

# AT THE ORIGINS OF ART MUSIC FOR THE FLUTE IN NORTH AMERICA

by **Viola Shaula Valerio\***

The eighteenth century can be considered the dawn of original art music written specifically for the flute in the North American colonies. The popularity and the importance of this instrument in the pre-Civil War era is attested by many different sources, such as: local newspapers, travellers' diaries and much more.<sup>1</sup> Flutes were first advertised for sale in the New World in 1716.<sup>2</sup>

The flute played an important role in early American musical life. A large number of flute music collections were circulating across the country between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

One of the earliest collections was compiled by the hand of Giles Gibbs, Jr.,<sup>3</sup> a young fifer who served his country during the Revolutionary War. This manuscript<sup>4</sup> consists of a selection from the renowned tunes played at the time in the military bands.<sup>5</sup> It was used

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\*ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. The first version of this article was written on the occasion of the International Seminar *Com'era nuovo il Nuovo Mondo* (Doctoral School, University of Florence, Italy, April 23, 2010). The paper was later reworked after further research. I wish to thank Aloma Bardi for her expertise and constant support; Nina Perlove for her insightful and precious advice; and the staff of the Library of Congress Music Division for their competence and guidance. – *V.Sh.V.*

<sup>1</sup> Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, unpublished Master's Thesis, Washington University, 1952. This thesis is very important to the subject because it sheds light on the nineteenth century flute practice and use of the instrument. It also lists a vast selection of music collections written for the flute.

<sup>2</sup> «This is to give notice that is lately sent over from London a choice Collection of Musickal Instruments, consisting of Flageolette, Flutes, Haut-Boys, Bass-Viols, Violins, Bows, Strings, Reads for Haut-Boys, Books of Instructions for all these Instruments. Books of ruled Paper. To be sold at the Dancing School of *Mr. Enstone* in Sudbury Street near the Orange Tree, Boston»; from the «Boston News Letter», April 16-23, 1716, by Edward Enstone, at the time organist for King's Chapel, Boston; in Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, Plate xxxi, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Giles Gibbs, Jr. was born in East Windsor (now Ellington), CT in 1760. He served in the Revolutionary War and was captured and killed by the British army in Vermont in 1780. For further details see the facsimile edition published by The Connecticut Historical Society, with an introduction by Kate van Winkle Keller: *Giles Gibbs, Jr., His Book for the Fife*, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT 1974.

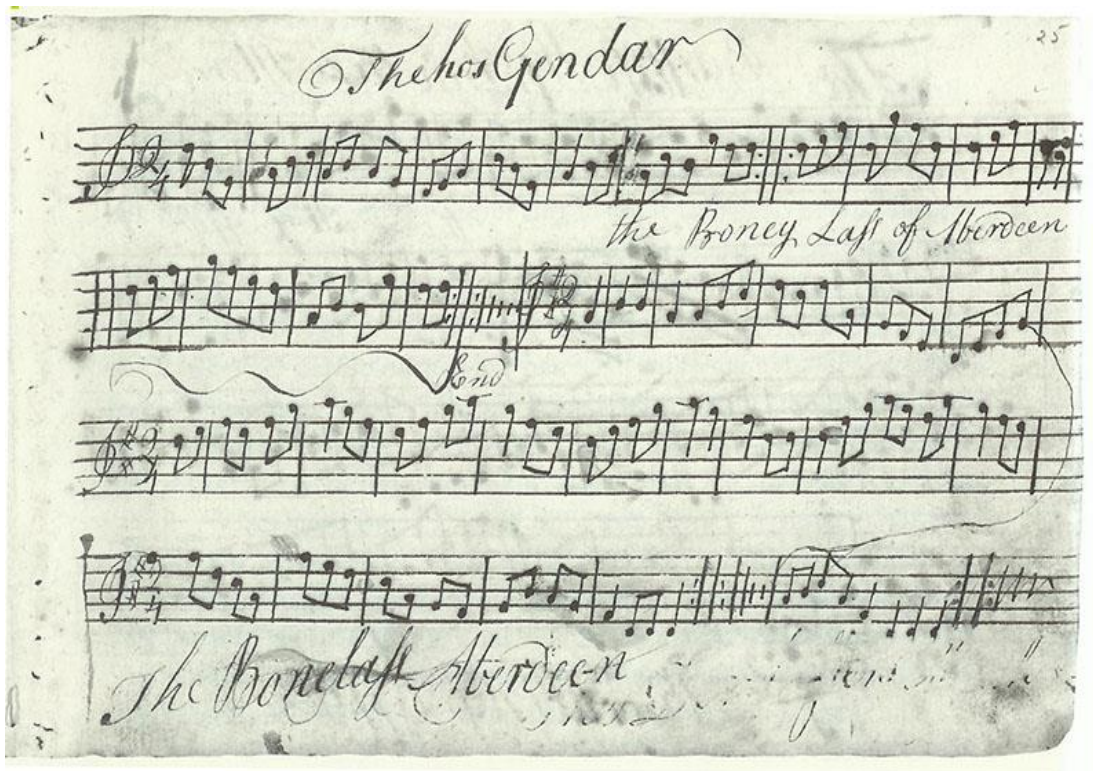
<sup>4</sup> The collection was probably compiled in the summer of 1777, when Gibbs was only seventeen years old.

<sup>5</sup> Kate van Winkle Keller, *Giles Gibbs Jr., His Book for the Fife*, Preface.

as a “reminder” for the fifer who intended to learn these melodies in order to perform them. Gibbs had collected here a repertoire for his personal use.

There is evidence that all of the music which Gibbs copied was generally known in the colonies and had already been published in another form.<sup>6</sup>

The musical writing and the notation awareness is inadequate, an indication that Gibbs had received no formal musical training, but this collection is very significant because it shows us the music performed in the colonies during the Revolutionary War.<sup>7</sup> One of the most interesting melodies of the collection is an early version of *Yankee Doodle*.



**FIG. 1** Giles Gibbs, Jr., *Thehos Gendar* (*Yankee Doodle*). Facsimile of the manuscript, in *Giles Gibbs, Jr., His Book for the Fife*, with an Introduction by Kate van Winkle Keller, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut 1974, p. 25.

By the end of the century other popular flute music collections were published; for instance, *Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or Violin* was printed and sold in 1794 by Benjamin Carr and Joseph Carr in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> These tunes can be found in the *Compleat tutor for the fife*, Thomson and Son, London 1760 (English edition) and *Compleat tutor for the fife*, Michael Hillegas, Philadelphia 1766 (American edition).

<sup>7</sup> Kate van Winkle Keller, *Giles Gibbs Jr., His Book for the Fife*, Preface.

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Carr (1768-1831) arrived in Philadelphia from England in 1793, and proceeded to win recognition as a composer, opera and concert singer, choral director, organist, pianist, and music publisher and dealer. Joseph Carr, publisher in Baltimore, was his brother and business partner. For further details,

These “elegant extracts” were for the most part songs, and the words appeared along with the flute parts. In such first publications, the melodic significance of the flute is clear: the instrument is considered interchangeable with the human voice.

Two other volumes followed the first issue, *Second Book of Elegant Extracts* in 1796 and a *Third Book* in 1798.<sup>9</sup>

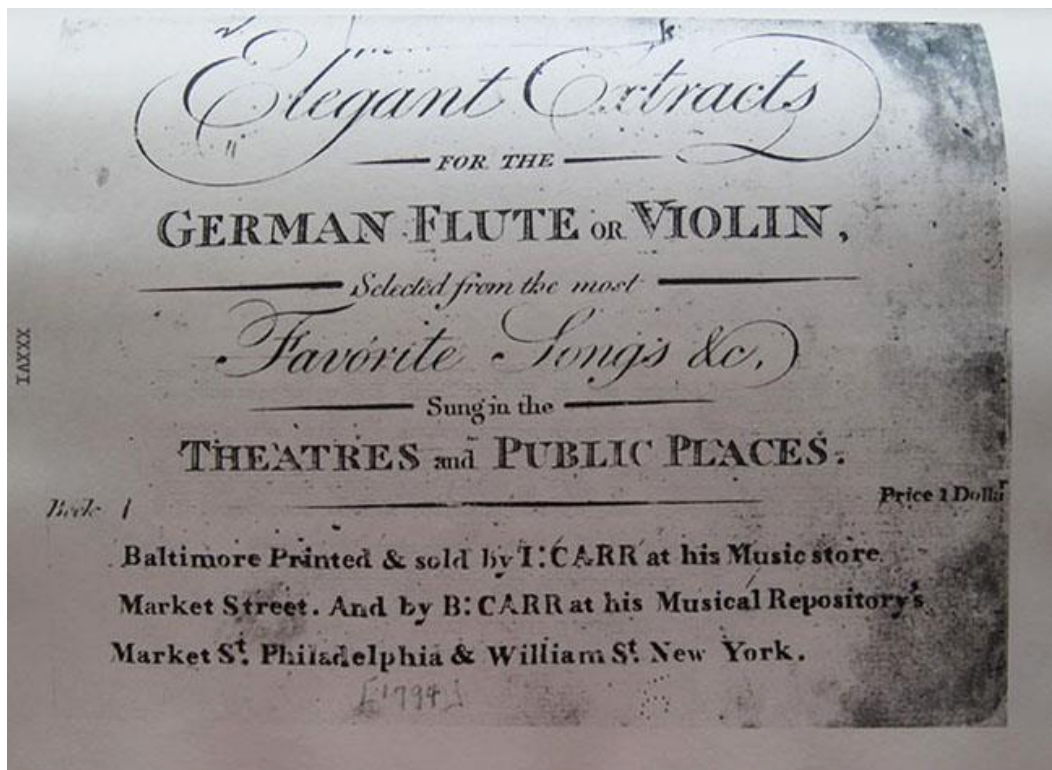


FIG. 2 Reproduction of the *Elegant Extracts* cover page, Book No.1; in Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, unpublished Master’s Thesis, Washington University, 1952.

The content and quality of the above publications are evidence that at this time the flute was used primarily by amateur musicians and as dance accompaniment. The main body of literature consisted of collections of dances, airs and jigs.<sup>10</sup>

Another early collection of music for flute was *Riley’s Flute Melodies* compiled by Edward Riley (1769-1829),<sup>11</sup> an English flutist, publisher and instrument maker who emigrated to the United States around 1805.

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see John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music: A Comprehensive History from 1620 to the Present*, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. 1946 (1929), Part I, Chapter 3, pp. 96-101. On Joseph Carr, see John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music*, p. 123.

<sup>9</sup> Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed bibliography, see Oscar G.T. Sonneck, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, The Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1945.

This particularly large two-volume collection contains some seven hundred melodies known and played in the United States mostly from about 1809 to 1825. At the turn of the nineteenth century the predominant musical culture was British.

Indeed, many of the melodies in Riley's collection are English, Irish and Scottish, but he includes some continental European and American melodies as well, especially in the second volume.

For example, the melodies in Figures 3 and 4 are purely American tunes: the *President's March* and *America Commerce and Freedom*.<sup>12</sup> The former was attributed to Philip Phile<sup>13</sup> and composed after George Washington's first inauguration, and the latter was written by Alexander Reinagle, Philadelphia's leading musician.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For further details about Riley's life, see Nancy Groce, *Musical Instrument Makers of New York: A Directory of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Urban Craftsmen*, Pendragon Press, Stuyvesant, New York 1991, pp. 131-133; and Wendell Dobbs, *An Early American Family of Flutists*, «The Flutist Quarterly», Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Fall 2008.

<sup>12</sup> The collection was published in a modern facsimile reprint: Edward Riley, *Riley's Flute Melodies, Compiled by Edward Riley*; with an Introduction by H. Wiley Hitchcock, Two Volumes in One, Da Capo Press, New York 1973.

<sup>13</sup> Philip Phile (1734-1793) was a violinist and composer working in Philadelphia from around 1784. He performed with the orchestra of the Old American Company, founded in England and active in North America from 1752, as violinist and as leader of the ensemble. On 12 April 1787 a Violin Concerto by Phile was performed in Philadelphia; Oscar G.T. Sonneck, *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, H.L. McQueen, Washington, DC 1905, p. 32. Phile is best known for being the composer of *The President's March*, supposedly his only extant composition, written for the inauguration of George Washington, although not published until later: «The President's March seems to have made its first appearance in print in April, 1794, when it was published in an arrangement for two flutes on p. 3 of the first number of R. Shaw's Gentleman's amusement, Philadelphia» (Sonneck, *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, p. 120). However, in *Bibliography*, pp. 120-121, Sonneck questions Phile's authorship of the piece; the same remark had been previously expressed by him in *Critical Notes on the Origins of "Hail Columbia"*, 1901. In his *Bibliography*, Sonneck lists various pieces by Phile, performed until 1790, whose scores are not extant. Important information on Phile is also found in Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)*, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1907.

<sup>14</sup> Alexandre Reinagle (1756-1809) was an English-born American composer, organist, and theater musician. In 1786 Reinagle decided to try his fortune as a professional musician in the newly established United States of America. He moved first to New York and later to Philadelphia, which was the national capital at the time. He helped revitalize the musical life of Philadelphia in the 1790s, introducing that city to the music of Haydn and Mozart, as well as his own original compositions. For details, see Richard Crawford, *The American Musical Landscape*, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1993, pp. 40-65.



The image shows a page of musical notation for 'President's March'. It is part of a collection titled 'Riley's Flute Melodies'. The page number '12' is in the top left corner. The title 'PRESIDENTS MARCH' is centered above the second system of music. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The score consists of three systems of music. The first system starts at measure 50 and ends with a double bar line. The second system starts at measure 51 and continues the melody. The third system starts at measure 52 and ends with a double bar line. The page number '1' is in the bottom right corner.

FIG. 3 *President's March*, in *Riley's Flute Melodies*, Vol. 1, No. 51, p. 12.

The image shows a page of musical notation for 'America Commerce and Freedom'. It is part of a collection titled 'Riley's Flute Melodies'. The page number '89' is in the top right corner. The title 'AMERICA COMMERCE AND FREEDOM' is centered above the second system of music. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The score consists of five systems of music. The first system starts at measure 327 and ends with a double bar line and the word 'Finis'. The second system starts at measure 328 and includes the word 'D.C.' at the end. The third system starts at measure 329 and includes the word 'Sing' at the end. The fourth system starts at measure 330 and includes the word 'Sing' at the end. The fifth system starts at measure 331 and includes the word 'Sing' at the end. The page number '12' is in the bottom right corner.

FIG. 4 *America Commerce and Freedom*, in *Riley's Flute Melodies*, Vol. 2, No. 328, p. 89.

At the time there was widespread prejudice toward the flute on the part of professional musicians, both in Europe and America; this instrument was not considered a bona fide member of the orchestra. The main problem was in the mechanical flaws that resulted in faulty intonation and thin tone. Another reason why its progress as a serious concert instrument was delayed is that the flute was a very popular instrument and was, therefore, considered as a vernacular and trivial one. This preconception toward the flute was deep-rooted in the Western classical musical world. We must also point out that instrumental music developed much later in the North American colonies. The first music performed and composed in the colonies was mainly sacred vocal music.<sup>15</sup>

The flute was, however, very important and was used in both classical and popular musical practice. Like the violin, it was a “melody carrier,” often an alternative to the voice, as we have already seen. Given this peculiar characteristic it was widely employed in transcriptions and arrangements of all kinds. The mechanical problems were resolved with the introduction of the Boehm flute in 1853.<sup>16</sup> This instrument came into use quickly all across the country.<sup>17</sup> Thanks to its accurate intonation and wide-ranging tone it was a legitimate orchestral instrument, and it was soon considered the leader of the woodwind section.

After this the flute gained popularity thanks to many active flutists, such as P.H. Taylor,<sup>18</sup> who played for the first time in 1834 a *Fantasia (Fantasia for the Flute)*<sup>19</sup> by the renowned French flutist Louis Drouet.<sup>20</sup>

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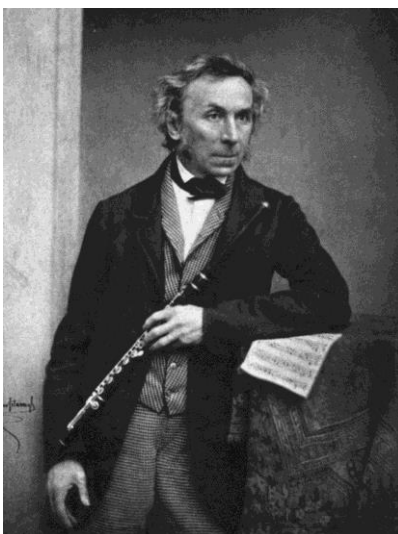
<sup>15</sup> Since the first half of the seventeenth century the colonists regarded the singing of psalms, and sacred music in general, as an integral part of their life as documented by a comment of a member of the little group of Pilgrims that sailed from Delftshaven, Holland in 1620: «They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go to the pastor’s house, [it] being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.» In Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (1646) quoted in H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1974, p. 3. For further reading, see Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life: A History*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York/London 2001, Part I, *The First Three Centuries*, in part. Chapter 2 (*European Inroads: Early Christian Music Making*, pp. 15-28) and Chapter 3 (*From Ritual to Art: The Flowering of Sacred Music*, pp. 29-55).

<sup>16</sup> Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) was born in Munich, the son and later apprentice of a jeweller and goldsmith. He was already a performer on the flute at an early age, and at sixteen he made his own four-keyed flute. In 1828 he set up a flute factory in Munich where he manufactured the regulation old-type eight keyed flute, although with many improvements in the springs, pads, holes and embouchure. He was himself an artistic performer on the flute and played first flute in the King of Bavaria’s court orchestra.

<sup>17</sup> We need to point out that the new Boehm flute system was not embraced right away; many flutists were skeptical about the functionality of the new system, but it was later adopted by the majority of them.

<sup>18</sup> P.H. Taylor was a publisher and a virtuoso flutist active in New York in the first half of the nineteenth century. See Albert Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Madison, NJ 1972, pp. 138-139.

<sup>19</sup> Taylor’s concert was reviewed in the *American Musical Journal* as follows: «Mr. Taylor fantasia on the flute was characterized by that neat and finished style of executing the most complex and difficult passages, and by that pure, silvery and equal tone on all parts of the instrument, for which this gentleman is



**FIG. 5** Theobald Boehm (c. 1852) photographed by the German lithographer and photographer Franz Hanfstaengl (1804-1857).



**FIG. 6** French flutist and composer Louis Drouet (1792-1873) in an etching by Nelson Mulnier, 1820; Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

distinguished ... Mr. Taylor we have no doubt can blow his low D and low C as if he wanted to imitate the sound of a trumpet, or the report of a pistol, but a man of his refined taste and good judgment disdains to resort of such tricks to produce what is termed affect.» «*American Musical Journal*» V, I No. 2, December 1834; in Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, p. 50. The «*American Musical Journal*» devoted much of its space to flute-playing an criticism of flute-playing: «This most delightful of the wind instruments, and which, of all others is thought to approach the nearest to the human voice is, however, sometimes misemployed by players in forcing it to produce a kind of trumpet tone ... altogether foreign to the character of the flute ... which will not allow it to be a proper instrument for concertos.» *Observations on Flute-Playing* from Vol. 1, No. 1, «*American Musical Journal*», 1st October 1834.

<sup>20</sup> Louis Drouet (1792-1873) was a flutist and a composer born in Amsterdam in 1792 from French parents, who fled their country in the aftermath of the French Revolution. He began playing the flute at a very early age; he was soon considered a child prodigy, but no information is available as to whether he received an early musical education, that instead he appears to have certainly undertaken beginning in 1807. When he was only sixteen years of age, Drouet received an appointment as solo flutist to the King of Holland; three years later he accepted an invitation from Napoleon I to become Imperial Court Flutist in Paris.

In 1834-35, P.H. Taylor appeared in many concerts in New York, as did two other professors of flute, John A. Kyle and Philip Ernst, both of whom later enthusiastically advocated the Boehm system.<sup>21</sup>

Theobald Boehm began working tirelessly on his new-system flute after he heard a performance of the soloist Charles Nicholson in London in 1831. The flutist performed on his new designed large-holed instrument. Nicholson's tone was richer and he produced a greater volume of sound; Boehm set out to manufacture his own large-holed design.<sup>22</sup>

He enlarged the tone holes and located them at acoustically optimum points on the body of the instrument, rather than locations conveniently covered by the flutist's fingers. To achieve these goals, he created a system of axle-mounted keys with a series of "open rings" (*brille*, German for "eyeglasses", because they resembled the fashionable nineteenth century eyeglasses frame) that were fitted around other tone holes, so that the closure of one tone hole by a finger would also close a key placed over a second hole.

Thus, we note that the flute was gradually becoming more influential in the musical landscape; flutists were able to enter the concert halls on par with virtuoso violinists and pianists. Finally, even American composers began to write original music for the instrument, enriching its national literature.

An interesting contribution to the flute literature was offered by the renowned song composer Stephen Collins Foster,<sup>23</sup> who became very famous during the nineteenth century thanks to his wide range of memorable melodies. Everybody loved his songs, that are now part of the American musical heritage. The critic and music scholar John Tasker Howard,<sup>24</sup> in his fundamental history of American music—*Our American Music, 1929*—

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<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to read Kyle's comment about the first time he tried the Boehm flute: «A little more than six years ago I attended a musical party, where I met a gentleman from South America who had purchased while in Europe a flute invented by Boehm [...] I called on Mr. Brix [...] and after hearing him play, I took the liberty of asking the loan on it to take the pattern which he kindly granted. I then proceeded to Mr. Larabee's, the flute manufacturer, and having examined it, he was so much pleased that he made from it the first Boehm Flute in the United States.» An extract from a letter written by Kyle to A.G. Badger in 1853, in: Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, p. 50, pp. 68-69.

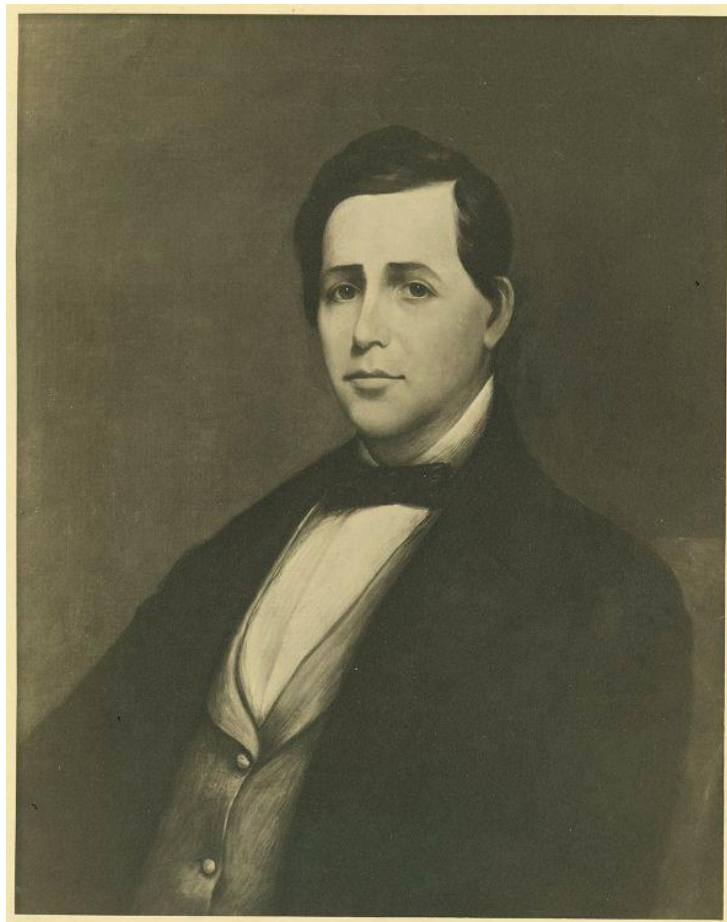
<sup>22</sup> For further reading, see Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, Dover, New York 1967 (republishing of the third edition); 1977 (reprinted with corrections), pp. 320-323; 326-328; 336.

<sup>23</sup> Stephen Collins Foster (1826-1864) was the best known songwriter and composer in the United States of the nineteenth century. His songs—such as *Oh! Susanna*, *Camptown Races*, *Hard Times Come Again No More*, *Old Folks at Home* (*Swanee River*), *Old Black Joe*, *My Old Kentucky Home*, *Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair*, and *Beautiful Dreamer*—remain popular over 150 years after their composition. For further notions about Foster's life, see Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York 2001, Chapter 11 (*Blacks, Whites, and the Minstrel Stage*, pp. 196-220, in part. pp. 210-217) and Chapter 13 (*From Ramparts to Romance: Parlor Songs*, pp. 240-271, in part. pp. 244-248). See also Ken Emerson, *Stephen Foster & Co.: Lyrics of the First Great American Songwriters*, The Library of America, New York 2010.

<sup>24</sup> John Tasker Howard (1890-1964).



even defined him “the American Schubert.”<sup>25</sup> But others strongly criticized his music, comparing it to a fastidious skin disease that one couldn’t get rid of easily!<sup>26</sup> Foster was a flutist himself; he composed his first flute music in 1839<sup>27</sup> and in 1854 he wrote one of the first American compositions truly characteristic of this instrument, *Anadolia*.



**FIG. 7** Stephen Collins Foster in a nineteenth-century portrait by unknown author, University of Pittsburgh Historic Photographs 1884-present.

<sup>25</sup> «For some respects, Foster was akin to Schubert. He had a natural gift of melody that shone because of its simplicity.» John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music: A Comprehensive History from 1620 to the Present*, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York 1929, p. 186.

<sup>26</sup> Music critic John Sullivan Dwight wrote about Foster’s songs: «We wish to say that such tunes ... become catching, idle habits, and are not popular in the sense of musically inspiring, but that such and such a melody *breaks out* every now and then, like a morbid irritation of the skin.» From «Dwight’s Journal», November 19, 1853. Quoted in H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, p. 115.

<sup>27</sup> Foster’s first serious melody for the flute was *Tioga Waltz*, a piece for three or four flutes that he composed while attending Athens Academy in Pittsburgh. The piece was composed when Foster was fourteen years old and it was performed during the 1839 commencement exercises. For further reading, see John Tasker Howard, *Stephen Foster: America’s Troubadour*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York 1934 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1953).

22 **ANADOLIA.** **S. C. FOSTER.**  
*Andante Cantabile.*

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the piece 'ANADOLIA' by Stephen Collins Foster. The score is written on ten staves in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Andante Cantabile'. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are several dynamic markings: 'mf' (mezzo-forte) appears on the third and fourth staves, and 'v' (forte) appears on the eighth staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of the tenth staff.

FIG. 8 Stephen Collins Foster, *Anadolia*, in *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854.

*Anadolia* was included as No. 22 in *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin* published in New York by Firth, Pond & Company in 1854.<sup>28</sup> *The Social Orchestra* is a collection of songs, dances, and opera arias popular among genteel music-lovers in pre-Civil War America; as such it is a revealing historical document of the taste of the time. But it is more than that: *The Social Orchestra* contains many of Foster's instrumental works, widening our usual view of him as a songwriter. The printed music itself, especially the

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Collins Foster, *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*: An unabridged republication of the first edition published in New York in 1854, Da Capo Press, New York 1973.

Civil War-era favorite dances, such as waltzes, schottisches, quadrilles, polkas and jigs, is clearly skeletal in order to be performed with whatever instruments were at hand.<sup>29</sup> Indeed some of Foster's "awkward" second violin parts in the trio and quartet pieces are suitable to be performed by a pianist's right hand in case that only one fiddler is available.<sup>30</sup> The second violin parts usually appear to be an accompaniment to the first violin melodies. They usually are extremely simple and are complementary to the bass part. Thus, Foster, as he declared in the Introduction, intended that they be performed with a pianoforte.

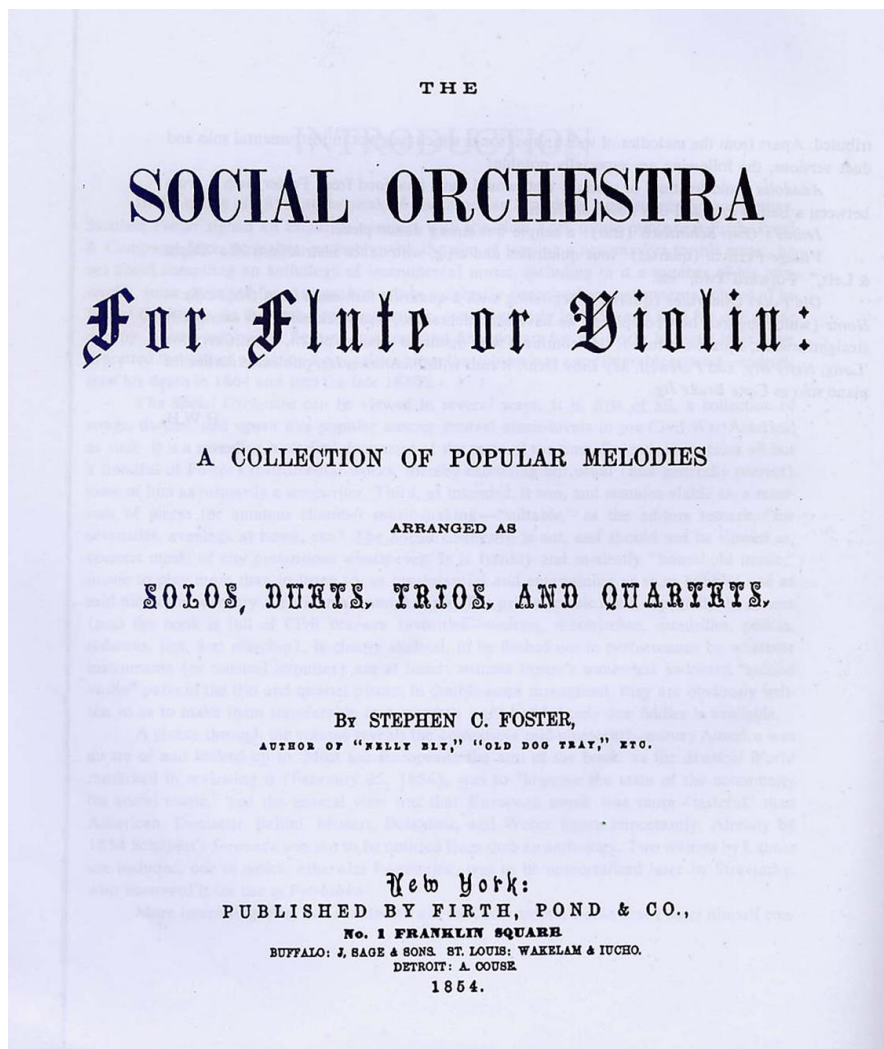


FIG. 9 Stephen Collins Foster, *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854, Title Page.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen Collins Foster, *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin: Introduction* by H. Wiley Hitchcock.

<sup>30</sup> As Foster himself wrote in the *Introduction* to the 1854 edition: «In the trios and Quartets the Bass part is primarily intended for the Violoncello, though in its absence any other Bass instrument may be used, in many of the pieces, with the proper transpositions, and where both the Bass and the second Violin are wanting, the parts written for them can be performed on the Piano-Forte, with good effect.»



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"    "    No. 2, Oh, Boys, carry me 'long, . . . . .	68
Old Folks' Quadrilles, No. 3, Nelly Bly, . . . . .	69
"    "    No. 4, Farewell, my Lilly Dear, . . . . .	71
"    "    No. 5, Plantation Jig, . . . . .	72
O Summer Night, . . . . .	47
Ton-Mahrchen Waltz, . . . . .	53
Village Festival—Quadrille, No. 1, . . . . .	59
"    "    No. 2, . . . . .	60
"    "    No. 3, . . . . .	62
"    "    No. 4, . . . . .	64
"    "    No. 5, . . . . .	65
Waltz, by Lanner, . . . . .	46
Where are the Friends of my Youth, . . . . .	49

FIG. 10 Stephen Collins Foster, *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854, Table of Contents.

In the Table of Contents we can see that the collection includes several pieces by European composers. Donizetti, Mozart, Bellini and Weber figure importantly. The

«Musical World» stated that the aim of the book was «to improve the taste of the community for social music.»<sup>31</sup> The general view was that European music was considered more “tasteful” than that composed in America.<sup>32</sup>

*The Social Orchestra* is not pretentious concert music, but frank, honest “house-hold music.” “House-hold music” refers to a style of music performed in the nineteenth-century parlor among family and close friends. In such situations the pieces performed consisted primarily of arrangements from well-known arias and songs played by amateurs who wanted to warm up their evenings.

The collection includes Foster’s today less known arrangements of melodies for duets, trios, and quartets as well as original tunes of his own. One such melody is *Anadolia*, among Foster’s most intense and melodic pieces. Looking closer (Fig. 8, p. 10) we note two main influences that characterize this music: the Italian *belcanto* of Bellini and Donizetti, and the genuine American theme that flows in every Foster melody.

American musicologist H. Wiley Hitchcock<sup>33</sup> was among the first to study and emphasize the importance of early American music. Following in Oscar G.T. Sonneck’s footsteps,<sup>34</sup> Hitchcock stressed the originality of pre-Civil War American music. Thanks to his seminal work, this time period eventually became a subject in academic studies. He made a very perceptive comment about *Anadolia*: «Who would have imagined from Foster such a cross between a Bellini aria and *Old Folks at Home*?»<sup>35</sup> This latter is one of Foster’s best known (and most performed) songs; it was included in his *Social Orchestra* with an arrangement for flute and violin.<sup>36</sup>

Looking at some of Bellini’s bars from *Norma*, specifically in the famous aria *Casta Diva*, we note a maximum abstraction of *belcanto* and an intense lyricism.

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<sup>31</sup> From «Musical World», February 25, 1854.

<sup>32</sup> H. Wiley Hitchcock, *The Social Orchestra*, Introduction.

<sup>33</sup> H. Wiley Hitchcock (1923-2007) was influential in advancing the study of American music in the United States and internationally. He was a noted scholar of Charles Ives and Virgil Thomson, and the founder and longtime director of the Institute for Studies in American Music (ISAM; now renamed “H. Wiley Hitchcock Institute for Studies in American Music”) at Brooklyn College, City University of New York. His many publications document his research and other scholarly activities, as well as the work done by ISAM during his tenure as director (1971-1993).

<sup>34</sup> Oscar G.T. Sonneck (1883-1928) was head of the Music Division of the Library of Congress from 1902 to 1917, and as such he created a most significant music library. Since 1915, he was also editor of «The Musical Quarterly». As a writer, he specialized in the history of early American music.

<sup>35</sup> H. Wiley Hitchcock, *The Social Orchestra*, Introduction.

<sup>36</sup> *Old Folks at Home* (also known as *Swanee River*) is a minstrel song written by S.C. Foster in 1851. The song was originally intended to be performed by the New York blackface troupe of Christy’s Minstrels. E.P. Christy, the troupe’s leader, appears on early printings of the sheet music as the song’s creator. Christy had paid Foster to be credited, something Foster himself had suggested but later regretted.



The image shows two pages of a musical score for Vincenzo Bellini's 'Casta Diva'. The left page (measures 62-68) features a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'Ca - sta Di - va, ca - sta Di - va, che i - nar - gen - ti que - sto sa - cro, que - sto sa - cro, que - sto sa - cro, que - sto sa - cro an - ti - cho pi - na - te, a noi vol - gi il bel sem - bian - te, a noi vol - gi a noi vol - gi il bel sem - bian - te, a noi vol - gi a noi vol - gi il bel sem - bian - te'. The right page (measures 63-68) continues the vocal line with lyrics: '... il bel sem - bian - te sen - za nu - bie sen - za vol - ta, Ca - sta Di - va, che i - nar - gen - ti que - sto sa - cro, que - sto sa - cro an - ti - cho pi - na - te, a noi vol - gi il bel sem - bian - te, a noi vol - gi a noi vol - gi il bel sem - bian - te'. The piano part includes markings such as 'dim.', 'amor.', and 'sempre cresc. sino al...'. The score is numbered 44001 at the bottom of each page.

FIG. 11 Vincenzo Bellini, *Norma, Casta Diva*, G. Ricordi, Milano, n.d., Plate 41684, reprinted by G. Schirmer, New York, n.d., Plate 44001.

The image shows the flute part of Vincenzo Bellini's 'Casta Diva', starting at measure 37. The tempo is marked 'Andante moderato assai' and the dynamics are 'SOLO' and 'p'. The score is for the violins, as indicated by '(VIOLINI)'. The music features a melodic line with various ornaments and a 'Lento' section towards the end. The score is numbered 1385 at the bottom.

FIG. 12 Vincenzo Bellini, the flute part of *Casta Diva*, G. Ricordi, Milano, n.d., Plate P. R. 1385.

At the very beginning of *Anadolia*,<sup>37</sup> we will notice the simple melody that opens and closes, which could be considered representative of a typical American theme, characterized by long and nostalgic melodic features that arose from the contact between Native American melodies, Anglo-Saxon hymnody, Irish, English, Scottish popular music<sup>38</sup> and continental European music. The nostalgic atmosphere, a sudden evocation of old memories is created by long phrases and fourth intervals between the main notes of the melody. Many diverse musical cultures were in close touch in the New World, exercising reciprocal influence.

Even in the late nineteenth century we find a European composer like Dvořák, who describing the New World uses long and nostalgic themes (notably in his Symphony No. 9, Op. 95, “*From the New World*,” second movement) then already considered as truly American, and modeled on American folk tunes.<sup>39</sup>

In the twentieth century, Aaron Copland also expressed many considerations on what was genuinely American.<sup>40</sup> Copland himself summons up the melodic world of the pioneers and later immigrants, by quoting and suggesting original American traditional melodies.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See score in Figure 8, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Since his childhood, Foster had been profoundly influenced by the famous Irish and Scott collections of James Johnson’s *Scots Musical Museum* (to which Robert Burns was a primary contributor), George Thomson’s *National Airs*, and Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies*. His beloved sister Charlotte used to sing and accompany herself at the piano when Stephen was a child.

<sup>39</sup> Dvořák was deeply interested in American folk music which he considered a precious source of inspiration for American composers: «The new American school of music must strike its roots deeply into its own soil... There is no longer any reason why young Americans who have talent should go to Europe for their education. It is a waste of money and puts off the coming day when the Western world will be in music, as in many others, independent of other lands... I find good talent here, and I am convinced that when the youth of the country realizes that it is better now to stay home than go abroad we shall discover genius, for many who have talent but cannot undertake foreign residence will be encouraged to pursue their studies here.» About African American music he wrote: «In the negro melodies of America I discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music. They are pathetic, tender, passionate, melancholy, solemn, religious, bold, merry, gay or what you will. It is music that suits itself to any mood or any purpose. There is nothing in the whole age of composition that cannot be supplied with themes from this source». In «Harper’s New Monthly Magazine», February 1895, pp. 429-34. Quoted in Michael Beckerman, *Dvořák and His World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1993, p. 137, and in Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick, The Life and Music of the Pride of New England*, Northeastern University Press, Boston 2012.

<sup>40</sup> Copland presented his ideas and comments about American music and its originality in his 1952 Harvard Lectures: Aaron Copland, *Music and Imagination*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1952; in part. Chapter 5, *Musical Imagination in the Americas*, pp. 78-95; the composer emphasizes the rhythmic sense and imagination as a major source of originality in the music of the Americas (Copland, *Music and Imagination*, pp. 83 ff.).

<sup>41</sup> An evident example of Copland’s use of fourth intervals in creating nostalgic American tunes can be found in his orchestral suite *Appalachian Spring*. The flute and the clarinet lead the evocative melody at the beginning and the conclusion of the suite, evoking the vast American landscape and the pioneer spirit.

OLD FOLKS AT HOME. 3

No. 1.

Right and left.

*f*

*p*

*f*

*p*

Entered according to Act of Congress 1853 by Firth Pond & Co in the Clerk's Office of the Dist. Court of the South Dist. of N.Y.

1932

FIG. 13 Stephen Collins Foster, *Old Folks at Home*, No. 1 of *Quadrilles for Piano*, Firth Pond and Co., New York 1853.



**OLD FOLKS QUADRILLES.** 67

**No. 1. Old Folks at Home.** Arranged by S. C. FOSTER

The image shows a page of a musical score for 'Old Folks at Home'. It is arranged for a string quartet. The score is written in 2/4 time and G major. It consists of three systems of music. The first system includes staves for 1st Violin (Right and Left), Flute, 2d Violin, and Bass. The second system continues the 1st Violin and Flute parts, with dynamics marked 'p'. The third system continues the 2d Violin and Bass parts, also with dynamics marked 'p'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

FIG. 14 Stephen Collins Foster, *Old Folks Quadrilles: No. 1, Old Folks at Home*, in *The Social Orchestra*, New York 1854.

In *Anadolia*, as pointed out by H.W. Hitchcock and previously mentioned in this article (p. 13), Foster is able, in the reminiscences on *Old Folks at Home* that he reworked in *Anadolia*, to combine the grace of *belcanto* with the simplicity of an Ethiopian melody written for the Christy's Minstrels. When Foster composed *Anadolia* for *The Social Orchestra* collection, *Old Folks at Home* had already been arranged in more than one version, which indicated its popularity and also the importance it had for the composer.

The "Ethiopian Melody" version for Christy's Minstrels (AKA *Swanee River/Ribber/Riber*) is the original in sheet music format (1851). *Old Folks at Home Variations* date back from the same year.

FIG. 15 Stephen Collins Foster, *Old Folks at Home--With Variations*, in *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854.

In 1853 Foster composed the *Quadrilles* for piano; *Old Folks at Home* is No. 1 of the series of four. Finally, he wrote two arrangements for *The Social Orchestra* (1854): a version for solo flute or violin (Fig. 15) and a *Quadrille* for first and second violin, flute and bass (Fig.14).



Since, as we have seen, when Foster included this melody in *The Social Orchestra*, *Old Folks at Home* had already been differently arranged for several occasions, as a consequence it had taken on various genre and style traits, according to the freedom that characterizes songs whose celebrity endows them with a sort of independent life.

Also, the success of *Old Folks at Home* is demonstrated by the fact that other composers wrote variations on this popular tune; for example, as early as in 1853, John F. Petrie published *Introduction and Brilliant Variations on the Popular Melody Old Folks at Home* for piano.<sup>42</sup>

With *Anadolia*, Foster was able to merge two musical styles in one piece of music. Without any kind of evident contrast, the composer successfully draws from two opposite worlds: he integrates two different musical dimensions, that H.W. Hitchcock defined the “vernacular” and the “cultivated” tradition.<sup>43</sup>

The combination of genres and diverse traditions characterizes many American composers; as pointed out earlier, even Copland draws from different sources. However, the composer who most distinctively synthesizes different, even contrasting musical influences is Charles E. Ives.<sup>44</sup> His works contain New England church hymns, Foster songs as well as the complexities of classical European harmony. Ives is considered the most extraordinary and significant American composer of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The score is available online on the Library of Congress website, Digital Collections: <http://www.loc.gov/resource/sm1853.740860#seq-1>.

<sup>43</sup> H.W. Hitchcock explains the distinction between the vernacular and cultivated tradition, in H.W. Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, Preface, p. ix.

<sup>44</sup> Charles Edward Ives (Danbury, CT 1874 - New York 1954) was an innovative and experimental composer who was able to merge the diverse traditions of European art music, church music and American vernacular music in highly original compositions. Among his works: *Four Symphonies*, *Piano Sonata No. 2*, “*Concord, Mass.*” (ca. 1916-1919; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1947), *Three Quarter-Tone Pieces* for two pianos (1924), *The Unanswered Question* (1906, rev. 1934) and *114 Songs* (published 1922). Thanks to his father George, an extravagant bandmaster who experimented with dissonance and polytonality, and an influential figure in the composer’s musical education, Ives grew up with an open-minded attitude towards music and musical thought. He completed his studies at Yale (1894-1898) under the guidance of Horatio Parker (1863-1919). After graduation, he decided to follow a business career and to compose in his spare time, so that he could be free to develop a highly personal musical style, independently of external influence and limitation. For further reading, see J. Peter Burkholder, *Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1985, and Jan Swafford, *Charles Ives: A Life with Music*, W.W. Norton, New York 1996.

<sup>45</sup> H.W. Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, p. 149. About Ives’s works Hitchcock wrote: «Drawing on both the cultivated and vernacular traditions, offered the possibility of a new synthesis.» Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, p. 131. Also, J. Peter Burkholder wrote «During his career as a performer and composer, Ives worked in four separate and distinct musical traditions and eventually synthesized them all». In J. Peter Burkholder, Ed., *Charles Ives and His World*, Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 3.



FIG. 16 Stephen Collins Foster, *Old Folks at Home*, sheet music version, Firth Pond and Co., New York 1851.

The excerpt in Fig. 16 shows the first, original version of *Old Folks at Home* (1851), written for the Christy's Minstrels shows. This song is characterized by a predictable harmonic sequence that makes it easy to sing and remember the melody. Its popularity was due to the fresh, spontaneous simplicity of the melodic line, and to the moving lyrics filled with nostalgia for a long gone era. In addition, the composer relies on the common and collective memory evoked by *Old Folks at Home*. This distinctive melodic character is noticeable in many of Foster's songs.<sup>46</sup> As first pointed out by Wilfrid Mellers,<sup>47</sup> Foster introduced the sentimental feeling of his household songs into the minstrel shows genre.

There are evident similarities between *Anadolia* and *Old Folks at Home*: the melodic line, the repetitive pattern, typical of popular songs, the clarity and a heart-warming quality. However, Foster gives a refined operatic halo to the features of *Anadolia*. For example, the rhythmic complexities (use of triplets and fast passages), the use of several kinds of embellishments and his writing style suggest dynamic expressiveness even if not explicitly noted in the score.

Also, the composer includes many neighbouring and passing notes between the main tones of the melodies to establish better connections and create flowing melodies that amateurs could enjoy. In this connection, it is important to keep in mind that the two pieces figure in the same collection (Fig. 8 and Fig. 15) and they were especially destined to non-professional musicians. In *The Social Orchestra*, Foster creates a synthesis of the melodies and the repertoire that were fashionable in North America in that time period.

<sup>46</sup> This particular character can be found both in his minstrel songs (such as *My Old Kentucky Home* and *Camptown Races*) and in his parlor songs (such as *Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair* and *Hard Times Come Again No More*).

<sup>47</sup> W. Mellers, *Music in a New Found Land*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1965, p. 249. Also mentioned in H.W. Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, p. 115.

Furthermore, the tunes of *Old Folks at Home* and *Anadolia* share the intervals of thirds and fourths. In both, Foster confirms the key by inserting chord notes (B flat and D major, see Fig. 8 and Fig. 16) thus granting a feeling of security to the ears of the audience.

The chord progression, mostly I-IV-I-V, follows a pattern that is easy to catch and allows improvisation. In fact, these songs were written with an underlying idea of improvisational nature.<sup>48</sup> For instance, in *Old Folks at Home* the strophic form (three verses and a chorus) leaves room for instruments (usually a flute or a violin) to improvise freely between the verses and/or after the chorus.<sup>49</sup>

The amateur chamber music practice of the time was to get together and play, with the available instruments, in order to have an entertaining evening.<sup>50</sup> Musical extemporization is a typical trait of all *Social Orchestra* melodies and generally of all Foster's songs. This practice encourages the musicians to be creative and grants them the opportunity to play and enrich existing songs with new-found musical elements.

The opening theme of *Anadolia* is particularly evocative and imaginative. The simple melodic line soars up with the sixteenth notes and then hovers in the air as if uncovering an evocation of an imaginary landscape. The melody embodies Romantic characteristics: it is soothing with features that inspire feelings of homey tranquility as well as a vision of the American landscape.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> For improvisational practice in 19<sup>th</sup>-century American household and parlor music, see Nicholas E. Tawa, *High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans, 1800-1861*, Northeastern University Press, Boston 2000, in part. the chapter *Amateur Music Making at Home*, pp. 142-175. The scholar explores diaries, chronicles and correspondence of this time period, where reference is made to the use of the flute and violin, in non-professional approach to musical performance, and in a music making whose relationship with the written page is imaginative and free.

<sup>49</sup> It is worth mentioning the performance of Thomas Hampson with the Jay Ungar Trio 1994 Pittsburgh of Foster's songs. The instruments, usually a violin and a flute, introduce the songs and recreate the melodies themes dialoging with the singer before the other instruments join in. Hampson and the Jay Ungar Trio released a CD in 1992: *American Dreamer: Songs of Stephen Foster*. In addition, a most significant historically informed recording in connection with improvisation practice is: *Songs by Stephen Foster*; Jan DeGaetani, Leslie Guinn, Gilbert Kalish and others; recorded June 1976 with period instruments (piano, melodeon, flute, piccolo, keyed bugle, and violin) at the Smithsonian Institution, Division of Musical Instruments, Washington, D.C., and released on vinyl later the same year; Nonesuch 1987.

<sup>50</sup> « [...] In the nineteenth century parlor, music's purpose was more social than artistic, and touching the heart was among the highest social purposes of all. Composers and arrangers [...] were far more concerned with the feeling of players and listeners than with any concept of artistic originality or integrity.» R. Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History*, Chapter 12: *Home Music Making and the Publishing Industry*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York/London 2001, pp. 237-238.

<sup>51</sup> The American wilderness strongly influenced the nineteenth century artists, who have expressed its characteristics in their works of art. In particular, the Hudson River School painters made the American wilderness their favorite model and inspirational muse. Many other poets, naturalists and musicians such as Walt Whitman, William Cullen Bryant, Henry D. Thoreau, John J. Audubon, and Anthony Ph. Heinrich were charmed by its powerful beauty and evoked it in their works.

The primary theme is based on an arpeggio in B-flat, the melody line which leads one to speculate whether Sigmund Romberg might not have heard it before composing the *Serenade* in *The Student Prince*.<sup>52</sup> The second phrase opens with the same melody but develops in a more technically challenging way and is very flowery.

The principal melody of *Anadolia* is varied with several embellishments: the nostalgic opening theme is combined with a virtuosity typical of *belcanto*. However, the first theme never disappears and proves to be very distinctive; its repetition, transformations and variations continue throughout the whole piece, contributing strongly to its identity.

This tune is deeply rooted in the American spirit, giving a feeling of simple optimism. After the grand pause, long ascending arpeggios that swoop quickly from d' to d''' are followed by a series of grace notes that offer the artist a chance for the cadenza.

In the same collection, placed between a Donizetti and a Mozart tune, we find another interesting melody for flute or violin: *Irene*. This simple tune, in 1858, was reworked by the composer into a Romantic song called *Linger in Blissful Repose* where the tunefulness and pathos of the Celtic tradition can be appreciated.



FIG. 17 Stephen Collins Foster, *Irene*, in *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854.

<sup>52</sup> Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, pp. 63-64.



FIG. 18 Stephen Collins Foster, *Linger in Blissful Repose*, Firth, Pond & Co., New York 1858, Cover Page.



3

Lin - - ger in blissful re - pose, Free from all sor.row\_ing care love,

While round thee melo\_dy flows, Waft - - ed on pinions of air love.

Let not thy visions de - part, Lured by the stars that are beaming,

Mu - - sic will flow from my heart While thy sweet spirit is dreaming.

4414

FIG. 19 Stephen Collins Foster, *Linger in Blissful Repose*, Firth, Pond & Co., New York 1858, p. 3.

Another American musician who did much to popularize the flute was the nineteenth-century orchestral and accompanying flutist John A. Kyle.<sup>53</sup> He played the flute as an obbligato instrument for the soprano voice, thus continuing a practice begun a hundred years before by Wendling in Mannheim.<sup>54</sup> Kyle was among the first to introduce this practice in the U.S. John Kyle was the accompanying flutist of two famous singers, Jenny Lind<sup>55</sup> (1850-1852) and Henriette Sontag<sup>56</sup> (1852-1854).

Due to its peculiar characteristics, the flute has often been combined with soprano voice. The operatic example par excellence is the “Mad Scene” in Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*. The soprano heroine and the flute engage in an intense and moving dialogue; it is one of the masterpieces of the flute-voice combination.<sup>57</sup>

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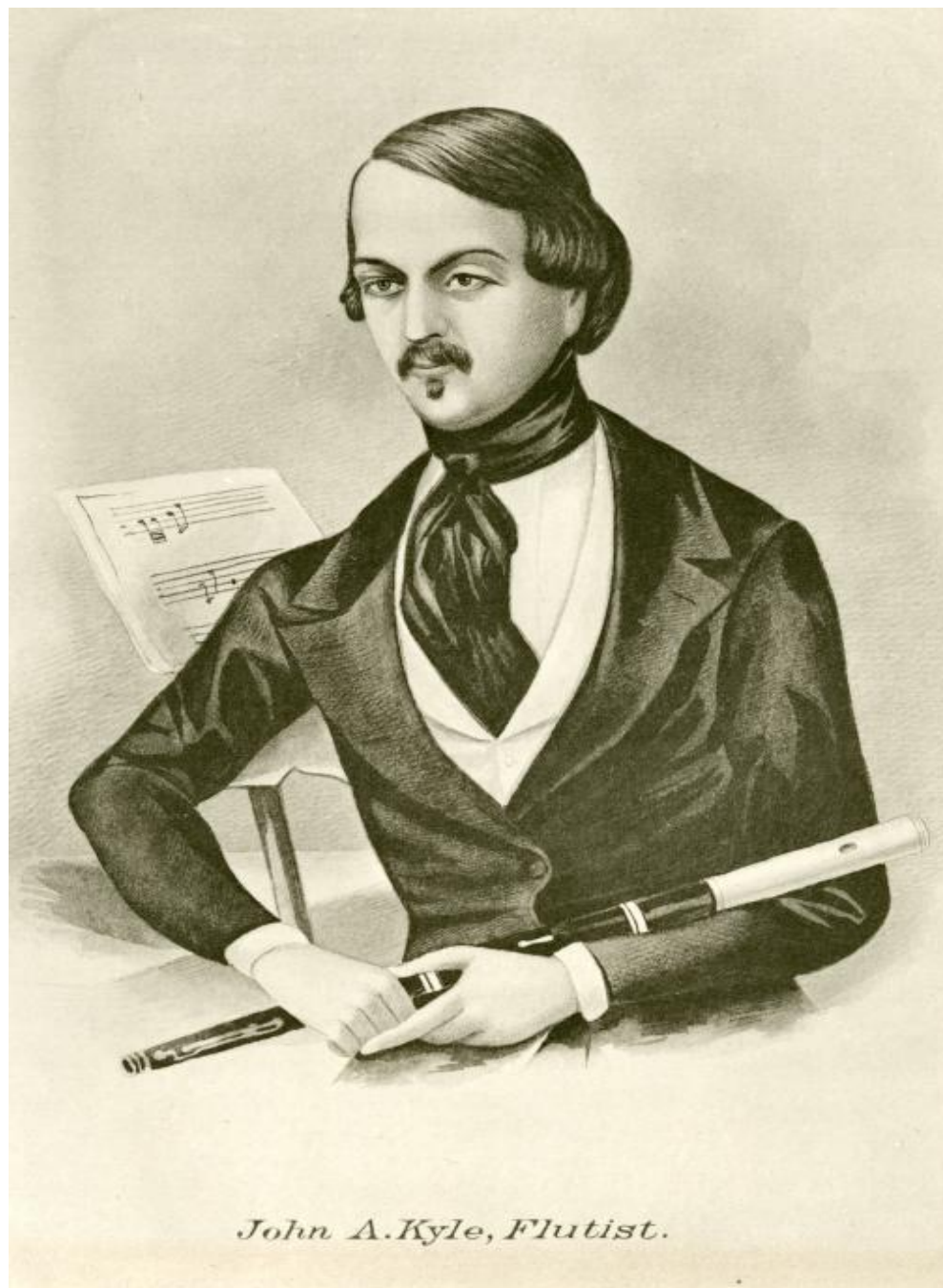
<sup>53</sup> John A. Kyle (c. 1810-1870) was an influential American virtuoso flutist. For many years a member of the New York Opera and Philharmonic Society, Kyle was selected to accompany Jenny Lind in her tour of the United States in 1850. After that he traveled with another singer of the time, Catharine Haynes. Immediately thereafter, he became a soloist of the Sontag Concert in New York. For further reading, see Paul H. Giroux, *The History of the Flute and its Music in the United States*, p. 69.

<sup>54</sup> This practice was born in Mannheim where flute obbligati were conspicuously played in 1751 by J.B. Wendling, who subsequently became first flutist of the Mannheim orchestra from 1754 to 1800. In 1751 he played an obbligato for the celebrated operatic soprano Dorothy Spurni whom he later married; they continued to perform together. The combination pleased music patrons and was successful with audiences in general. For more details on this topic, see Louis Fleury, *The Flute and Flutists in the French Art of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, «Musical Quarterly» 9:531, October 1923.

<sup>55</sup> Johanna Maria Lind (1820-1887), better known as Jenny Lind, was a Swedish soprano born in Stockholm. She excelled in Donizetti roles as well as in recital programs from opera and Lieder. She widely performed in Europe and in the years 1850-1852, promoted by P.T. Barnum, she most successfully toured the United States from New York to New Orleans, with great resonance in the press. She was a legendary interpreter of the *belcanto* repertoire, in particular of Donizetti.

<sup>56</sup> Henriette Sontag (1806-1854) was a German operatic soprano. She debuted in Prague in 1820 and in the following years she premiered vocal roles in important compositions by Weber and Beethoven. In Paris, she was renowned for her performances of Italian opera, and toured the United States in 1852. She excelled in Rossini and Bellini roles. For further reading on the American musical scene, see Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: Reverberations, 1850-56; Vol. 2: New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1995-1999.

<sup>57</sup> Such old custom was parodied by Britten in his opera *Midsummer Night’s Dream* in the Pyramus and Thisbe scene. The comic performance of *Pyramus and Thisbe* by the rustics at the final wedding takes on an added dimension as a take-off of nineteenth century Italian opera. Thisbe’s lament, accompanied by obbligato flute, is a parody of Donizetti’s “Mad Scene.” Thisbe sings along with the flute, conversing with it in a crude and elementary way, and creating a spoof of the traditional opera practice. This scene was criticized by the English music critic and editor of «Opera» magazine Harold D. Rosenthal who attended the last performance of the opera in Aldeburgh on June 24, 1960. In the autumn issue of the magazine he wrote: «Two weaknesses have, I think, made themselves apparent in the performances this summer, the use of a counter-tenor for Oberon [...] The other weakness is possibly in the music of the Pyramus and Thisbe scene, which in itself is not particularly funny in its attempts to parody various forms of opera. Its success was due far more from the singing-actors. Take away Peter Pears, Owen Brannigan and company, and I fear it may not be so funny by half.» Quoted in P. Reed, M. Cooke, *Letters from a Life: the Selected Letters of Benjamin Britten, 1913-1976*, Boydell Press, Suffolk, England 2010, p. 234.



**FIG. 20** A portrait of John A. Kyle (c. 1810-1870) with his flute, from the Joseph Muller Collection of Music, New York Public Library Digital Gallery.



With reference to this same fashion of *belcanto* in North America, Stephen Collins Foster composed miniature duets and trios based on his *Social Orchestra* rearrangements of pieces from Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia*. As we have seen, this practice was not unique to him, and it demonstrates the appreciation and large popularity of Donizetti's work in America at the time.

Such miniature medleys also offered the opportunity for non-professional musicians (flutists, violinists and pianists) to play some of their beloved opera melodies on several occasions, both at home and in social gatherings. In addition, these pieces, in their simplicity, were reminiscent of the role of the flute in combination with the operatic soprano voice.

**GEMS FROM LUCIA. No. 1.**  
FINALE. DONIZETTI.

Moderate.

*p*

Rall.

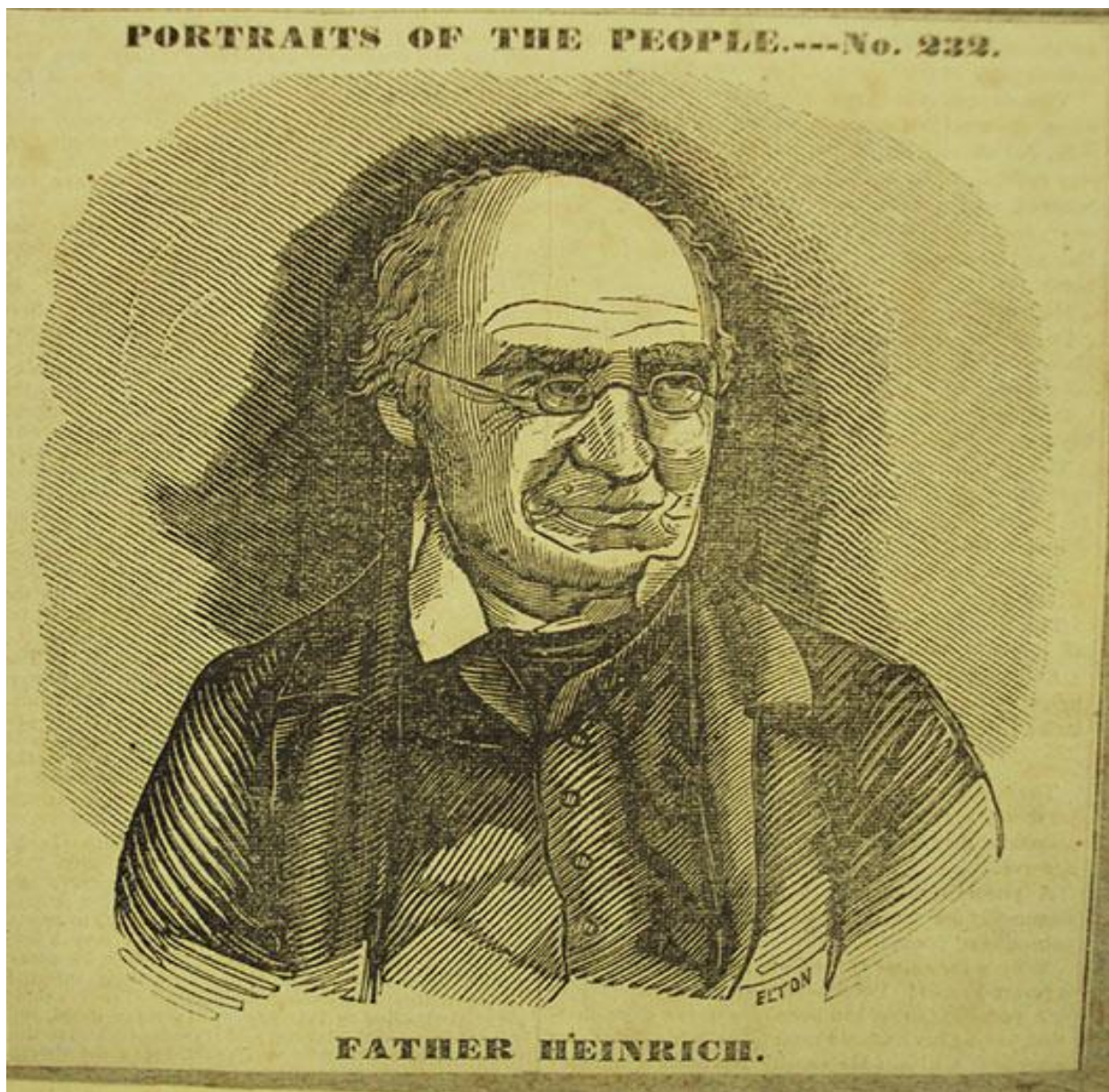
FIG. 21 Stephen Collins Foster, *Gems from Lucia*, in *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854, p. 34.

**GEMS FROM LUCIA. No. 1. Concluded.** 35

The image shows a page of musical notation for a piano piece titled "GEMS FROM LUCIA. No. 1. Concluded." on page 35. The score is arranged in four systems, each with a treble and bass clef for the piano accompaniment and a single staff for the flute or violin. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The first system begins with a "Tempo." marking. The second system features dynamic markings of *f* and *p*. The third system includes a "Cres." marking. The fourth system concludes with *f* and *p* markings. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs.

FIG. 22 Stephen Collins Foster, *Gems from Lucia*, in *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, New York 1854, p. 35.





**FIG. 23** Anthony Ph. Heinrich, in an etching taken from the composer's *Scrapbook*, The Library of Congress Music Division, Washington, DC, p. 1196. The image was glued to the program of Heinrich's melo-drama *The Child of the Mountain: Or, The Deserted Mother*, performed at the Walnut Street Theatre of Philadelphia on April 7, 1821.

Another earlier example of the practice of flute combined with voice are three songs—*The Musical Bachelor*, *Sensibility* and *Sensibility's Child*—by Anthony Philip Heinrich<sup>58</sup> published in 1820 in his Opus. 1, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky: Or, The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature*.<sup>59</sup> Anthony Philip Heinrich, who came from Bohemia, was America's first—and unquestionably most enthusiastic—Romantic nationalist in music. H. Wiley Hitchcock pointed out that «intoxicated with the natural grandeur of the New World, fascinated with the history of his adopted revolutionary country, enchanted with the American Indian as “noble savage,” and above all eager to be called an “American Musician,” he poured out hundreds of pieces of the most extravagantly bizarre Romantic programmatism.»<sup>60</sup> A large part of Heinrich's compositions were based on American subject matter.

The three mentioned songs are the only ones from *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky* that include flute accompaniment. It is important to specify that *Sensibility's Child* does not actually include the flute in its score. However, it provides an interesting example of how this instrument might have been employed at the time in the musical texture.

In addition, since the piece is printed in the collection of Heinrich's Opus. 1, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky: Or, The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature* (p. 100), immediately after *Sensibility* (pp. 97-100) and it is scored with a certain degree of approximation, we could view its characteristics as an open invitation to play it with the freedom of improvisation, both in the composer's lifetime and today, in a historically informed performance.<sup>61</sup>

In these songs the flute is used as an alternative or an embellishment to the soprano voice. Due to the high pitch range of both, they are always quite close, creating a dialogue. The flute could be considered as a second voice that enriches the melodic line and harmonic texture of the music.

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<sup>58</sup> Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861) was a composer of German-Bohemian birth. The adopted son of a wealthy uncle, he inherited property and a prospering business. However, his entire inheritance disintegrated in the Napoleonic wars and the ensuing Austrian financial crash of 1811. Following a business venture in the United States, he decided to stay and embark on a musical career. Although he had studied violin and piano in his youth, he was essentially self-taught. Nevertheless he became a dominant figure in music of the mid-nineteenth century. He began composing at the age of 36, while living in solitude in a log cabin in Kentucky. He was known as “Father Heinrich.” For further reading, see William Treat Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America*, AMS Press, New York 1967. See also David Barron, *Anthony Philip Heinrich*, *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (6th edition), ed. Stanley Sadie, Macmillan, London 1978.

<sup>59</sup> *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky* was the first collection of Heinrich's works. It contains several songs, pieces for piano, violin, and for various chamber music ensembles. The collection was printed in Philadelphia in 1820.

<sup>60</sup> Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, facsimile edition with an introduction by H. Wiley Hitchcock, Da Capo Press, New York 1972.

<sup>61</sup> For further considerations on this topic, see p. 41 of this article.



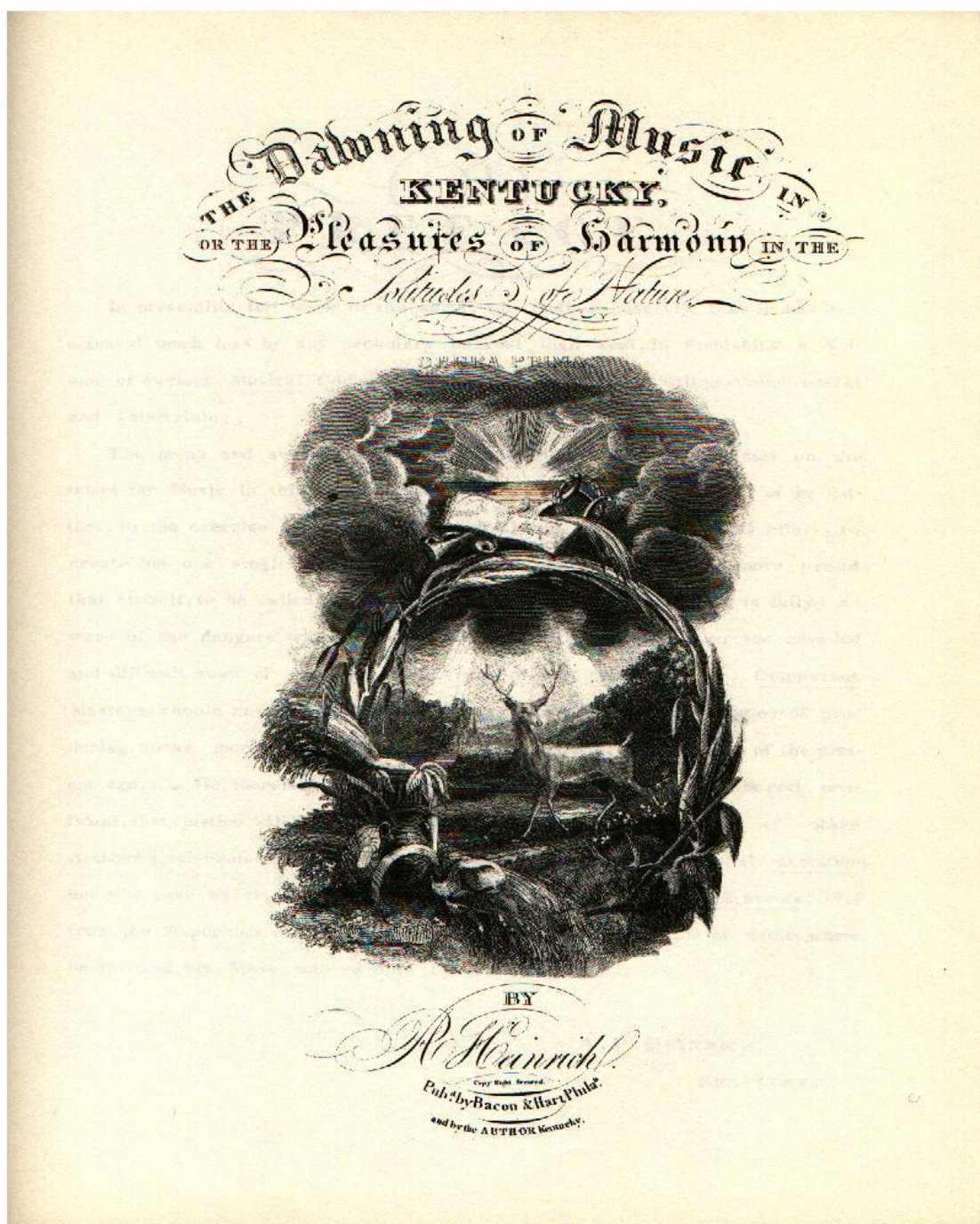


FIG. 24 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, Title Page.

67

**THE**  
**MUSICAL BACHELOR.**  
*The Poetry by*  
*A Gentleman of Kentucky*  
 THE MUSIC COMPOSED FOR THE  
**Piano Forte**  
 WITH AN ACCOMPANIMENT FOR THE FLUTE OR VIOLIN,  
 AND DEDICATED TO HIS FRIEND  
*J. R. Black*  
 OF SHELBYVILLE, BY  
**A. P. HEINRICH.**

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FOR THE PIANO FORTE AND VOICE.



I would not wed the fair - est lass, That ev - er sway'd on beau - ty's  
 throne, Un - less her heart like mir - ror'd glass, My ev - ry feel - ing, pas - sion, alone.

FIG. 25 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Musical Bachelor*, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, p. 67.

In *The Musical Bachelor*, the flute introduces the vocal theme and closes the melodic flow of notes as if it were the narrator of a story. The three songs are true theatrical miniatures.



*The Musical Bachelor* was dedicated to James R. Black, a young student of Bardstown who motivated Heinrich to write music. He was remembered by the author himself in a note attached to the manuscript of his setting of Collin's ode, *How Sleep The Brave*.<sup>62</sup>

68

THE MUSICAL BACHELOR.

ALLEGRETTO ANCI.

Flauto.

PIANO FORTE.

CANTO.

I would not wed the

FIG. 26 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Musical Bachelor*, Flute and piano introduction to the voice, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, p. 68.

<sup>62</sup> «In the spring of 1818, J.R. Black, a young student of Bardstown, Kentucky, attracted by my well known seclusion in a retired loghouse interrupted my studious application on the violin, by desiring me to adjust the following ode from Collins to music. I took pencil and instantaneously reciprocated with the present melody which in fact became the basis of all my after efforts.» Anthony Philip Heinrich, quoted in William Treat Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America*, pp. 40-43.



The title and the lyrics, written by an anonymous “gentleman of Kentucky,” revolve around the linguistic pun of “musical bachelor” as gracefully explained in the song’s text:

I would not wed the fairest lass,  
 That ever swayed on beauty’s throne;  
 Unless her heart like mirror’d glass,  
 My every feeling, passion shone. [...]

I would not wed, else perfect being,  
 If she but wanted music taste;  
 To it I would forever be fleeing,  
 And find at home a dreary waste.<sup>63</sup>

The main character of the young musician in search of his soul mate may have been James R. Black himself, the dedicatee of the song.

From the very first bars of the piece, it is evident how finely articulated and gracefully written this music is. The ensemble is well balanced and the three instruments weave a simple and flowing dialogue.

It is noticeable in these musical excerpts how much more technically complex Heinrich’s musical writing is, compared to that of the collections available at the time. His music requires technical and interpretive musical skills. The flutist is expected to play three octaves of the instrument reaching up to g<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>63</sup> Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Musical Bachelor*, pp. 68-69, lines from verses 1-4.

69

fair - est lass, That ev - er sway'd on beau - ty's throne; Un -

delect - less her heart like mir - roir'd glass, My ev - ery feel - ing, pas - sion,

shone.

FIG. 27 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Musical Bachelor*, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, p. 69.



FIG. 28 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *The Musical Bachelor*, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, p. 70.

Although Heinrich's musical language at first glance appears to be essentially that of central Europe, upon closer examination one notes that his music could have been influenced by Native American and African American music.

There is evidence that Heinrich came in contact with these cultures. In the introduction to his orchestral work *Pushmataha* (1831), he tells us about his encounter with the Natives and "the peculiar circumstances" under which the composition was born.<sup>64</sup> Due to his romantic and eclectic temperament, he probably integrated the melodic qualities of the "exotic" cultures into his work. These features can be traced even in these first songs. Thus, analyzing the melody we note some distinctive characteristics that do not usually appear in continental European chamber music of the period. For instance, the ornaments do not follow the standard patterns, but instead they are very irregular and almost independent of the melodies (Fig. 27). This could have been an influence of the Native American oral chanting tradition, as well as other folk traditions. Heinrich's pieces are often very rich in flowery embellishments and leave room for improvisation.<sup>65</sup>

The oral chanting tradition has fascinated Western composers since the first encounters between the two cultures. The main characteristics of the Native chanting are dissonance, use of micro-intervals, lack of correspondence to European intonation, and rhythmic freedom.<sup>66</sup> In other works of Heinrich's it is observable the presence of such features. For instance, in the first movement of the orchestral piece *Pushmataha*, the composer employs the flute and the drums to recreate the sound of Native music. The flute part is

<sup>64</sup> «The Author composed the Fantasia under peculiar circumstances, which have given it great Wildness.» From Heinrich's Introduction to the manuscript of *Pushmataha: A Venerable Chief of a Western Tribe of Indians*, The Heinrich Collection, The Library of Congress Music Division, Washington, DC.

<sup>65</sup> Heinrich was deeply interested in the Native American and African American cultures. He composed many orchestral pieces on Native American subject and he introduced, in some of his works, several rhythmical patterns of the African American music (see, for example, *The Banjo Quickstep* for pianoforte). The Native-American inspired pieces—such as *The Mastodon: A Grand Symphony in Three Parts for Full Orchestra* (c. 1845) and *Pushmataha* (1831)—contain musical impressions of the Native world.

<sup>66</sup> For further reading, see Victoria Lindsay Levine, *Writing American Indian Music: Historic Transcriptions, Notations, and Arrangements*, American Musicological Society, A-R Editions, Middleton, WI 2002: *Reading American Indian Music as Social History*, pp. XIX-XXXVIII.

characterized by a free-flowing structure, a rhapsodic line, nonetheless well integrated with the other instruments. Also, in the third movement of his Grand Symphony *The Mastodon* (1845), Heinrich attempts to recreate micro-intervals by overlapping tonalities and leaving the tonality undefined.<sup>67</sup> The composer suggests an atmosphere without quoting directly from original traditional music.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the piece 'Pushmataha' by Anthony Philip Heinrich. The score is written for 33 instruments, as indicated by the title 'A Fantasia for 33 Instruments'. The instruments listed on the left include Flauto (Flute), Flauto II (Flute II), Flauto III (Flute III), Oboe, Clarinetto in Bb (Clarinet in B-flat), Corneo di Bassotto (Bassoon), Fagotti (Bassoons), Leggero o Contrabasso (Double Bass), Tromboni Alto, Tenore e Basso (Trumpets in Alto, Tenor, and Bass), Corni in Eb (Horns in E-flat), Trombe in Eb (Trombones in E-flat), Violino I (Violin I), Violino II (Violin II), Viola, Violoncello (Violoncello), Contrabbasso (Double Bass), Tamburi (Drums), and Timpani. The score is written in a single system with multiple staves. The tempo is marked 'Andante' and the time signature is 9/8. The piece is titled 'Pushmataha' and is part of a collection of 33 instruments. The manuscript is aged and shows some wear.

FIG. 29 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *Pushmataha: Or, A Fantasia for 33 Instruments*, Vol. 1, p. 9, Heinrich Collection, Library of Congress Music Division, Washington, DC.

<sup>67</sup> The examples provided refer to the 37-volume Collection of Heinrich's manuscripts at the Library of Congress Music Division, Washington, DC.





**FIG. 30** Anthony Philip Heinrich, *Sensibility and Sensibility's Child*, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, Cover Page.

Returning to the three pieces from Heinrich's Opus 1, we will now point out that *Sensibility* is scored for two voices, piano and flute. The flute is used more as a flowery embellishment than in *The Musical Bachelor*, where this instrument is more engaged in a dialogue with the voice and the piano. Here, instead, the second voice moves almost always in an isorhythmic way with the first voice. Thus, the role of the flute is mainly to supply textural enrichment.

The two songs *Sensibility* and *Sensibility's Child* were dedicated to Mary Speed, the daughter of Heinrich's friend judge John Speed of Farmington, Kentucky.<sup>68</sup> Miss Speed was a young poet and talented musician, whom Heinrich celebrates in the second song as the virtuous daughter of the goddess Sensibility.

The author invokes a personification of Sensibility in the first song<sup>69</sup> and then he sees the goddess' virtues reflected in Mary Speed's noble soul. Let us read a passage from the lyrics of *Sensibility's Child*:

Yes, Mary! Each beauty discloses so true,  
 Your affection, for all that is tender and mild,  
 That the Bard must indulge in this tribute to you,  
 And exult, that he's found, Sensibility's Child.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For further information about the Speed family, see William Treat Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America*, p. 43.

<sup>69</sup> «Sensibility, stay, O! Forever be mine, While a throb in my bosom can own your control; O! live in the heart that has bled at your shrine.»

<sup>70</sup> *Sensibility's Child*, p. 100.

97

## SENSIBILITY,

HARMONIZED FOR TWO VOICES, THE PIANO FORTE, AND FLUTE ;  
( THE SECOND VOICE AND FLUTE AD LIBITUM. )

Flute.

1<sup>st</sup> Voice.

2<sup>d</sup> Voice.

PIANO FORTE.

POCO ADAGIO, CON DOLCE MANIERA.

legato.

8 va

GRAZ.

R

Sensibil = i = ty, stay, O! for ev = er be mine, While a throb in my  
bo = = som can own = = your control ;

FIG. 31 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *Sensibility*, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, p. 97.



As previously noted,<sup>71</sup> the allowance for improvisation is particularly evident in the score of *Sensibility's Child*, where there is no specification of what instruments should be used. Recalling the use of the flute in the score of *Sensibility*, we can assume an implicit improvised presence of the flute in this score as well, with interesting results.<sup>72</sup>

S E N S I B I L I T Y ' S C H I L D .

ANDANTINO.  
AFFETUOSO.

fl

viola

fl+vl

Say dearly lov'd Mary O! may not the Bard Pre=sume thus to

hail you as one of the few Who soar above millions in heav=en's re=

fl

fl+vl

=gard And heav=en di=rec = = ted a heaven pursue (a heaven pursue.)

FIG. 32 Anthony Philip Heinrich, *Sensibility's Child*, in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, Philadelphia 1820, p. 100.

<sup>71</sup> See above, p. 30.

<sup>72</sup> Heinrich's songs *The Musical Bachelor*, *Sensibility*, and *Sensibility's Child* were interpreted with improvised accompaniment of flute and viola in a recording by the Trio Storz-Manescalchi-Poggesi done on the occasion of the first modern performance of these pieces at the University of Florence in the spring of 2008. The performance was one of many events organized by ICAMus, The International Center for American Music [www.icamus.org](http://www.icamus.org) in Professor Aloma Bardi's classes. This interpretation attempted to catch the composer's spirit by enriching the musical texture of the song, so that it could acquire grace and importance; in addition, its improvisational aspects were emphasized. Under Aloma Bardi's supervision, many early American compositions were studied and publicly performed by students and professors working together on historically informed performance at the University of Florence in the years 2006-2011.



Anthony Philip Heinrich included the flute in many of his orchestral works. He was an eclectic composer who experimented with various instruments. The flute played a particularly important role in his production, and was the mainstay of the woodwind section, often carrying the melody alone.

He used the flute to create diverse atmospheres, and to outline various descriptions, from the Native world to condors fighting in the air.<sup>73</sup> Heinrich was called by his biographer, William Treat Upton, a “true orchestral colorist.”<sup>74</sup>

In conclusion, the flute was a very significant instrument in early American music. It was used in different ways, enhancing and even substituting for different sounds and realities, sometimes drawing from classical European music, sometimes mimicking the voice and sometimes outlining sound-images of the New World. The atmosphere created in the early flute literature was soon characterized by a distinctive gracefulness, as shown in the examples presented.

A large body of manuscript orchestral pieces dating back from the early nineteenth century—and widely employing the flute in the score—is just beginning to be explored; these studies will eventually lead to a better charting of the territory of early flute music in the United States.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> The Native world was described in *Pushmataha: A Venerable Chief of a Western Tribe of Indians* (1855), and *The Mastodon: A Grand Symphony in Three parts for Full Orchestra* (ca. 1845). See also an example of descriptive music in *The Ornithological Combat of Kings: Or, the Condor of the Andes and the Eagle of the Cordilleras* (c. 1847).

<sup>74</sup> William Treat Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America*, p. 239.

<sup>75</sup> The originality of the early pieces was further developed over the following centuries. The most significant modern American composers who have written highly original music for this instrument include Aaron Copland, John Cage, Elliott Carter, Ernest Bloch, Henry Cowell and Vivian Fine. Among their works, see in particular: Ernest Bloch, *Concertino* for flute, viola and piano (1951); Elliott Carter, *Scrivo in vento*, for solo flute (1989); Vivian Fine, *Emily's Images*, for flute and piano (1987) and *The Flicker* for solo flute (1973); Aaron Copland, *Duo* (1971) and *Vocalise* (1972) for flute and piano. Still today a large number of composers continue to write music for the flute. Currently American flutists are very active and continue a well-established tradition with the strong support of the National Flute Association (NFA). The National Flute Association, founded in 1972, is the largest flute organization in the world. The association counts approximately 6,000 members from more than 50 countries. The members work together online, at conventions, in forums, through publications, classrooms and performances to promote flute music, its literature and its performance. For further information regarding the National Flute Association, see <http://www.nfaonline.org>. To fully appreciate and understand many modern compositions it is extremely important to look at the early flute literature, which has provided many diverse sources of inspiration for later music.

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Second Edition, Expanded & Revised: 21 January 2014.

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