So constant does Dwight's attachment to the "Great" remain that his reviews grow wistful when a year or so after the American premiere of the Unfinished⁴⁷ he foresees its upstaging the C Major. Reviewing the Boston premiere of the Unfinished (Carl Zerrahn conducting the Orchestral Union, February 26, 1868), he writes (*Dwight's*, XXVII/25 [February 29, 1868], 199).:

The feature of this week's concert (last but one, we regret to say) was something new and lovely: the two movements from the unfinished Symphony in B minor by Schubert, the only one out of the nine he left, except the great one in C, that has yet been performed. And how different from that! Not cast at all in the same great mould; not the *torso* of a Herculean Symphony; not a *great* work, but a genuine, though slight effusion of a great genius. Both the *Allegro moderato* and the *Andante con moto* are of a sweet, and meditative, elegiac character, dreamy, solitary, whispered half aloud. It is as if we came upon the poet unawares and overheard him musing to himself unconscious of any audience. The Andante has this character most fully, and is the more beautiful of the two. But it is in the Allegro also, where the prevailing tone and background is reverie and sadness. The witching little theme that steals in (haunting us all afterwards) he seems to pursue in vain; for again and again is it suddenly, rudely broken off as in despair, and the music drops back again into the passive melancholy mood: —is it not a confession, of the music to itself, that the great creative energy is not to be awakened fully this time? But it was very interesting to hear and we hope we have not heard it for the last time.

Only four weeks earlier he had thus ecstasized over the January 16 [1868] performance by the Boston Symphony of his idolized symphony (*Dwight's*, XXVII/23 [February 1, 1868], 182):

We can speak of that day's performance of the great Schubert Symphony in C as perhaps the highest achievement in symphonic interpretation thus far of a Boston orchestra. . . . For so sustained a flight of inspiration, lofty, long and glorious, we can look to no other instrumental work except the greatest of Beethoven. This is pure creative musical genius, in its most earnest effort, with consummate mastery of largest means. "Glorious" is the word for such a Symphony; you mount Jove's eagle for the flight above the clouds so soon as you submit yourself to its enchantment.

⁴⁷Theodore Thomas conducted the first American performance of the Unfinished Saturday evening, October 26, 1867, at Steinway Hall, New York City, in a program that included also Beethoven's Fifth and the first New York performance of Bach's Suite in D, BWV 1068 (containing the famous Air). The *Sunday Times* reviewer (quoted in *Dwight's*, XXVII/17 [November 9, 1867], 136) wrote: "The two movements (allegro and andante) from the unfinished 'Symphony in B minor,' are genuine specimens of the genius of Schubert, rich in melody, elaborate in modulation, and unmistakable in identity. The great feature of the evening, however, was the production of Beethoven's magnificent 'Fifth Symphony.'"

First performed at Vienna December 17, 1865, the Unfinished was published in December, 1866, by C. A. Spina, Vienna (London representative, Ewer & Co.). The [London] *Athenaeum* review, quoted in *Dwight's* XXVII/3 (April 27, 1867), 22, qualified it as: "original, if ever Symphony was; distinct and captivating in idea; peculiar in treatment; here and there diffuse, but instinct with that fervid, unborrowed spirit which is given to only the favored few."

But performances of the C Major dried to a trickle, so soon as the Unfinished preempted the public love. Dwight's review of Zerrahn's "Annual Concert" March 11, 1869 (the Harvard Symphony Concert Orchestra) dwelt mainly on the Schumann Piano Concerto. His review of the repetition of the Unfinished February 17, 1870, at the eighth Symphony Concert of the Harvard Musical Association admits its rapidly mounting popularity with inexperienced listeners, but continues thus:

It is a fragmentary effort of strange fascination, but not a triumphant work. It has at least two defects. In the first place it is not positively *Symphonic*: during the greater part of the Allegro you are in doubt whether you are listening to a Symphony, or to a tragic Overture, the restless *tremolo* is so dramatic; the overmastering mood is more than the artistic genial mastery. And then, taking the *Andante* and *Allegro* together, the entire tone is one of utter melancholy and depression; Music fails to work out its spiritual victory here and win great Joy, as it does in all the Symphonies of Beethoven and in the great one of Schubert. The Allegro seems to describe a feverish brain haunted by one lovely, hopeful melody, which it in vain pursues, rising near the end to a great climax of despair which is indeed sublime and in the grandest vein of Symphony, but only momentary. Another of these great suggestions occurs near the beginning of the *Andante*; but on the whole we have the glorious brain here in a comparatively impotent and sickly state. . . . Can we wonder that Schubert put this work aside unfinished?

Even when Dwight reviews a complete four-movement Schubert symphony new to him—in this case, the Tragic (D. 417) which, with the B flat "without trumpets and drums" (D. 485), had to be premiered (Boston February 2, and 16, 1872, Ernst Perabo's matinées) in Hugo Ulrich's four-hand piano reductions (orchestral scores were not published until the Gesamtausgabe, 1884 and 1885), he tempers his comments that the Tragic "made a very agreeable impression" and that "the slow movement has a deep and tender beauty" with the proviso that it "is by no means comparable with the great one in C Major" (*Dwight's*, XXXI/24 [February 24, 1872], 190).

Dwight's abiding passion for Schubert's music, albeit restricted to works deemed by him to be peaks, found outlets other than reviews. For instance, he was generous to a fault in publishing anything that he could lay hands on concerning Schubert's life. Usually he had to fall back on translations. But also he published original contributions. In the October 9, 1852, issue he published for instance Alexander Wheelock Thayer's translation of key passages from Ignaz von Seyfried's "Schubert" article in Gustav Schilling's *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, VI [1838], 270-271. But a month earlier he had already published Thayer's "Franz Schubert—His Life and Works" (*Dwight's*, I/23 [September 11, 1852], 180-181), the best original essay on Schubert in a mid-19th-century American periodical. In it, Thayer benefited from notes taken during his personal encounters with Ferdinand Schubert (1794-1859) "by a fortunate accident, in the summer of 1851."

Operas

Thayer's friendship with Ferdinand Schubert took a more dramatic turn when after Ferdinand's death he was asked to sell various Franz Schubert manuscripts

that had been in Ferdinand's possession in a letter dated at Vienna October 22, 1861, and published in *Dwight's* XX/9 (November 30, 1861), 279. Thayer wrote as follows:

When Ferdinand Schubert died [February 26, 1859] he, like all teachers in Austria, necessarily left his family in very straightened circumstances. A mass of MSS. has been put in my hands to dispose of for that family's benefit, among which are several autographs of Franz Schubert. The most important of these are: The complete orchestra Score of "Alphonso and Estrella,"[*] an opera in three acts begun [September 20], 1821, and ended February 27, 1822. Mass in G.[**] score, for small orchestra and organ with additional accompaniments by his brother Ferdinand. . . .

After mentioning smaller works, Thayer concluded, "Any reasonable offer for the Opera, the Mass or the Chorus and Air would be accepted—no price is fixed. My own choice would be to have them go together in some permanent, public library." He furthermore promised to "wait a few weeks before making the announcement in England and Paris, so that Boston, New York, &c. may have the first chance."

As may be quickly confirmed from Otto E. Albrecht's *A Census of Autograph Music Manuscripts of European Composers in American Libraries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), pages 248-265, Thayer's appeal fell on deaf ears. Even in 1953 no American collection, public or private, owned a Schubert opera or symphony autograph, and only the Library of Congress held the autograph score of a Mass (D. 452⁵⁰).

After the failure of *Alfonso und Estrella* (Weimar, June 24, 1854)⁵¹—the very opera whose autograph Thayer in 1861 hoped to sell in Boston or New York—small wonder that Liszt's choice found no American takers. Instead, his first opera performed in the United States was *Die Verschworenen oder: Der häusliche Krieg Oper in einem Akt von I. F. Castelli*⁵² (D. 787 [1823]). First mounted August 29, 1861, at Frankfurt am Main Theater, it was premiered in America March 21, 1863, at Hoboken, New Jersey, by the Concordia Verein, F. A. Sorge conducting. The *New York Musical Review* critique republished in *Dwight's*, XXIII/1 (April 4, 1863), 6-7, errs in crediting it to 1819 (Ignaz Franz Castelli's libretto was not published until February 1823). Therefore, the reviewer's comments on Schubert's extreme youth do not hold. Nonetheless, the rest of the review deserves reproduction here, if only because it has thus far eluded Schubert bibliography. Not only did Willi Kahl miss it in 1938, but also Marcia Judith Citron's Ph.D. dissertation "Schubert's Seven Complete Operas: A Musico/Dramatic Study" (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971 [72-10,699]) ignores it.

Those riches of modulation, those traits of originality, with which his later works abound, are not to be found in the score. Everything is simple, very intelligible and often by no means

⁴⁸According to O. E. Deutsch, *Thematic Catalogue* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1951), p. 335, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, now owns the autograph score.

⁴⁹Ferdinand "supplied parts for trumpets and kettledrums during Schubert's lifetime, and on 25th July 1847 he added parts for oboes and bassoons" (*ibid.*, p. 83).

⁵⁰At the moment of Deutsch's making the *Thematic Catalogue* [p. 202], the score of the Mass in C, D. 452 (June-July, 1816), belonged to the Wittgenstein family, Vienna.

⁵¹Liszt analyzed "Schubert's Alfons und Estrella" in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, XLI/10 (September 1, 1854), 101-105.

⁵²See the facsimile of the first page, Program of the American premiere, shown as an accompanying example.

peculiarly Schubertish. For instance, the song-writer Schubert, as he is known to the present generation, will be scarcely recognized. With the exception of the romance of the Countess in F minor [No. 2] and the first part of the Duo between Adol. and Helene in B flat [No. 8], there can be hardly in the whole score traced anything, which might point to the manner and the turns of melody we find for instance in his songs. Yet the music is much more modern, than most of the music of this style was, composed forty and fifty years ago. One can take the comic operas of the German composers of that time, and one can easily see, how independent Schubert appears in spite of his twenty-three [26] years. Besides there are scarcely any songs in the opera. The choruses, the ensembles, form the chief features of the work, and these in some instances are of an irresistible charm, as for instance the welcome chorus of the women, in C [No. 7]. The conspiracy scene is also of good effect, especially the concluding Andantino in D [No. 4]. Of excellent and even dramatic effect are the two Ariettas by the Count and the Countess, the one in A, the other in C, although in the main features the same music. The finale, too, offers some excellent music, but here the want of really dramatic progression is felt most. The music does not reach its climax, on the contrary it loses its interest. It is true this is partially caused by the libretto (by I. F. Castelli) but on the whole this libretto is better than the majority of text-books of this class, especially of an older period of operatic art.

With a few cuttings and alterations the little opera could be made very effective, especially on a large stage, and with the help of the orchestra, the treatment of which, to judge from the Piano-score, must be occasionally quite interesting. But even without these accessories and alterations the operetta has proved quite attractive, as all those can testify, who witnessed the performance in Hoboken. The scenery worked well, the costumes were very appropriate and pretty and everything was neat and acceptable. The choruses, some of which are by no means easy, were creditably sung, and the soloists, Miss Ludecus, Messrs. Urchs and Schoenfeldt, and two or three others, whose names we could not ascertain, gave general satisfaction. We need simply add that Mr. Timm^[53] was at the piano^[54] (one of Steinway's Grands) to satisfy our readers, that the accompaniment was in the right hands. The performance was preceded by the overture to "Euryanthe," rendered by Messrs. Timm and H. Braukhausen.

We understand that the opera will be repeated for the benefit of Mr. Sorge, the conductor, to whose energy and zeal the bringing out of the work is chiefly due.

From Eduard Hanslick⁵⁵ to Hugo Leichtentritt⁵⁶ to Marcia Judith Citron, *Die Verschworenen* has been unanimously voted the one viable stage work among Schubert's operas. Nonetheless, it has thus far escaped Schubert bibliography that an American review of an American stage production was published in 1863, and—moreover—that this very opera "edited and translated by George L[aurie] Osgood" [1844-1922]⁵⁷ was published at Boston in 1883 with the title *The Conspirators; or, The Household War*. Osgood (who correctly dated Schubert's composition of the

⁵³John Tasker Howard's article on Henry Christian Timm (Hamburg, July 11, 1811; Hoboken, New Jersey, September 5, 1892), *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX/2, 555-556, corrects the errors in *Baker's*, 5th edition, 1648-1649 (wrong date and place of death; wrong year for his becoming president of the Philharmonic Society).

⁵⁴Only the piano-vocal score had thus far been published—in 1862 by Schubert's nephew, Eduard Schneider (Vienna: C. A. Spina). Not until 1889 was the score published (Deutsch, *Thematic Catalogue*, p. 367).

⁵⁵*Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*. [1895-1899] (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1899), pp. 87-89. At p. 89 he rhetorically asks: "Über die Oper selbst haben wir nichts Neues zu sagen; wer kennt und liebt sie nicht?"

⁵⁶"Schubert's Early Operas," *Musical Quarterly*, XIV/4 (October, 1928), 635-638.

⁵⁷Frederick H. Martens, "George Laurie Osgood," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV/1, 78.



H. L. P. Teller zum freundl. Einverständnis

Die

Ver schworenen

oder:

Der häusliche Krieg.

Oper in einem Akt von J. F. Castelli.

Musik von Franz Schubert.

Zum ersten Male in Amerika aufgeführt und vollständig in Scene gesetzt, zur Feier des
 hundertsten Stiftungsfestes des Vereins Concordia, unter Leitung von F. A. Sorge
 Hoboken, N. J., 21. März, 1863. 1863

Personen:

Graf Heribert von Lidenstein, Vämmerherr. (Bass)	Ludmilla, (Soprano) Heribert's Haushfrau
Hilf von Reichenberg, (Tenor)	Helene, do. Hilfs do.
Harold von Nummen, " } Ritter u. seine	Luisegarde, do. Harold's do.
Friedrich von Traudorf, " } Lebensmänner.	Camilla, (Alt) Friedrich's do.
Widwewe Ritter, Heribert's Lebensmänner.	Die Haushrauen der übrigen Ritter.
Udolin, Heribert's Page. (Tenor.)	Siella, (Soprano) Ludmilla's Jofe.

No. 1. Eingangs-Duett.

Udolin.	Siella.
Sie ist's!	Hast du meiner oft gedacht?
Siella.	Udolin.
Er ist's!	Das versteht sich.
Beide.	Siella.
O welch' ein Entzücken!	Mir dein Herz zurückgebracht?
Siella.	Udolin.
Du wiest hier, mein Udolin?	Das versteht sich.
Udolin.	Siella.
Die Zeit der Trennung liegt im Rücken, Die Zeit des Wiederseh'ns erstien.	Nie gewankt in deiner Treue, Nach der Männer böjem Brauch?
Siella.	Udolin.
Es ist nun schon ein ganzes Jahr, Da zog des Herrn gebietend Wort. Dich von dem treuen Liebchen fort In Schwerterhaus, Krieg und Gefahr.	Nie gewankt? -- Ist viel gefordert; Nun? -- Und Du? -- warst auch stets gut?
Udolin.	Siella.
Nun aber zieht mein gutes Glück, Und meine Liebe und mein Herz, Nach überstand'nem Trennungschmerz, Zum Liebchen wieder mich zurück.	Das versteht sich.
	Udolin.
	Widerstand'st Du keinem Muth?
	Siella.
	Das versteht sich.



THE
CONSPIRATORS;
OR,
THE HOUSEHOLD WAR.

CHINA IN ONE ACT.

MUSIC BY

FRANZ SCHUBERT.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

GEORGE L. OSGOOD.

BOSTON:

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opera in 1823) proudly announced in his preface dated March 1883: "This is the first English publication of 'The Conspirators.' Seventy-three years later George Barker and Humphrey Trevelyan translated and adapted *The Conspirators* anew (London: Chappell & Co., Ltd., 1956). To make it more acceptable to present-day audiences, they radically revamped Castelli's dialogue (based on Aristophanes's comedies *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*). But at the same time, they interestingly enough availed themselves of Osgood's 1883 piano reduction rather than Carl Reinecke's reduction (under copyright control by Breitkopf & Härtel [V.A. 983]).

Chamber Works

Schubert's chamber works first began being systematically exposed to the New York public in the Mason-Thomas series of seventy concerts⁵⁸ that began November 27, 1855 (at Dodworth's Academy) and closed April 11, 1868 (at Irving Hall). Apart from Lieder sung by guest artists, Schubert's works received 20 exposures, contrasted with 48 of Schumann's works during the thirteen seasons. (In explanation, William Mason whose choices dominated the series notoriously adored Schumann.) The 20 Schubert chamber work performances ranged from the "Death and the Maiden" Quartet in D minor (D. 810) played four times;⁵⁹ the Trio in E flat, opus 100 (D. 929), four times;⁶⁰ Trio in B flat, opus 99 (D. 898), twice;⁶¹ Quartet in G, opus 161 (D. 887), twice;⁶² Quintet in C, opus 163 (D. 956), twice;⁶³ Rondeau brillant in B minor, opus 70, for violin and piano (D. 895), twice;⁶⁴ to the Fantasia in C, opus 159, for violin and piano (D. 934), Octet in F for strings and woodwinds, opus 166 (D. 803), and Sonata in C minor (D. 958) performed once each.⁶⁵ At these events Theodore Thomas played violin (first violin in quartets, quintet, octet); Carl Bergmann was cellist (until November 27, 1860). The G Major Quartet and C Major Quintet had been world premiered as recently as 1850. Even if none of the Schubert exposures could compare in novelty with Brahms's Trio in B, opus 8, first published in 1854, Sextet in B flat, opus 18, in 1862, and Quartet in A, opus 26, in 1863—works played at the Mason-Thomas concerts of November 27, 1855 (world premiere⁶⁶), January 10, 1866, and February 21, 1866—still the just named Schubert works were no less novelties to Mason's New York public than were the Brahms.

⁵⁸Itemized in Kenneth Gene Graber's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Life and Works of William Mason (1829-1908)," (University of Iowa, 1976 [76-26, 286]), pp. 160-183.

⁵⁹November 27, 1855; October 30, 1860; January 20, 1863; January 4, 1868. In addition, the second movement (variations on *Der Tod und das Mädchen*) was played alone March 27, 1858. According to F. G. Edwards, "Schubert's Music in England," *Musical Times*, XXXVIII/648 (February 1, 1897), p. 82: "John Ella at his Musical Union introduced the Posthumous Quartet in D minor, played May 4, 1852, when it was led by Joachim, who doubtless suggested it to Ella."

⁶⁰March 25, 1856; February 5, 1861; April 19, 1865; March 7, 1867.

⁶¹November 23, 1858; April 25, 1866.

⁶²March 3, 1860; March 8, 1864.

⁶³February 25, 1862; March 7, 1867. The guest cellists were Adolph Schmitz and Heinrich Mollenhauer.

⁶⁴May 17, 1859; November 5, 1861.

⁶⁵January 28, 1862; April 26, 1859; February 9, 1864.

⁶⁶Max Kallbeck, *Johannes Brahms, I: 1833-1856* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908), 155, note 1, dated the world premiere December 18, 1855, at Breslau. Philip Hale had informed him that Mason, Thomas, and Bergmann gave the Boston first performance December 26, 1855. In any event, the Trio, opus 8, was Brahms's first work played in the New World.

Mason introduced Liszt's orchestral arrangement of Schubert's *Fantasia* in C, opus 15 (D. 760) at the March 8, 1862 concert of the Boston Philharmonic in Music Hall, Carl Zerrahn conducting. Earlier that very season the London *Times* had excoriated the same work when Ernst Pauer (1826–1905) first performed Schubert's original version for an English public.⁶⁷ According to James William Davison (1813–1885; *Times* critic from 1846 to 1879), it is a "composition by no means worthy of that undoubted musical genius." Continuing in like vein, Davison found these faults in it:

A more rambling and incoherent piece has seldom perplexed the fingers of a "virtuoso" or tormented the ears of an audience. The introduction of a part of Schubert's own song of "The Wanderer" in the midst of it, for the sake of some ineffective variations, less mends the matter than conjures up a vision of "The Wanderer" in the wilderness. What Herr Pauer, in his well got up analysis, says of the finale in this *fantasia*—viz., that it is "weak and poor in invention," applies with equal force to the entire work, which is quite as thankless as it is difficult to execute. If it had been the intention of the talented pianist to prove that Schubert, though a genius, was at times a bad composer, he would have succeeded triumphantly.

Even though all too well aware of what strictures the "Wanderer" had endured at London, Dwight happily heard the work without succumbing to Davison. Instead, Dwight assured readers that it is "full of fine musical ideas and a certain glorious fermentation of young genius, which compensates for any lack of strictly organic form; and when Liszt adds to it such a wealth of orchestral accompaniment, neither adding to nor taking away from the original piano work, leaving it in its integrity, and at the same time so surrounding it that it seems one instrument in a concerted piece, the effect is truly noble."⁶⁸ His review continues with praise of Mason's performance and summarizes the effect on the audience with the assurance that "everyone enjoyed it." For the musician, it was an "exceptional experience."

Mason repeated the same work at New York May 13, 1862, Theodore Thomas conducting his orchestra, November 8, 1862, and January 28, 1865, Theodor Eisfeld conducting the Philharmonic,⁶⁹ March 7, 1863, Thomas conducting the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society.

Summary

Schubert's recognition in the United States to approximately 1865 appears late solely to those unfamiliar with his fate elsewhere. In comparison with his reception in both France⁷⁰ and England, his American entries redound highly to American credit. Percy Scholes outlined his disastrous beginnings at London in a chapter on "Schubert's Struggle for British Recognition," *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944* (London: Novello & Company, 1947), I, 416–420. The first criticisms in England dripped with vitriol. Even when Mendelssohn bartered his prestige with the first

⁶⁷ *Dwight's Journal*. XX/23 (March 8, 1862), 391, reprinted the *Times* criticism of Pauer's February 1, 1862, historical recital at Willis's Rooms, King-street, St. James's.

⁶⁸ *Dwight's*. XX/24 (March 15, 1862), 398.

⁶⁹ Krehbiel. *The Philharmonic Society*. pp. 123, 126 (concerts in Irving Hall and Academy of Music).

⁷⁰ Prod'homme. "Schubert's Works in France," amply documented his ignominious fate in France to 1897. Concluding (p. 514), he quoted Théodore Gérold: "The far more refined romanticism of Schumann rapidly conquered cultivated spirits in France, while that of Schubert, simpler and more autochthone, has remained foreign to them."

Schubert orchestral work ever attempted in England, the *Fier[r]abras Overture*, the leading London critic⁷¹ called it "literal beneath criticism" and gored Schubert with the comment: "Perhaps a more overrated man never existed than the same Schubert."⁷² His Great Symphony in C could not be played publicly⁷³ until the immigrant August Manns (1825-1907) dared it in April, 1856, five years after it was first heard in New York.⁷⁴ His chamber works did not begin being regularly heard in London until 1859. His songs known to the British public still remained a "threadbare few" so late as 1928.

American musical taste at mid-nineteenth century—despite the bad report that historians from Ritter to Chase have given it—did better by Schubert than English or French. Even if Horn's pioneer 1835 version of Schubert's Opus 1 elicited unfavorable comparison with Callcott, his songs as early as 1842 were winning wide American acceptance in translations by the first secretary of the New York Philharmonic Society and by other Schubert propagandists. During the dozen years from 1851 to 1863 his Great C Major was programmed four times by the New York Philharmonic. Between 1851 and 1857 Boston heard it at least four times. Nine of his chamber masterpieces accounted for 20 Schubert exposures in New York between 1855 and 1868. The premiere of *Die Verschworenen* at Hoboken in 1863 was followed at Boston in 1883 by the first English-language publication anywhere of a Schubert opera.

Nor did Schubert bibliography lag in the United States. Alexander Wheelock Thayer's admirable "Franz Schubert—His Life and Works" in *Dwight's*, I/23 (September 11, 1852), set the stage for a long series of excellent original and translated articles. Theodor Hagen's survey of his songs in the July 20, 1861 issue⁷⁵ was followed later that year (XX/10, December 7, 1861, 281-282) by the first translated installment of Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn's *Franz Schubert. Eine biographische Skizze* (Vienna, 1861) serialized through 22 issues (completed in XXI/18 [August 2, 1862], 137-138).⁷⁶ From then to its decease in September 1881, *Dwight's* published a never-ending stream of Schubert reminiscences, reviews, critiques, and eulogies which (though never mentioned by Willi Kahl nor indexed by Deutsch) themselves alone make a respectable Schubert library.

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⁷¹Identified by Scholes as Davison.

⁷²For the quotation, see *Musical Times*, XXXVIII/648 (February 1, 1897), p. 82.

⁷³Mendelssohn "rehearsed it during his conductorship of the concerts of 1844; but as the band laughed at the repeated triplets in the last movement, he indignantly, and very properly, withheld the work from performance. The Philharmonic did not play the Symphony till *thirty-two* years after Mendelssohn had sent the MS. parts over! So much for merit, interest, and a first-rate commendation." (*Ibid.*, p. 83).

⁷⁴In a letter dated December 1, 1896, to the Editor of the *Musical Times*, Manns attributed the birth of George Grove's Schubert predilection to this Crystal Palace premiere (*ibid.*, p. 84). Manns first introduced the nine Schubert symphonies "in chronological order, in the spring of 1881."

⁷⁵*Dwight's*, XIX/16, 122-123, reprinted it from the *New York Musical World*.

⁷⁶The first English translation appeared five years later: *Franz Schubert: a musical biography. From the German . . . By Edward Wilberforce* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1866).

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