'VOICES OF ALL THE NATIONS':

Strauss, Saint-Saëns, Scriabin, and the American Concert Tour at the *Fin de Siècle*



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Doctor of Philosophy in Music (Musicology)
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ABSTRACT

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From the 1880s to the First World War, some of Europe's most eminent composers were invited to the United States to conduct and perform. Almost invariably, American audiences, critics, and musicians experienced these visits as major cultural events, influencing contemporary discussion about the future of art, the nature of American concert life, and its relationship to that in Europe. In defining their relationship to a musical Other, American critics helped fashion a national musical Self.

This dissertation documents, for the first time, the tours of Strauss (1904), Saint-Saëns (1906), and Scriabin (1907), and adds to the growing literature on music economics and the changing social status of performers. The critical reception of these tours also demonstrates a complex American understanding of its European heritage, adapted by commentators to their own ends. The success of Strauss intersects with the end of Gilded-Age aestheticism and, I argue, a deliberate 're-masculinisation' of the artistic sphere. To understand Saint-Saëns's visit, I explore evolutionary methodologies in music history and a national enthusiasm for cultural acquisition. In discussing the relative failure of Scriabin, I address enduring racial and gendered prejudice. Each tour introduces a variety of critical issues. Considered together, they demonstrate how Americans, reckoning with their European heritage, treated that relationship as a way of articulating the Self. Critics saw America's future in its synthesis of the best elements of the Old World. In affirming the virtues of European art, critics deliberately positioned American music as its eventual heir.

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Prof. Simon McVeigh, Goldsmiths, University of London

For my parents
and for theirs

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

> The triumphs of our own land in music, like most of our artistic triumphs, lie in the future, if anywhere. If we were all made of unmixed English blood, we might have long to wait for them. Moreover the material successes must come first. If you choose the picked young men of each college class and send them out on railroads art must wait, or if a man of commanding genius give half his energies to the building of steam engines and only the other half to making symphonies, the chances are that the steam engines may go at high pressure, but the symphonies will not. But we shall not always be thus one sided, and, moreover, we are not all of English blood. We stand in one of the great German cities of the world and the other great musical race of Europe is making our very byways Italian.
>
> And we draw to-night on that wondrous country where, it used to be said, every child was tested early in the cradle to see whether he would choose the violin bow or the rifle with his baby hand, the country which has so identified itself with the fire of genius that Boyle O'Reilly makes the burden of his best lyric run thus:—
>
> 'I had rather live in Bohemia
> Than in any other land.'
>
> Let us hope that our guest to-night will at least not share this opinion, that he may consent to transplantation and help add the new world of music to the continent which Columbus found.
>
> – Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1892 [1]

It was on a warm evening in late October that Antonín Dvořák made his American debut. Carnegie Hall, then open for just eighteen months, was finely polished and bedecked

[1] 'Antonin Dvorak Leads at Music Hall', *New York Herald*, 22 October 1892, 6, cols. 5–6. The title of this dissertation derives from Rupert Hughes, *Famous American Composers* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1900), 23. 'Thus our music should, and undoubtedly will, be the gathering into the spirit of the voices of all the nations, and the use of all their expressions in an assimilated, a personal, a spontaneous manner'.

with a 'magnificent array of flowers', flags, and two enormous wreaths. The concert room was packed, the newspapers were quick to report, with 'the best elements of artistic and social New York' and 'almost every musician of local prominence'.[2] Those musicians who were absent in the hall were presumably already on the stage. The massed festival orchestra included players from the Metropolitan Opera, the Philharmonic, and the New York Symphony. An augmented Church Choral Society sat in the risers behind them. The evening opened with the national anthem, then wreaths were exchanged, and Anton Seidl (1850–98) gave what the *Sun* called a 'masterly' reading of Liszt's *Tasso*.[3] Dvořák himself was greeted by an orchestral *Tusch* and uproarious applause from the hall. 'Even the more sedate occupants of the boxes', the *Herald* wrote, 'waved their handkerchiefs in greeting'.[4] After waiting several minutes for the cheering to die down, Dvořák ascended the rostrum to conduct the triple-overture, *Príroda, Život a Láska*, ('Nature, Life, and Love', comprising *In Nature's Realm*, Op. 91, *Carnival*, Op. 92, and *Othello*, Op. 93) and the Te Deum, Op. 103, a work he had written expressly for his American debut. Dvořák's arrival, of course, was the explicit *raison d'être* for this massive enterprise, and so his choices for the evening were read as a sort of musical manifesto. This expansive set of concert overtures, coupled with a major American commission, presented him as more than a composer of 'characteristic' Slavonic dances—he was a master of large symphonic form. Even the juxtaposition of Dvořák with that 'great actor in tone', Franz Liszt, was telling.[5] Here was Seidl, an Austro-Hungarian, conducting the music of a Magyar nationalist who, in turn, had become a staple of the 'New

---

[2] Ibid. Among the luminaries present were the poet Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833–1908), the critic Reginald De Koven (1859–1920), the Presbyterian minister and social reformer Charles Henry Parkhurst (1842–1933), the conductor Walter Damrosch (1862–1950), and the railroad magnate William Kissam Vanderbilt (1849–1920).

[3] 'Amusements: Antonin Dvorak', 22 October 1892, *New York Sun*, 3, col. 5.

[4] 'Antonin Dvorak Leads at Music Hall', *New York Herald*, 22 October 1892, 6, cols. 5–6.

[5] To borrow a phrase from the critic, James Gibbons Huneker (1857–1921). Huneker to Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854–1923), 24 July 1904, in *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, ed. Josephine Huneker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 27.

German School'. To add to the national complexity, all this was in celebration of the Bohemian who, it was hoped, would help spur the development of an American national idiom. It was an extraordinary expression of Gilded-Age patriotism, musical cosmopolitanism, and social display, and this complex interrelation of themes could not have been lost on the audience—indeed, it was made explicit. Dvořák's debut and his entire American tenure were part of a much broader intellectual project: discerning where American art stood in relation to that of Europe, and even more importantly, where it would lead in the coming century.

No inaugural concert would be complete without an opening oration, and this evening the guest was formidable. Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823–1911) was a Unitarian minister, a fiery abolitionist, speaker, and prolific author. A decorated veteran of the Civil War, he had commanded the first black detachment in the Grand Army of the Republic, later recording his experience—and implicitly, his vision for American democracy—in one of the most important memoires of the decade.[6] But his subject at Carnegie Hall was a departure from his usual interests in Longfellow, Whitman, and the history of the early Republic. It was entitled 'Two New Worlds: The New World of Columbus and the New World of Music'. As a piece of musicology, Higginson's lecture was evidently eccentric, but as an encapsulation of American self-regard at the *fin de siècle*, it was extraordinary.[7] It articulated all of the standard anxieties about national artistic progress: namely that the 'unmixed English blood' of Anglo-American society was, perhaps, essentially unmusical. It also demonstrated an unease with the role of American

[6] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1870).

[7] The reviewer of the *Tribune*, most likely Henry Krehbiel, would write: 'It is perhaps too much to ask that one who is thrown on popular writings for his information about music shall know the exact status of the art 400 years ago, but in the interest of the verities of history, the stamp of public condemnation ought to be put upon every effort to make the public believe that music began with Palestrina. The Palestrina myth belongs to the childish things of a past age, notwithstanding that it still haunts the books'. 'Music: Dr. Dvorak's Reception', *New-York Tribune*, 22 October 1892, 7, col. 1.

commerce—simultaneously a prerequisite for art, but also one of its greatest inhibiting factors. But Higginson also found hope in America's cultural, and implicitly racial, commingling. If the nation's artistic triumphs lay in the future, they would be the product of a musical assimilation borne out of close Anglo-German contact. Indeed, as Higginson saw it, New York was 'one of the great German cities of the world'—a seemingly extraordinary pronouncement, but one which would have resonated with the highly cosmopolitan audience in Carnegie Hall that evening. In framing music as 'the one art that is post-Columbian', he drew an important rhetorical parallel: by suggesting that the flowering of music belonged to the time after Columbus, Higginson also suggested that it would eventually belong to New World.[8] In the meanwhile, it would require the help of transplanted Europeans, Dvořák among them. The critics however were divided. The *New York Times* called the entire enterprise 'peculiar', complaining that it 'began in impudence' and only 'ended in art':

> To attempt to give Dr. Dvorak's engagement as director of a local music school the appearance of a national event was beyond all question a piece of impudence, and could have been attempted only by persons conversant with the great truth, established by Mr. Barnum, that the American loves to be humbugged. There is no humbug about Antonin Dvorak, but there was a good deal about the prefatory part of his first concert.[9]

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[8] 'Antonin Dvorak Leads at Music Hall', *New York Herald*, 22 October 1892, 6, cols. 5–6. This came rather earlier in the address from which my epigraph is taken; Higginson had glossed his suggestion by adding, 'Music is the only art that could say to Columbus what Mark Twain said at the tomb of Adam., "Noble old man! I was not permitted to see you; neither were you permitted to see me". Quoting Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or The New Pilgrims' Progress* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869), 566.

[9] 'Amusements: Dr. Dvorak Introduced', *New York Times*, 22 October 1892, 4, col. 6. The reviewer, likely William James Henderson (1855–1937; *Times* music critic, 1887–1902), continued: 'Secondly, there was no satisfactory reason why an oration should be delivered. The arrival of Dr. Dvorak to direct the business of teaching music at the National Conservatory is unquestionably a beneficent thing for art; but it is not necessarily a subject that a large audience cares to hear discussed in a twenty-minute speech. Speechmaking is altogether too common an offense. And when it is so tenuous in thought, so platitudinous in style, and so lachrymose in delivery as the oration of the eminent Bostonian who spoke last night, it is altogether a weariness to the flesh'.

Impudent or not, these opening exercises were the subject of much public excitement and even more importantly, much comment in the press. Higginson's appraisal of American art, however peculiar, had been heard by some three thousand people in the hall. The next day, it was read by as many *Herald* subscribers as made it to page six. Moreover, the values Higginson espoused were not *ex nihilo*, rather, they were part of a broader discourse about America's musical future and the relationship between Old World and New. The vigorous debate he sparked in the press demonstrates just how contentious his topic was.

So why begin here with Dvořák? We could equally start with Tchaikovsky who, on 5 May 1891, had opened Carnegie Hall. We could begin in the 1870s, with the landmark tours of Anton Rubinstein (1829–94) and Hans von Bülow (1830–94), or in 1889 and 1890 for von Bülow's American return—tours which established many of the financial and artistic paradigms for subsequent visitors.[10] Indeed, many of those present in Carnegie Hall for Dvořák had been there just eighteen months earlier for his Russian peer, and two years prior for the great German conductor. The answer lies, I think, in the length and formativeness of Dvořák's tenure. In the roughly three years he was incumbent at the National Conservatory of Music, his presence inspired a robust discussion in the American press—about the merits of musical nationalism, the sources of an American idiom, the value of importing European musicians, and, at its core, the nature of Trans-Atlantic exchange. Many of the critics and performers who had been in his orbit in 1892 would be on hand for the Carnegie debuts of successive luminaries in the decade that followed, Richard Strauss (27 February 1904), Camille Saint-Saëns (3 November 1906), and Alexander Scriabin (20 December 1906),

[10] Von Bülow's 1889 tour for instance, was managed by the American piano firm, Wm. Knabe & Co., it was avidly—and at times controversially—reported in the press, and it presented von Bülow as both a pianist and a conductor, much like two subsequent visitors, Saint-Saëns and Strauss. Von Bülow's first impresario was the *New York Times* music critic, Frederick Schwab. His second impresario, Leo Goldmark (1840–1927) managed the "Author's and Composers' International Agency" with Heinrich Conried (1855–1909). For more on these tours see, Alan Walker, *Hans von Bülow: A Life and Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 399–419; Kenneth Birkin, *Hans von Bülow: A Life for Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 341–49.

among them.[11] Thus, Dvořák's inaugural concert is perhaps most important not for what he conducted, but for what Americans said about him. Higginson's prophesy for the 'continent which Columbus found', may have been varyingly forgotten or derided, but it was not an isolated incident. Rather, it exemplified broader trends in American music criticism and national self-regard—a discourse which would develop through the 1890s and find its zenith at the start of the twentieth century. It is that discourse that lies at the core of this dissertation.

Contexts of the Concert Tour

From the 1880s to the First World War, some of Europe's most eminent composers were invited to the United States to conduct and perform. As they toured the country, three such men, Richard Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin were avidly discussed in the American press, public notables whose activities far-extended the confines of society pages and music bulletins. Though the contractual details of these tours differ, they appear to share a straightforward aim: profit. However, American audiences, critics, and musicians experienced these visits as major cultural events, and they became touchstones in contemporary discussions about the future of art, the nature of American concert life, and its relationship to that in Europe. America's European cultural inheritance and its perceived artistic potential were issues of intense debate in the early 1900s, and these composer tours offer a unique insight into that discourse. In defining their relationship to a musical Other, American critics helped fashion a national musical Self. I argue that these tours demonstrate the success of 'national cosmopolitanism' as a philosophy of American art and the centrality of that doctrine to the nation's cultural *Bildung*. *Bildung*, in its classical literary conception,

[11] Huneker was Dvořák's initial American contact, guiding him to rehearsals and meals, and even finding 'Old Borax'—as he was affectionately called—his Bohemian Catholic parish. James Huneker, *Steeplejack*, vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 65–69.

involves a personal formation driven by alienation, the grappling with, and internalization of external forces, and finally maturity. This was an attractive conceit for American critics, and they applied it almost directly to the narrative of American artistic progress.

Inevitably, Europe had played an essential role in the construction of an American cultural identity, but by the *fin de siècle*, Americans were ready to project their own innovations back onto the Old World: visiting composers were no longer taken simply as musical evangelists; they were also participants in a cultural exchange. A key shift had occurred: while an eminent European could still lend legitimacy to a nascent American institution, his role was no longer accepted as purely didactic. He was expected to take something of America home. In presenting Richard Strauss with the best-drilled orchestras, the most appreciative audiences, and the most lavish dinners, Americans acknowledged a European debt, but also proclaimed that American musical culture had arrived.

This dissertation documents, for the first time, the American tours of Richard Strauss (24 February to 28 April 1904), Camille Saint-Saëns (26 October to 26 December 1906), and Alexander Scriabin (11 December 1906 to 21 March 1907). This work has involved an investigation of publicity materials, concert programme books, newspaper reviews, composer and critic correspondence, diary entries, contracts, and other ephemera. In making this material available, it adds considerably to the biographical records of these three men, especially in light of the generally thin documentation of their American tours. It also adds to the growing literature on music economics and the changing social status of performers. But the principal revelations of this dissertation lie in a varied and voluminous critical reception. In investigating the ways in which American critics reviewed and framed this musical exchange, we find a complex American understanding of its European heritage, adapted by commentators to their own ends. Strauss's success intersects with the end of Gilded-Age aestheticism and, I argue, a deliberate 're-masculinisation' of the artistic sphere. To understand Saint-Saëns's visit, I explore evolutionary methodologies in music history,

discourses surrounding cosmopolitanism, and national enthusiasm for cultural acquisition. In discussing the relative failure of Scriabin, I address enduring racial and gendered prejudices, particularly in his representation as an eccentric mystic. Each tour introduces a variety of critical issues. Considered together, they demonstrate how Americans, reckoning with their European heritage, fashioned that relationship as a way of fashioning the Self. Echoing themes of Hegelian *Bildung*, critics saw America's future in its synthesis of the best elements of the Old World. That critical conceit was inextricable from German idealism, and so too were the aspirations and values of the American musical establishment. In affirming the virtues of German art, critics deliberately positioned American music as its eventual heir.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the international musician had become global. Distances that took months a century prior could now be covered in a matter of weeks. Aided by steamships and vast, interconnected rail networks, the travelling musician could cross the Atlantic in five days, and race from New York to Chicago overnight. A matinée performance might be written up in time for the evening standards, and by morning the same review could be wired to cities hundreds of miles away. This rapidity and continuity of interaction allowed celebrity musicians to capture significant public attention, and both their reception by Americans, and their own reflections on their hosts serve as a microcosm of much broader preoccupations in the European-American cultural exchange. The musical tour had been distilled to its most concentrated elements. However, these three notable journeys—of Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin—have been largely absent from the scholarship. Of the many biographies of these composers, only Faubion Bowers' *Scriabin* (1969), treats an American tour at any length. These tours are largely overshadowed by the tenures of Dvořák and Mahler, who feature prominently in histories of American music at the *fin de siècle*. Specialists in this period, especially E. Douglas Bomberger, Joseph Horowitz, Lawrence Levine, Katherine Preston, Jeroen Tempelman, and William Weber, have laid an essential foundation for this inquiry, but none have discussed these tours directly. In

documenting their planning, execution, and reception, the present study interrogates questions of music economics, music and travel, cultural diaspora, the tension of cosmopolitanism and nationalism in American cultural life, the gendered nature of art, and the relation of all these elements to the establishment of a musical canon.

Three Composer Tours: Primary Sources

The literature on Richard Strauss is vast, but his 1904 American tour forms a peculiar lacuna in the scholarship. In fact, aside from Wayne Heisler and Laura Tunbridge's article on the 1921 tour, there is no significant study of either of his American visits.[12] Of Strauss's principal biographers, none give the 1904 American tour more than a few pages of discussion,[13] and almost invariably their focus is on the *Symphonia Domestica* premiere, the Wanamaker Department Store concerts, and the associated, well-worn quips.[14] For most of these historians, the tour is essentially transitory, a winter sojourn in the broader arc of Strauss's Berlin years. The scholarship on Saint-Saëns shows similar gaps. Though his career and *oeuvre* were defined by a lifelong passion for travel, his United States visits (1906 and 1915), and his travels through South America (1916) were undertaken at the very end of his performing career, and consequently they occupy a smaller place in the scholarship. Stephen Studd offers the longest account of the 1906 tour (about four pages), and relays a series of

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[12] Wayne Heisler and Laura Tunbridge, 'Elisabeth Schumann and Richard Specht: Strauss before Sixty', *Opera Quarterly*, 31, no. 4 (2015): 273–88. The authors particularly note how the critic Richard Specht 'saw an affinity between Strauss and America, with the latter representing marketplace logic', an important consideration in his enthusiastic 1904 reception.

[13] Alan Jefferson, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1973), 97–99.; Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1976), 42.; Tim Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, (London: Phaidon, 1999), 82. Ashley also makes some appraisals which betray a narrow reading of the source material, including the dubious evaluation that 'the critics were mostly hostile'. Also see Bryan Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81–82.; Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 138–39.; Raymond Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 75.

[14] Linda L. Tyler helpfully contextualises the Wanamaker concerts in her '"Commerce and Poetry Hand in Hand": Music in American Department Stores, 1880–1930', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45, no. 1 (1992): 75–120.

witty *bons mots* from the composer's own published recollections.[15] Brian Rees reproduces many of the same lines, but only mentions the composer's initial illness, the performance of *Samson et Dalila*, and his reception at the Roosevelt White House.[16] In his treatment of *Saint-Saëns and his Circle* (1965), James Harding makes only one American reference, to the composer's correspondence with John Philip Sousa in 1915. Compared to those of his more famous predecessors, Scriabin's American tour has received a respectable amount of coverage, though almost exclusively in Faubion Bowers's two-volume *Scriabin: A Biography of the Russian Composer: 1871–1915* (1969). In his second book, *The New Scriabin: Enigma and Answers* (1973), Bowers significantly distils this material, evaluating the American tour through the lens of Scriabin's personal and financial tribulations, notably his 1906 break with the Belaieff publishing house. Bowers's text offers a compelling narrative, but it is lightly sourced, bringing certain interpretations into question.

The present study seeks to clarify such inconsistencies and to fill some significant gaps in the historical record. Its critical work depends upon a comprehensive record of itineraries, programmes, and reviews, and the lion's share of this material comes from the newspapers. In the last decade, British and American newspaper archives have been made far more accessible, and once-dispersed microforms are now digitally scanned and easily searchable.[17] This newspaper record is supplemented and sometimes corrected by concert programme books. Some of these have been published (e.g., the Boston Symphony), others are now digitised (e.g., the New York Philharmonic, the Metropolitan Opera, and Carnegie Hall), and many more have been accessed directly from institutional archives.[18] Leon

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[15] Stephen Studd, *Saint-Saëns: A Critical Biography* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1999), 244–47.

[16] Brian Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999), 369–71.

[17] This dissertation makes use of several databases: *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* (U.S. Library of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities); The British Newspaper Archive (Findmypast.com in partnership with the British Library); Newspapers.com, (a subsidiary of Ancestry.com); Newspaperarchive.com; and ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[18] I am indebted to the archivists of several other institutions for their direct assistance: Christina Eaton, Associate Principal Librarian, Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra; Carolyn J. Friedrich, Archivist, Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra; Kathryn Hujda, Assistant Curator, Performing Arts Archives and Upper Midwest

Botstein and Sandra McColl have demonstrated the scholarly potentials of this kind of critical reception history. They discuss the ways in which eminent writers on music, such as Robert Hirschfeld and Eduard Hanslick, not only reflected aesthetic predispositions in nineteenth-century Vienna, but also substantially altered the musical discourse through their writing.[19] Botstein's and McColl's work on Austro-German critics spurred similar studies in English music,[20] but there are fewer dedicated reception histories in the American context. Remarkably, there is no comprehensive study of *The Etude* (1883–1957) or *Musical America* (founded 1898), and relatively little on the critics themselves. Jon C. Mitchell's recent work on Philip Hale is the most extensive American study to date, assessing his long career with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and the *Herald*.[21] Drawing on McColl's synchronic approach, however, this dissertation tries to grasp the relationships *between* critics, and their patterns of reception at a specific moment in time—the four years between 1904 and 1907. Musical critics at the *fin de siècle* not only reflected American taste, they shaped it. As Joseph Horowitz has argued in his *Classical Music in America* (2005) and *Wagner Nights: An American History* (1994), classical music enjoyed an unprecedented, even anomalous, prominence in American popular culture between 1880 and 1914. Its popular appeal was built up by celebrity musicians and guided by the press, and it became central to the establishment of a 'middlebrow' culture.[22] At the turn of the twentieth century, most Americans consumed contemporary musical criticism and history through the newspapers. The *Boston Globe*,

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Literary Archives, University of Minnesota Library; Frank Villella, Director, Rosenthal Archives of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

[19] Leon Botstein, 'Music and its Public: Habits of Listening and the Crisis of Musical Modernism in Vienna, 1870–1914' (PhD diss., Harvard, 1985).; Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896–1897: Critically Moving Forms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[20] See Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850–1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).; Jason Camlot, *Style and the Nineteenth-Century British Critic: Sincere Mannerisms*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).; Philip Ross Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[21] Jon C. Mitchell, *Trans-Atlantic Passages: Philip Hale on the Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1889-1933* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[22] The cultural tastes of this burgeoning middle class are the subject of Joan Shelley Rubin's *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

Chicago Inter Ocean, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Sun*, *New York Times*, *New-York Tribune*, and *Philadelphia Inquirer* all ran extensive biographies and analyses [see Fig. 1.1].[23] Theoretical discussions of new works were extensive, at times dominating half a broadsheet. Printed portraits, musical examples, and occasionally a whole page of manuscript, were reproduced for the general public [see Fig. 1.2].



THE INTER OCEAN, SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 4, 1906. M 9

CAMILLE SAINT-SAENS, MUSICIAN AND MAN

By GLENN DILLARD GUNN

MUSIC FOR THE WEEK.

CHORUS GIRLS GOWNED IN PARIS.

Figure 1.1: Glenn Dillard Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

[23] The *Chicago Tribune*, like several other newspapers, was sometimes referenced specifically as the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*. For consistency, this dissertation does not distinguish between weekday and Sunday editions, and all references use the same title which appeared in print: the *Chicago Tribune*.



STRAUSS'S "DON QUIXOTE"

THE REALISTIC TONE POEM TO BE GIVEN HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME THIS WEEK

PERHAPS as a kind of preparation for the coming of Richard Strauss, and that New York may be able to present him a clean record when he comes, the only one of his later symphonic pieces that has not been performed in New York, his "Don Quixote," will be played here next Thursday evening by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Mr. Gericke's direction. New York was one of the first cities to become familiar with his work, for his youthful symphony in F, composed when he was seventeen years old, was played by the Philharmonic Society under Mr. Thomas in 1884, when Strauss was a name that meant only dance music. Since then all his symphonic tone poems have been heard in New York excepting "Don Quixote." This was composed and published in 1897, and in order of its appearance in print comes next after "Till Eulenspiegel" and "Also Sprach Zarathustra," which were published in 1894, and next before "Ein Heldenleben," published in 1898.

Orchestral conductors have looked somewhat askance at "Don Quixote," and it has caused even some of the composer's boldest and most ardent admirers to hesitate. It has appeared seldom on the programmes of European concerts and had been played but once in this country before last week. Theodore Thomas produced it in Chicago in January, 1899, less than a year after its first performance in Germany. Emil Paur, one of the most zealous of Strauss's champions when he was conductor of the Philharmonic, dallied with it at one time, and even announced it for one of his programmes, but finally thought discretion the better part of valor and withdrew it. Now Mr. Gericke has faced it boldly; he played it at his two concerts last week in Boston, plays it this week in Philadelphia and will bring it to New York this week, so that the performance he will give of it here will be its fourth in the United States, (counting the public rehearsals and concerts in Chicago and in Boston as one performance each.) The reason for this delay is not difficult to understand, after some scrutiny of the score. It is in all its aspects perhaps the most daring and unconventional, as it certainly is one of the most difficult, of all Strauss's revolutionary productions. And so it may be well that "Don Quixote" has been left to the last, till we have become somewhat inured to the Strauss manner as well as the Strauss matter—have begun, even, to find some of the earlier Strauss easy, like "Aus Italien," and possibly "Don Juan" and "Tod und Verklärung," and to find enjoyment in and feel the fascination of "Till Eulenspiegel."

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The kinship of the Spanish visionary and the Teutonic rascal is, perhaps, not very close; but there is this much in common between Strauss's pictures of them—that humor, irony, quaintness, and all the extravagances of fantastic story telling, the phantasmagoria of wild adventure, form a great portion of what he has undertaken to express in music. Music, it has been truly observed, is a grave thing and laughs unwillingly; but Strauss can compel her to it, and he can equally compel her to all the subtler fantasies that it has been considered a part of her mission only to hint at. How keen his sense is for these things we have learned to know and delight in through "Till Eulenspiegel's" pranks as he has described them. And how much more he is than a contriver of gigantic instrumental effects, a master of the highest power of orchestral expression, a subtle-minded inventor, the essentially musical beauty, expressiveness, and ever-changing but never-failing characteristic musical potency of that gigantic rondo—to go no further in the list of his works—are sufficient to establish. Mr. Newman has pointed out Strauss's primary concern with "character in movement," in these two pieces, and in them his interest in human life as a whole, not in "the one wearisome episode of the eternal masculine and the eternal feminine." He has "thrown over the old erotic tags of the musician," as Mr. Newman says, in order to tell the story, in the true modern spirit, of other elements in human life that also have their poetry and their pathos. "Don Quixote," we are assured, is a notable exemplification of this quality of Strauss's genius.

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Just as for "Till Eulenspiegel," Strauss retained the title of "rondo" from the older forms of music, so upon "Don Quixote" he has inscribed the good old-fashioned designation of "Theme with Variations." In full it runs thus: "Don Quixote: (Introduzione Thema con Variazioni e Finale): Fantastic Variations on a Theme of Knightly Character." No doubt there is a bit of mischievous mystification in this square-toed, pedantic description of the scandalizing riot of tone that follows, just as there is in the descriptive title of "Till Eulenspiegel" that has been the subject of a little curious speculation. For the work itself there is no programme in the score other than that supplied by the title, but the introduction, the theme, the ten variations, and the finale are all representations of certain definite incidents of Cervantes's romance. The composer has made a concession in letting these be clearly indicated in the pianoforte arrangement, from which the commentators have worked them out in detail. They are briefly described in Mr. Philip Hall's admirable analysis of the composition, from which much of the information here given is derived.

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The introduction shows Don Quixote deep in books on knighthood, much reading of which turns his brain and finally decides him to set forth on adventures of his own. The typical theme of the crackbrained hero, later to appear in a somewhat different form, is presented here with certain amplifications and decorations that represent the idea of knight errantry. Another theme, (Fig. I.) represents the spirit of chivalresque gallantry that is a fundamental motive in all Don Quixote's extravagant proceedings now emerges, and is destined frequently to reappear in the course of the piece. The tone is grandiose, mock heroic; yet there is a certain charm and sweetness about it, some of that sympathetic quality that holds us so close to the ill-starred hero in all his divagations. There is, finally, a passage in which one of the German commentators has discovered a depiction, through strange harmonic sequences, of Don Quixote's tendency toward false conclusions (Fig. II.)

He sees in his imagination the lady-love appertaining to every well-ordered knight who is to go through the whole romantic programme of knight errantry. It is sung by the oboe (Fig. III.)

His fancies wax wilder and more confused. The strings play with mutes, the trumpets, trombones, kettledrums, tenor tubas, and bass tuba play also with mutes. This treatment of the tubas is Mr. Strauss's own invention—the veiled tone colors so produced contributing to heighten the effect of vagueness and uncertainty and to show the phantasms that cloud the hero's brain. That way madness lies, and it is reached in shrill and incoherent orchestral discord, with all the power of the instruments. A tremendous chord is struck, B flat, and Don Quixote's resolution is taken. He will be a knight. So ends the introduction.

Now comes the theme that is to be "varied." It consists of two parts, representing the two chief actors in the romantic story. The solo violoncello announces Don Quixote, the Knight of the Rueful Countenance, with his clouded brain, his grandiose ideas, his outlandish accoutrements (Fig. IV.)

Its relationship with the theme first heard in the introduction is evident; from the mock heroics of outgrown mediæval knighthood to the belated aspirant for knightly honors is but a step. With him comes his esquire, Sancho Panza, "fat, mean, good natured, lying, gluttonous, constant," as thus musically interpreted, at first on the bass clarinet and tenor tuba, later throughout on the solo viola (Fig. V.)

So much for the persons chiefly concerned. With their adventures begin the ten variations. They start out, Don Quixote in the lead, Sancho Panza, contrapuntally obedient, coming in a little behind. We hear the suggestion of the knight's imagined lady, the beautiful Dulcinea of Toboso in the theme of the ideal woman. Don Quixote suddenly espies his first enemies, the windmills. The wind is rising; we hear it in the whirring woodwind instruments and the trilling strings; the arms of the windmills revolve—here is true Straussian realism in this ponderous and accelerating movement (Fig. VI.)

The challenge enrages him; he charges, and is soon sprawling on the ground. He sees a hostile army advancing—the army of King Alifanfaron; a cloud of dust envelops it. He charges again, and as he rushes forward deals telling blows, and the frantic bleating of the fleeing sheep is heard in a wild double-tonguing of the united brass instruments. There follow the dialogues between knight and squire, their discussions of the ideal, and the easy and comfortable realities of life which Sancho Panza prefers; the encounters with the Penitents; the knight's vigil; the meeting with Dulcinea—the common-featured, uncouth country girl whom the malicious Sancho Panza has persuaded his master is the lady of his ideal. The testimony of his eyes tells him it cannot be true—but stay, it is magic that has transformed her so; and indeed, a very ordinary, stolid wench it has made of her (Fig. VII.)

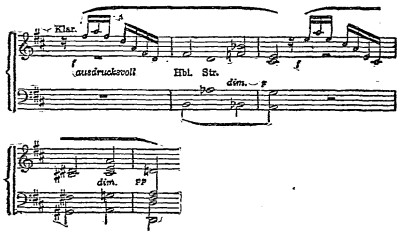
Then comes the ride through the air; chromatic woodwind passages, harp glissandos, the famous wind machine, which the composer has at least the grace to direct shall be hidden from sight "whenever possible." The Don Quixote and Sancho Panza themes are lifted up into the higher octaves and encircled with soaring arpeggios. They come upon the enchanted boat) and Don Quixote's theme is shifted in its rhythmic contour and becomes a barcarole. They fight two inoffensive priests, magicians to the poor gentleman's grotesque vision—an ecclesiastical theme in the woodwind discloses them; he combats the Knight of the Silver Moon—that friend who has gone forth to rescue the wandering wits of the self-deluded chevalier—and, vanquished by him, is spared on condition that he return home in peace.

His adventures are ended. His illusions disappear. His mind clears. It is a characteristic Straussian touch to represent this by a new and simplified version of the Don Quixote theme, shorn of its ornaments and its triplet rhythm, in plain quarter notes. He determines to become a shepherd. His death approaches; the forgotten fancies brush through his memory. The end is very peaceful, very simple.
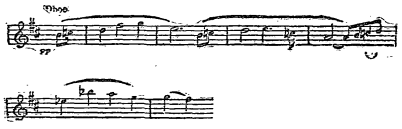
RICHARD ALDRICH.



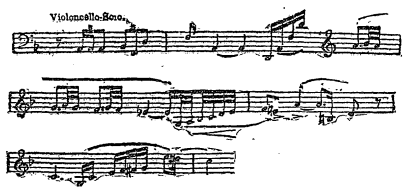
I.—CHIVALRESQUE GALLANTRY.



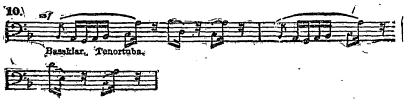
II.—DON QUIXOTE'S FALSE CONCLUSIONS.



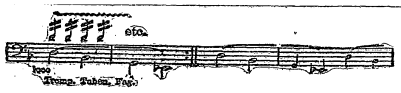
III.—THE IDEAL WOMAN.



IV.—DON QUIXOTE.



V.—SANCHO PANZA.



VI.—THE WINDMILLS.



VII.—THE FALSE DULCINEA.

Figure 1.2: Richard Aldrich, 'Strauss's "Don Quixote," The Realistic Tone Poem to Be Given Here for the First Time this Week', *New York Times*, 14 February 1904, 25, cols. 1–4.

In many newspapers, musical commentary was concentrated in its own section: 'In the World of Music' (*New York Times*), 'Among the Musicians' (*Detroit Free Press*), and perhaps most evocatively, 'In Music's Domain' (*Cincinnati Enquirer*). But extended concert and biographical reports could be found throughout the broadsheets, next to society gossip, theatre reviews, political news, and foreign dispatches. In flipping through their papers, readers found music situated within a continuous cultural landscape. While imbued with a sense of aesthetic autonomy, 'Music's Domain' had indefinite borders, both literally and metaphorically, and the eye passed over it into the sporting life, medicine, cartoons, advertisements, and stock reports.[24]

Though they had varying facility in English, Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin all read American reviews of their performances, either in the original, or translated (and carefully selected) by their managers. In the cases of Strauss and Saint-Saëns, they may have found a few articles written in their native tongues.[25] Short quotations of reviews inevitably make it into their letters home, sometimes as a badge of honour, elsewhere as an object of derision. These letters are invaluable resources in documenting the tours. Half a dozen survive between Strauss and his parents, recalling important concerts and his impressions of music in the United States.[26] There has been no systematic translation or evaluation of this correspondence in English, though a few excerpts are translated in Kurt Wilhelm's beautifully illustrated biography.[27] Strauss also wrote to the composer-conductor Max von

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[24] One striking example comes from the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. 'Music's Domain' is juxtaposed with six 'Clever Cartoons of the Week', and 'The Jew—His Friends and His Enemies'. At the very centre of the page, a cartoon evokes the Roosevelt-Taft rift: 'The Political Parsifal': 'The Magician [McKinley] Evoking Taft from the Abyss to Defeat Parsifal Roosevelt', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 24 January 1904, sec. 4, pg. 3, col. 5.

[25] The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and Baltimore's *Der Deutsche Correspondent* both carried reviews of Strauss. *Le Courrier des États-Unis* was the preeminent Francophone newspaper in America. Forty years earlier, Jacques Offenbach had praised its music criticism while performing for the American Centennial. See Robert Blow, *Abroad in America: Literary Discoverers of the New World from the Past 500 Years* (Oxford: Lennard, 1989).

[26] Richard Strauss, *Briefe an die Eltern: 1882–1906*, ed. Willi Schuh (Zürich: Atlantis Verlag AG, 1954), 287.

[27] Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. Mary Whittall (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 95–98.

Schillings (1868–1933) during his American sojourn,[28] and elsewhere in his correspondence there are scattered references to the tour.[29] The Bibliothèque nationale de France holds two letters from Saint-Saëns to Philippe Bellenot and Théodore Dubois during his stay at the Hotel Gotham in New York.[30] Three drafts of the contract between Saint-Saëns and the Knabe piano company also survive, sent with corrections to the impresario, Gabriel Astruc (1864–1938).[31] A prolific author, Saint-Saëns wrote at length about his 'Impressions of America', in his collection of *Outspoken Essays on Music*.[32] In the case of Scriabin, substantial American correspondence survives. While Bowers translated some of Scriabin's letters from the 1906–07 season, Michail Druskin's subsequent collection makes several more available.[33] The transcription and translation of this material provides practical revelations about the tours, but also demonstrates how these composers perceived the self-representation of American artists, critics, and institutions.

In large part, that self-representation was worked out in the press. In covering the activities of these composers, critics articulated a variety of attitudes about gender, race, cosmopolitanism, and the 'national art'. Beyond the daily newspaper criticism, I draw on the published works of Louis Charles Elson,[34] Henry F. Gilbert, Henry James Harris,[35] Rupert

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[28] Richard Strauss & Max von Schillings, *Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. Roswitha Schlötterer, Veröffentlichungen der Richard-Strauss-Gesellschaft, Band 9 (Pfaffenhofen: W. Ludwig Verlag, 1987), 101–12.

[29] Richard Strauss & Frank Schalk, *Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. Günter Brosche, Veröffentlichungen der Richard-Strauss-Gesellschaft, Band 6 (Tutzing: Verlegt Bei Hans Schneider, 1983), 4.

[30] Camille Saint-Saëns to Philippe Bellenot, New York, 13 November 1906; Camille Saint-Saëns to Théodore Dubois, New York, 14 November 1906. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-254 (58); L. a. Saint-Saëns, (C) 214.

[31] 3 July 1906; 21 July 1906; n.d. [August 1906?], Camille Saint-Saëns to Gabriel Astruc. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, Lettres de Camille Saint-Saëns à Gabriel Astruc, mai-novembre 1906 (manuscrit autographe). See Chapter III for a full documentation of this correspondence.

[32] Camille Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America' in *Outspoken Essays on Music*, trans. Fred Rothwell (Reprint, Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), 137–51. He does not mention the American tour in his *Musical Memories*, trans. Edwin Gile Rich (Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).

[33] Alexander Scriabin, *Alexander Skrjabin: Briefe, mit zeitgenössischen Dokumenten und einem Essay von Michail Druskin*, ed. Mikhail Semenovich Druskin (Leipzig: Reclam, 1988).

[34] Philip Hale and Louis Charles Elson, *Famous Composers and Their Works* (Boston: J. B. Millet, 1900).

[35] Henry J. Harris, 'The Occupation of Musician in the United States', *Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1915): 299–311.

Hughes, James Gibbons Huneker,[36] Hermann Klein,[37] Henry Edward Krehbiel,[38] Daniel Gregory Mason,[39] and Horatio Parker.[40] Though principally composers, Gilbert and Parker were also active critics and music historians. Their published evaluations of Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin were supplemented by several unpublished public addresses.[41] Gilbert was particularly reflective on the 'national art', lecturing and writing on 'Art in America', 'The Composer and the Public', 'Musical America', the 'Problem of the American Composer', and the 'Spirit of America'.[42] As we shall see in Chapter III, these documents strongly articulate a philosophy of 'national cosmopolitanism', which saw the future of an American musical idiom in the amalgamation of many foreign elements.

In their books, reviews, and lectures, many of these critics were grappling with core questions of musical aesthetics. These published materials represent their 'final', polished thoughts on certain issues, but they were part of an ever-evolving discourse in the arts. The philosophical orientations of these men did not spring up *ex nihilo*. Rather, they were hammered out in personal conversations over meals, and (often) copious amounts of beer and wine. Many of these writers belonged to at least one of New York's professional or social clubs. The Bohemians, the Lotos Club, the Manuscript Society of New York, and the New York *Liederkranz,* all played prominent roles in receiving visiting musicians. Much of their documentary material is scattered through the collections of the New York Public Library Music Division. From these archives, I draw on several letters, contracts, and

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[36] James Huneker, *Mezzotints in Modern Music: Brahms, Tschaikowsky, Chopin, Richard Strauss, Liszt and Wagner* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899).; *Overtones: A Book of Temperaments: Richard Strauss, Parsifal, Verdi, Balzac, Flaubert, Nietzsche, and Turgénieff* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904).

[37] Hermann Klein, *Unmusical New York: A Brief Criticism of Triumphs, Failures, & Abuses* (London; New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1910).

[38] Henry Krehbiel, *How to Listen to Music; Hints and Suggestions to Untaught Lovers of the Art* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896).

[39] Daniel Gregory Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1902).

[40] Horatio Parker, 'Contemporary Music', *North American Review* 191, no. 653 (1910): 517–26.

[41] MSS 32, The Horatio Parker Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University. Box 32, Folder 4, 're: Richard Strauss'.

[42] MSS 35, The Henry Gilbert Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University. Box 55, Folders 2, 7, 19; Box 67, Folders 37, 41.

concert programmes, as well as series of ornate, commemorative menus. The striking visual lexicon of these booklets says much about how Americans understood and received visiting European artists from the early 1900s through the 1920s [see Figs. 1.3–1.6].[43]

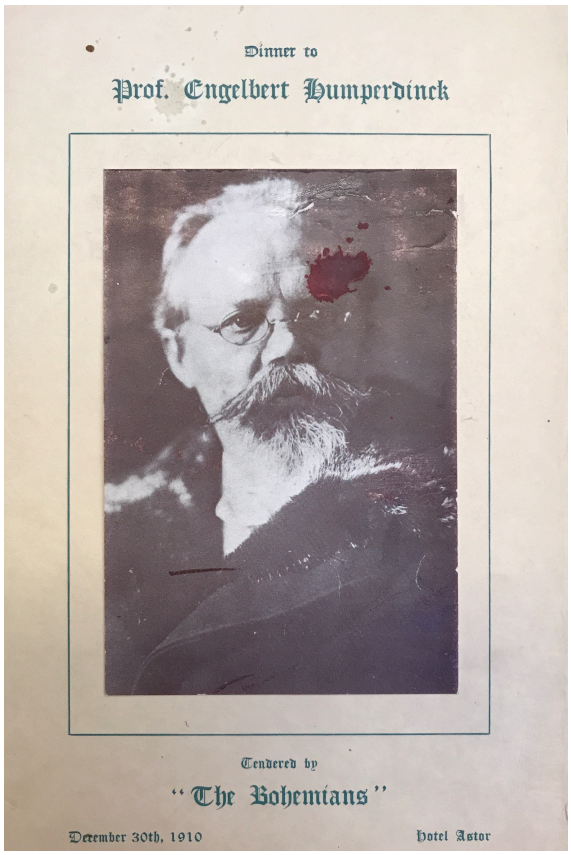


Figure 1.3: The Bohemians, Humperdinck dinner commemorative menu, 30 December 1910. Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The Bohemians Collection, JPB 11–15, series 8, box 12, folders 6–7. Photograph by the author.

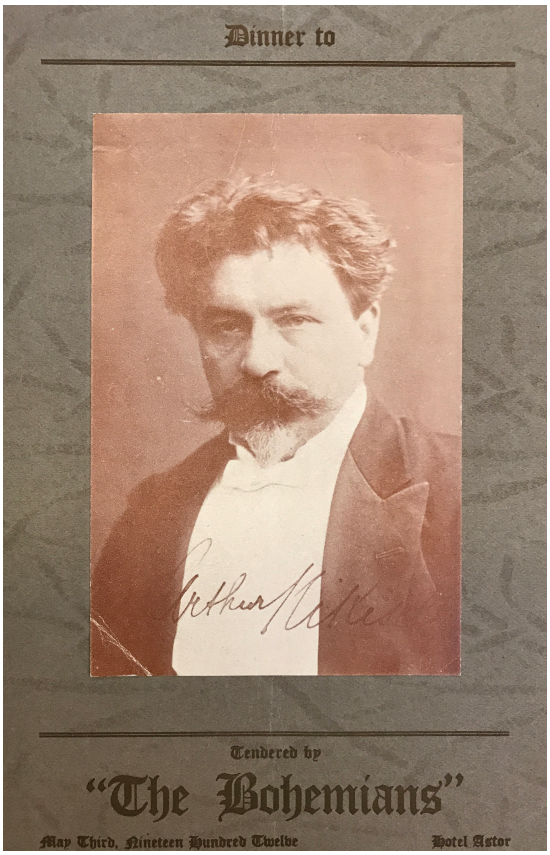


Figure 1.4: The Bohemians, Nikisch dinner commemorative menu, 3 May 1912 Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The Bohemians Collection, JPB 11–15, series 8, box 12, folders 6–7. Photograph by the author.

[43] They also say something about the character of the meals themselves; several are stained with wine.

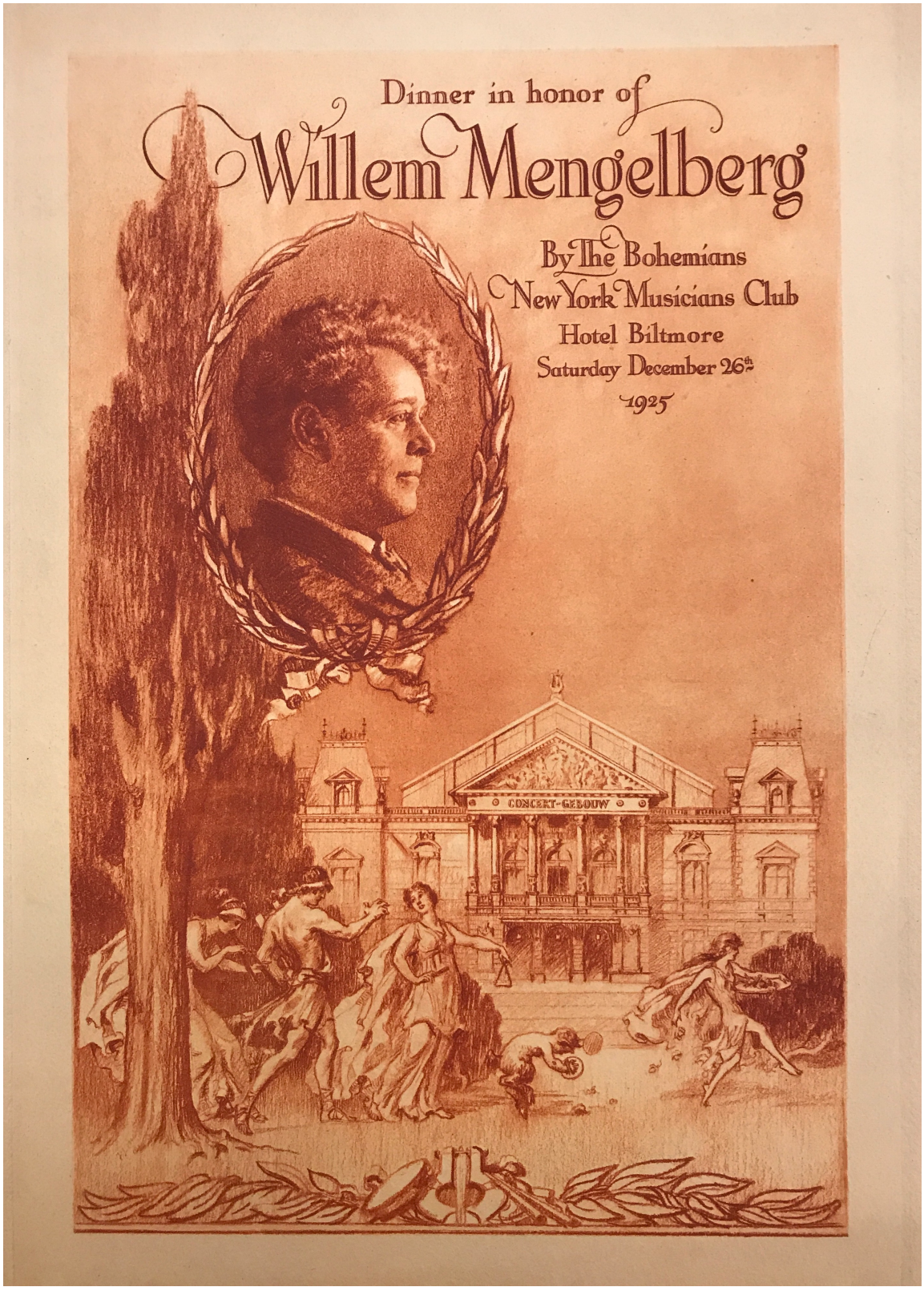


Figure 1.5: The Bohemians, Mengelberg dinner commemorative menu, 26 December 1925. Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The Bohemians Collection, JPB 11–15, series 8, box 12, folders 6–7. Photograph by the author.



Figure 1.6: The Bohemians, Damrosch dinner commemorative menu, 22 December 1929. Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The Bohemians Collection, JPB 11–15, series 8, box 12, folders 6–7. Photograph by the author.

Secondary Sources: the Scholarship

To fully understand the cultural reception and production surrounding these tours, it is necessary to examine the mixture of entrepreneurship and opportunism that gave rise to them in the first place: composers were offered and accepted American engagements because there was money to be made. In uncovering new contractual details, the present study adds to a growing literature on music economics in the American context.[44] Beginning with Walter Salmen's *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century* (1971), there have been several diachronic studies of orchestra finances, publishing houses, and individual composer careers. Since then, Alan Peacock,[45] F. M. Scherer,[46] and William Weber, have made some notable contributions to this project. Weber's landmark *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna* (1975) has particularly influenced subsequent discussions. His work connects the establishment of concert and operatic canons to the creation of a moneyed, bourgeois musical culture. These processes, he argues, were mutually reinforcing, and helped 'sacralise' art over the course of the nineteenth century. Subsequent studies include Lawrence Levine's *Highbrow / Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (1988), Joan Shelley Rubin's *The Making of Middle/Brow Culture* (1992), Nicholas E. Tawa's *High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans 1800–1861* (2000), as well as Weber's recent publication, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (2008). Two recent contributions in American studies, Thomas Kessner's *Capital City: New York City and the Men Behind America's Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860–1900* (2003), and Alan Trachtenberg's *The Incorporation of*

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[44] Many of these studies have been particularly interested in the vagaries of music publishing before the agreement of international copyright laws. It was during the *fin de siècle* that three successive treaties began to regulate these rights: The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886–87), The International Copyright Act of 1891 (26 Stat. 1106), and The Buenos Aires Convention (1910).

[45] Alan Peacock, *Paying the Piper: Culture Music and Money* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).; Alan Peacock and Ronald Weir, *The Composer in the Market Place* (London: Faber Music, 1975).

[46] F. M. Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (1982/2007) ground musical economics in a broader political context.

As both Strauss and Saint-Saëns preceded their American tours with concerts in London, the wealth of scholarship on British musical culture and economics has provided useful context. As Simon McVeigh and Cyril Ehrlich have shown, London saw a marked increase in musical activity between the 1880s and early 1900s. In the 1884–85 season, there were 238 'miscellaneous concerts, soirées, matinées and recitals' in the city; by 1904, that number had jumped to 603.[47] All of the factors at play in the explosion of London's musical activity—mass transit networks, a ready availability of sheet music, the aggressive marketing of piano manufacturers, and a burgeoning middle class—were also at work in Boston, Chicago, and New York. Moreover, the celebrity musicians on stage at the Queen's Hall or St. James's, were regularly being called to concert series in the United States.[48]

While this material provides invaluable context, there are still some gaps in the historical record. For the most part, Peacock, Scherer and Weber are concerned with the European context, and their studies omit the period directly before the First World War. Peacock's books evaluate mid-century Britain, and Scherer sketches a near two-century survey across Europe. Weber and Tawa focus on the 1830s and 1840s, as well as the financial repercussions of the revolutions of 1848. The greatest strengths of these studies—their comprehensiveness and historical scope—also impose some limits. For instance, in documenting a century of economic change, it can be difficult to address how broad musical shifts intersected with evolving understandings of race, nationality, or gender.[49]

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[47] Simon McVeigh and Cyril Ehrlich, 'The Modernisation of London Concert Life', in *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 104–06.

[48] The antecedents of this trend go back at least to the 1880s. The 1883 American tour of Max Bruch (1838–1920), for instance, was borne out of his success in London and Liverpool.

[49] F. M. Scherer's *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes* provides an excellent example. A trained economist, Scherer synthesizes a huge data set to elucidate concrete, statistical trends about musicians' patterns of travel, their salaries, and their long-term financial success. It is an exceptional resource, but his methodologies can be peculiar. Scherer derives his data set of composers by measuring linear centimetres of text in a directory of recorded music. If a composer's recorded works account for too few lines, he is excluded from the list.

In order to parse the complex interactions between the economic and socio-cultural elements of music—in a sense, to combine the methodologies of Marxist and feminist criticism—it is necessary to narrow both the historical and geographic scope. William Weber's edited volume, *The Musician as Entrepreneur: 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (2004) does much to bridge this divide, and the ten contributors restrict their inquiries to specific case studies. The contributions of Tia DeNora, Paula Gillett, and Jann Pasler address the inseparability of class, gender, and nationality, and link important discourses in feminist musicology—particularly that of embodiment—to the broader economic inquiry.[50] In the same volume, McVeigh helpfully demonstrates how concert promoters were essential in articulating and monetizing notions of 'High-Class Music'.[51]

In the American context, R. Allen Lott takes a similar approach, examining the celebrity concert tour through several narrowly constrained case-studies. *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (2003), evaluates the tours of five visiting pianists through various critical lenses, discussing economics, reception-history, repertoire, and performance practice in each instance. In charting the tours of Anton Rubinstein (1872–73) and Hans von Bülow (1875–76), Lott not only provides a rich historical narrative, but he also explores broader questions of nationality and diaspora. His study documents the sometimes-uneasy relationship these musicians had with naturalised European émigrés, both those on the concert platform, and in the audience.[52]

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[50] Tia DeNora, 'Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna', 185–97; Paula Gillett, 'Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain: From the 1790s to the Early 1900s', 198–220; and Jann Pasler, 'Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation, 221–55, in *The Musician as Entrepreneur: 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004).

[51] McVeigh's discussion of Louis-Antoine Jullien (1812–60) and George Henschel (1850–1934) is especially pertinent, as both men had transatlantic careers. Jullien tried to translate elements of his English success while on tour in the United States. Henschel tried to modulate the Boston Symphony Orchestra model to suit the peculiarities of the London season when he founded the London Symphony Concerts. Simon McVeigh, 'An Audience for High-Class Music', 162–82, in *The Musician as Entrepreneur: 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004).

[52] R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 251–70.

Though one of the most comprehensive recent contributions, Lott's book does not stand alone in the field—there is a growing literature discussing the American tours of eminent Europeans from Reconstruction to the start of the Second World War.

Elkhonon Yoffe's exhaustive documentary history, *Tchaikovsky in America: The Composer's Visit in 1891* (1986), Joseph Horowitz's *Understanding Toscanini* (1987), Roman Zoltan's *Gustav Mahler's American Years, 1907–1911: A Documentary History* (1989), John C. Mitchell's *A Comprehensive Biography of Composer Gustav Holst, with Correspondence and Diary Excerpt: Including his American Years* (2001), John Richard Smith's *Elgar in America: Elgar's American Connections Between 1895 and 1934* (2005), and Mary H. Wagner's *Gustav Mahler and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra Tour America* (2006), all provide new historical revelations, and add to broader discourses in music economics and cultural politics. In the last several years this renewed interest has also been reflected in the scholarly journals, with contributions by Steven E. Plank on Elgar (*American Music*, 2011), Jeroen Templeman on Eduard Strauss (*Musical Times*, 2012), and Erinn E. Knyt on Busoni (*American Music*, 2013). The absence of histories on Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin (not to mention Max Bruch (1883), Vaughan Williams (1922), Glazunov (1928), Ravel (1928), and Respighi (1929)) nevertheless demonstrates the need for continued work in this field. Moreover, there is the potential for comparative investigations, charting how tours in the Gilded Age, Progressive Era, and interwar years differed.

There are other ways the critical study of these tours might extend. Most of these histories focus on how Europeans commented on the national character of American music and its relationship to Continental canons. There are two veins in the scholarship which have yet to be linked to this work, both concerned with music and difference: *Exilforschung* (exile studies), and gender studies. The first of these elucidates the relationship between recent immigrant communities and the 'cultivated tradition' in late-nineteenth-century American musical culture. While histories of eighteenth-century and antebellum American

music focus heavily on immigrant contributions to the establishment of concert institutions, the wave of 'new immigration' that began during Reconstruction has primarily been the focus of ethnographic studies of folk music. Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel's *Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America* (2002), for instance, elucidates much about the popular bands and *Männerchöre* that remain a feature of the German diaspora in the Upper Midwest. Bohlman and Holzapfel demonstrate the way in which important European national distinctions were substantially eroded in the American context, and how regionalisms were subsumed by a pan-Germanophone identity. However, they do not discuss how the same communities that patronised German folk bands and choirs also turned out in droves to see—and to sing for—visiting German classical musicians. Ethnomusicological investigations of these European diasporas have often focussed on working-class immigrant communities, though many European diasporas had firmly anchored themselves in the American middle class, and patronised both concert music and opera. As they integrated into broader American cultural life, many of these immigrants still maintained a strong European aesthetic sensibility that was important to the development of classical music institutions.[53] Studies of immigrant diasporas can play an important role in discussions of a burgeoning middle-class culture and broader narratives of American cosmopolitanism. Recently, this has been demonstrated by Peter Conolly-Smith in *Translating America: An Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1895–1918*, and in Dana Gooley's symposium on 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914' in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (2013). As Gloria-Gilda Deák has shown in *Passage to America: Celebrated European Visitors in Search of the American Adventure*, the European

[53] Since that publication, several authors have begun to address this dynamic: See Karen Ahlquist, 'Musical Assimilation and "the German Element" at the Cincinnati Sängerfest, 1879', *Musical Quarterly*, 94, no. 3 (2011): 381–416.; and Christopher G. Ogburn, 'Brews, Brotherhood, and Beethoven: The 1865 New York City Sängerfest and the Fostering of German American Identity', *American Music*, 33, no. 4 (2015): 405–40.

cultural diaspora was not only extended through the immigrant naturalisation lines of Ellis Island, but also by those eminent visitors who arrived in first-class cabins.

Gendered language and aesthetic *topoi*—particularly as they occur in music criticism—offer another under-utilised framework in these histories. While literary theory has long acknowledged the centrality of gender to personal, as well as national cultural development, there is more work to do in Americanist musicology of this period. Though gender criticism has not substantially influenced most histories of American concert tours, there is a substantial body of scholarship in the field more generally. Beginning with Susan McClary's *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender & Sexuality* (1991), Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman's *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (1992), and Ruth Solie's *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (1993),[54] many musicologists have acknowledged the inseparability of gender from the development of musical canons and the entrenchment of romantic aesthetic ideals—both about works themselves, and also their 'composer-hero' creators. The composer-hero looms large in the Gilded Age concert hall, amplified by the brevity and intense activity of the modern, well-publicised tour.

This was certainly the case with Richard Strauss, whose public success contrasted with the more ambivalent receptions of Saint-Saëns and Scriabin. As we shall see in Chapter II, the discourse surrounding his musical 'potency' (which was constantly cast in relief against his wife's dependency and fallibility), reflects what Mary W. Blanchard and Joseph Horowitz have called a 're-masculinisation' of the Aesthetic. In part, this was a practical reaction to the huge increase of women in the professions, especially in music, where performance and pedagogy had become socially acceptable vocations.[55] But there were other

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[54] Particularly Nancy B. Reich's contribution, 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class'.

[55] This social acceptability was an early preoccupation of Sophie Drinker in *Music & Women: The Story of Women In their Relation to Music* (1948). Ruth Solie has written at length on Drinker's history, first in a contribution to Bergeron and Bohlman's *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canon* (1992) and second in a 1995 reprint of Drinker's original text. Music teaching, of course, was increasingly seen as an extension of the maternal role.

trends at work; American critics were trying to reconcile musical modernism with its negative associations—amorphous categories like 'decadence', 'degeneracy', and 'femininity'. These were not new challenges: in *Wagner Nights* (1994) and *Classical Music in America* (2005), Horowitz has shown how shifts in American aestheticism during the 1880s were especially tied to Wagner reception. 'Only in America', he argues, was Wagnerism considered 'preponderantly wholesome',[56] imbued with both religious and secular meliorism, and offering a potential escape from what George Santayana termed an oppressive 'genteel tradition'.[57] Wagner concerts were an antidote to what Jackson Lears has called cultural 'weightlessness', in his *No Place of Grace* (1981). In framing Strauss as 'the man on whom Wagner's mantle seems to have fallen', critics were drawing deliberate aesthetic parallels.[58]

Throughout the present study, recent feminist musicology provides a useful angle in discussing the highly gendered language of early-twentieth-century American criticism. For instance, Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson's edited volume *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice* elucidates the roots of masculinised musical ideals in the lives and repertories of Haydn and Brahms—a tradition in which Strauss was firmly and self-consciously situated. Kevin Kopelson's chapter, 'Saint-Saëns's Samson', in *Masculinity in Opera: Gender, History, and New Musicology* (2013) identifies the innuendos surrounding Saint-Saëns's suspected homosexuality during his own life, something to which a few critics subtly hinted in 1906.

Each of these tours provides its own historical revelations and adds to the biographical narratives of Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin. Taken together, they demonstrate the inseparability of constructs of gender and nationality from American

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[56] Joseph Horowitz, '"Sermons in Tones": Sacralization as a Theme in American Classical Music', *American Music*, 16, no. 3 (1999): 320.

[57] Joseph Horowitz, 'Finding a "Real Self": American Women and the Wagner Cult of the Late Nineteenth Century', *Musical Quarterly*, 78, no. 2 (1994): 193.

[58] 'Music', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 4. These sentences were almost directly plagiarised, without any citation, in another article the following month: 'City News: City Honored in Strauss' Visit: "Successor of Wagner" to Be Seen Here', *Minneapolis Journal*, 23 March 1904, 5, cols. 4–6.

narratives about the canon, cosmopolitanism, and the 'national art'. Using these vocabularies, American critics were constantly negotiating their place within (apart from, or against), the European classical canon. Visiting Europeans feature prominently in histories of the American *fin de siècle*, varyingly cast as observers or cultural saviours. But the critical gaze often emits from Europe: what did these musicians make of America? how did they change it? By inverting the paradigm and understanding these tours within a broader project of American cultural *Bildung*, we can discern the ways in which Americans saw their art as Europe's heir apparent.

Demographics

By 1900, the United States had become a nation of remarkable racial, linguistic, and political heterogeneity. As we shall see, discussion swirled about the respective merits or dangers of increased immigration, and the broader project of American assimilation. Polemicists, politicians, and public intellectuals debated the extent to which the United States ought to become a gleaming 'Golden Door', open to Europe's huddled masses, a more assimilative 'Melting-Pot' of racial and ethnic diversity, or a model of cultural pluralism. This last model envisioned the American city as an encapsulation of the whole 'Concert of Nations', one in which immigrant communities lived in dialogue, but still retained much of their cultural identity.[59] But apart from the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), and its extension a decade later, there had been few comprehensive legal challenges to America's surging immigration.[60] A new and vocal Immigration Restriction League would make some significant inroads, successfully lobbying for an Anarchist Exclusion Act (1903)

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[59] 'Cosmopolitanism Vs. Provincialism', *Colored American*, 17 May 1902, 8, col. 2.

[60] *An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to Chinese*, Public Law 47–126, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 22 (1882): 58–61.; *An Act to Prohibit the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States*, Public Law 52–60, *U.S. Statues at Large* 27 (1892): 25–26. Also known as the 'Geary Act', because of the sponsorship of California Representative Thomas J. Geary (1854–1929).

and a new Naturalization Act (1906).[61] But the periodic waves of anti-immigrant American sentiment had not yet, in the long-term, been very successful. In the 1900 federal census, some 13.7% of the United States population was counted as foreign-born. While overall this represented a slight decrease nationally, from the 14.8% listed a decade earlier, in the nation's populous northeast, the proportion of foreign-born immigrants had actually increased in nearly every state.[62] In 1900, the foreign-born population of Illinois had topped twenty percent. In Connecticut and New York that number was twenty-six, and in Massachusetts, it was thirty. In the rural, upper Midwest, with its hundreds of small German and Scandinavian communities, those numbers could be even higher. The population of Minnesota was 28.9% foreign-born, and in the plains of North Dakota it was a solid 35%.

Table 1.1: United States Population, 1880–1900 [63]

	1880	**1890**	**1900**
Native born	43,475,840	53,372,703	65,653,299
Foreign born	6,679,943	9,249,547	10,341,276
Total	50,155,783	62,622,250	75,994,575

These foreign-born populations were heavily British (1,167,623), Irish (1,615,459), Scandinavian (1,134,733), and interestingly, Canadian (1,179,922).[64] Of the 539,968 Southern Europeans, the preponderance was Italian (484,027). Among the 1,134,680 Eastern

[61] *An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens into the United States*, Public Law 57–162, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 32 (1903): 1213–1222.; *An Act to Establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to Provide for a Uniform Rule for the Naturalization of Aliens throughout the United States*, Public Law 59–338, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 34 (1906): 596–607.

[62] Specifically, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Vermont's percentage of foreign-born residents decreased from 13.3% to 13.0% between the two censuses. That figure went from 26.2% to 26.1% in New York, and 16.1% to 15.6% in Pennsylvania.

[63] Campbell J. Gibson and Emily Lennon, eds., 'Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850-1990', Population Division Working Paper, 29 (Washington: Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999), Table 1. Nativity of the Population and Place of Birth of the Native Population: 1850 to 1990. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab01.html

[64] These and all related statistics in this section are drawn from Gibson and Lennon, 'Historical Census Statistics', Table 4. Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population, With Geographic Detail Shown in Decennial Census Publications of 1930 or Earlier: 1850 to 1930 and 1960 to 1990. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html

Europeans, most were Poles (383,407) or Russians (423,726). (Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America accounted for a notably small proportion of immigrants to the United States in this census). But in 1900, the single largest demographic of foreign-born residents was, by an immense margin, Germans (2,663,418). With the addition of their Austrian neighbours (275,907), native German-speakers accounted for nearly three million people in the United States, a figure that represented thirty percent of the nation's foreign-born population and between and four and five percent of the country at large. It was a number close to the entire population of New York City. In the following decade, the period with which this dissertation is concerned, those demographics would change massively. British- and Scandinavian-born populations would increase incrementally. As mid-nineteenth-century Irish and German immigrants aged—specifically, at a rate exceeding that of new immigration—those communities would actually diminish by several hundred thousand members, each.[65] But the population of Italians in the United States would surge from 484,027 in 1900 to 1,343,125 a decade later.[66] The populations of Hungarians and Poles each roughly tripled. America's Russian population, some 423,726 in 1900, would end the decade at 1,184,412. Thus, American metropolises were becoming complex patchworks of immigrant communities, in varying degrees of ghettoization and assimilation, holding fast to certain elements of imported cultural practice while readily discarding others.

In such a complex, fluctuating ethnic landscape, it becomes increasingly daunting to define the essential characteristics of any American collective endeavour. 'American culture', 'American music', 'American tastes' were then—as indeed they are now—bounded by race, ethnicity, class, politics, urbanity, and internal geography. Indeed, each distinct urban culture and European diaspora would have left indelible cultural marks, subtly influencing

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[65] The Irish population would diminish from 1,615,459 to 1,352,251, or 263,208 people. The German population would diminish from 2,663,418 to 2,311,237 or 352,181 people.

[66] Greeks, though they their real numbers were much smaller, increased by an even greater rate, from just 8,515 in 1900 to 101,282 in 1910.

institutional structures, performance practices, repertoire, and music criticism. But defining continuities in an American musical canon is not an impossible task. In fact, the *fin de siècle* provides us with a curious moment of standardisation, in which markers of cultural value and success were becoming more alike across the country.

Establishing Patterns of American Taste

As we shall see, this trend had begun as early as the 1870s, when the landmark tours of Anton Rubinstein (1872–73) and Hans von Bülow (1875–76) helped canonize a core repertory of Austro-German concert works, centred around those of Beethoven. These men had not only dazzled audiences in Boston and New York, they also had visited the provincial towns of the mid-Atlantic, New England, and the upper-Midwest, both traveling as far down as New Orleans. Rubinstein and von Bülow did not inaugurate these trends; across the nation, local industrialists were already establishing Academies of Music, and interested concertgoers were reading John Sullivan Dwight.[67] But their concert repertories were a bold departure from the waltzes and virtuosic showpieces that had delighted audiences before the Civil War.[68] Rubinstein left America with a series of ten, mammoth solo recitals, offering the 'best illustration of each school of classic music' that was available, in a programme 'teeming with opportunities for instructive study'.[69] It was a remarkable articulation of the Austro-German canon, with an all-Beethoven night including six sonatas. Critical reception was mixed as to the technical quality, and many listeners—including

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[67] The Bostonian, John Sullivan Dwight (1813–93), was educated at Harvard College and later the Harvard Divinity School. He founded and edited the influential *Dwight's Journal of Music* (1852–81), the first major American periodical dedicated exclusively to musical topics. Dwight was known for his conservatism, his German aesthetic leanings, and his strong belief in the melioristic potentials of art.

[68] These works, along with symphonic and operatic transcriptions, formed a significant part of the repertories of Leopold de Meyer (1816–83), Henri Herz (1803–88), and Sigismund Thalberg (1812–71). Their American tours were 1845–47, 1846–50, and 1856–58, respectively.

[69] Programme announcement cited in Ronald V. Ratcliffe, *Steinway* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1989), 115–17.; R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 224.

Dwight, himself—found the programmes overly-long, but the cultural mark they left was indelible.[70] In the three decades between the departures of Rubinstein and von Bülow and the arrival of Richard Strauss, the standardisation of American musical culture only increased. Musicians were now doing business by express post, the telegraph, and telephone. An increasing cast of touring virtuosos, conductors, and even entire orchestras were now traveling on rapidly expanding rail networks. The institutions these men linked—conservatories, concert halls, and ensembles, to name a few—had long been developing along the same lines. Now they were connected by an operator's switchboard. But it was the press that played the single greatest role in standardising American art.

In describing patterns of performance, reception, and criticism, this dissertation makes periodic recourse to some seemingly broad terms: 'American musicians', 'American audiences', 'American critics', or the whole 'American musical establishment'. Of course, these constituencies were not monoliths, and musical taste remained a personal matter. But they were also definite categories, comprising specific individuals with the power to establish canons, patterns of performance, and a whole aesthetic value system. Indeed, the musical tastes and values of some of these individuals became emblematic of the whole. The American musical establishment was not an unknowable category. It comprised specific impresarios and benefactors (Heinrich Conried, Oscar Hammerstein I, and Henry L. Higginson), managers (C. A. Ellis, J. E. Francke, Bernhard Ulrich, and Henry Wolfsohn), conductors (Walter Damrosch, Wilhelm Gericke, Victor Herbert, Hugo Kalsow, Emil Oberhoffer, Fritz Scheel, Theodore Thomas, and Frank Van der Stucken), composers (George Whitefield Chadwick, Edward MacDowell, Arthur Foote, and Horatio Parker), as well as a many eminent performers and pedagogues. The professional records of these men—what they funded, programmed, conducted and composed—speak volumes about

[70] Lott, *Paris to Peoria*, 224–30.

the changing cultural values at the *fin de siècle*. Many also published their own musical opinions, memoires and reminiscences, thus directly articulating dominant critical *topoi* in American art. But perhaps most important in shaping American musical taste were the nation's critics. This dissertation relies heavily on the works of roughly two dozen critics and historians whose opinions dominated the public discourse on classical music.

Some of these, including Louis C. Elson, Rupert Hughes, and Daniel Gregory Mason (as well as the British-born critic, Hermann Klein) were principally authors and public lecturers. Their prolificity in print—as well as on the lecture circuit—gives a sense of the growing middle-class interest in music history and aesthetics, and how that interest was nurtured in music clubs and cultural societies. Elson, for instance, had published thirteen books on music by 1910, and Hughes and Mason had finished three each. Their works appeared on the shelves of music shops across the country and were widely advertised in trade publications and music magazines. Increasingly, these men were also public notables. Mason was an accomplished composer and performer in his own right. Hughes would eventually leave academia, then criticism, and achieve minor Hollywood celebrity as an actor. But it was Elson who remained one of the most consistent evangelists for public musical education. Louis C. Elson (1848–1920) was born in Boston to parents of German extraction, studying piano with Karl August Hamann (1827–92), voice with August Kreissman (1823–79), and—like many of his colleagues—theory at the Leipzig Conservatory.[71] In 1880, he began an affiliation with the New England Conservatory, where he would teach for most of his career, and he was also a staple of the lecture circuit, speaking to music clubs and universities across the country. In 1897, he undertook his first speaking tour, giving courses of lectures across the Southern United States.

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[71] William Lines Hubbard, ed., *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 5, Musical Biographies, vol. 1 (London: Irving Squire, 1908), s. v. 'Elson, Louis C.'.

Table 1.2: Representative Lectures of Louis C. Elson, 1890–1902

18 January 1890:	Tulane Hall, New Orleans: English Music (Charles II–Queen Anne).[72]
23 April 1891:	Memorial Hall, St Louis, MO: 'Story of German Music'.[73]
28 December 1892:	Association Hall, Brooklyn Institute: 'Seven Centuries of English Song'.[74]
21 February 1893:	Baldwin Hall, Louisville, KY: 'Seven Centuries of English Song'.[75]
22 February 1893:	Baldwin Hall, Louisville, KY: 'Story of German Music'.[76]
1 August 1894:	Monona Lake Chautauqua, Madison, WI: 'Story of German Music'.[77]
17 December 1896:	Sleeper Hall, New England Conservatory, Boston: 'Beethoven'.[78]
27 March 1897:	Steinert Hall, Boston: 'Troubadours and Their Descendants'.[79]
11 December 1897:	Vendome Theatre, Nashville, TN.[80]
17 February 1898:	Drexel Institute, Philadelphia: 'History and Influence of Scottish Song'.[81]
12 January 1900:	People's Church, St Paul, MN: 'Troubadours and Their Descendants' [?].[82]
15 January 1900:	People's Church, St Paul, MN: 'Songs of the Nation'.[83]
7 April 1902:	Jackson Club, Boston.[84]
20 January 1902:	Horticultural Hall, Boston: 'The Pianoforte and Its Successors'.[85]

A representative selection of lectures from the 1890s gives a sense of Elson's career as a public intellectual, where he travelled, the kinds of venues in which he spoke, and his topics. For a trained singer, opera—especially Italian opera—formed a relatively small part of Elson's professional interest. The majority of his lectures concerned Anglo-German repertory, especially Beethoven, Wagner, and Brahms, as well American musical culture. Because of Elson's robust published catalogue, and his long affiliation with America's oldest

[72] 'English Music: Third Lecture of Prof. Elson's Course Before the Musicians' Guild', *New Orleans Picayune*, 18 January 1890, 4, col. 5.

[73] 'Louis C. Elson of Boston will Lecture on […]', *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, 21 April 1891, 5, col. 4.

[74] 'Coming Events', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 28 December 1892, 5, col. 1. Unlike the *Chicago Tribune* or the *Pittsburgh Post*, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* included the adjective 'daily' in the printed masthead. It is retained here.

[75] 'Notice! Subjects of Louis C. Elson's Lectures', *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal*, 21 February 1893, 8, col. 4.

[76] Ibid.

[77] 'Monona Lake Programme: Services Will Be Held in Observance of Recognition Day', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 1 August 1894, 10, col. 1.

[78] 'In Memory of Beethoven: Students of the Conservatory of Music Listen to Louis C. Elson', *Boston Globe*, 18 December 1896, 10, col. 4.

[79] 'Louis C. Elson's Lecture', 28 March 1897, *Boston Post*, 5, col. 5.

[80] 'Prof. Louis C. Elson: Prior to His Lecture He Talks Interestingly to an American Reporter: American Music is Southern', *Nashville* (Tennessee) *American*, 13 December 1897, 5, col. 8.

[81] 'Events To-Day', *Philadelphia Times*, 17 February 1898, 12, col. 5.

[82] 'Used Song and Story: Music of the Eld Happily Discussed by Mr. Louis C. Elson: Second Lecture of Series', *St Paul* (Minnesota) *Globe*, 13 January 1900, 8, col. 3.

[83] 'Songs of the Nation: Mr. Louis C. Elson's Final Lecture Delivered to Good Audience: National Airs of America', *St Paul* (Minnesota) *Globe*, 16 January 1900, 8, col. 2.

[84] 'Bunker Hill District', *Boston Globe*, 7 April 1902, 7, col. 4.

[85] 'The World's Music: Horticultural Hall', *Boston Globe*, 20 January 1902, 10, col. 3.

conservatory, his lectures became important public events, especially in smaller cities in the South and Midwest. The broadsheets regularly recorded his activities in other cities, and upcoming lectures were extensively publicised.

On occasion, Elson himself was interviewed, and his responses give a telling insight into trends of American self-perception at the *fin de siècle*. Elson's vision for an American school of composition, for instance, involved the transformation of Negro spirituals and 'Indian music' into a preponderantly white idiom:

> The Indian music is not distinctive American music—that is, to say, it bears a kinship to a great deal of other savage music. Southern music is not African music; on the other hand it has been altogether modified by surroundings. It is an American growth, no matter what the seed may have been.[86]

But interestingly, Elson's enthusiasm for the idiom largely came from external, specifically German validation: 'I can say that the Germans are very much interested in it when they hear any of it'.[87] By Strauss's arrival in 1904, Elson had written nine books in which he articulated a clear musical ideology, anchored in a core Austro-German repertory.[88] To Elson, Beethoven was 'a model in art for all the coming ages', Wagner, the 'greatest musical genius of the last half of the nineteenth century', and Brahms, the 'only legitimate successor of Beethoven', promulgating a true 'Music of the Future'.[89] Through their publishing and their public speaking, Elson and his colleagues had a meaningful impact on the development of musical taste, if only within a few narrow constituencies: the people who bought their books, and attended their lectures were presumably the same concertgoers who attended the

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[86] Elson would also observe, 'I have studied much in American natural music and composers, and I am a firm believer that American music is only southern music'. Prof. Louis C. Elson: Prior to His Lecture He Talks Interestingly to an American Reporter: American Music is Southern', *Nashville American*, 13 December 1897, 5, col. 8.

[87] Ibid.

[88] *Curiosities of Music* (1880), *The History of German Song* (1888), *Theory of Music* (1890), *European Reminiscences, Musical and Otherwise* (1891), *The Realm of Music* (1892), *Great Composers and their Work* (1898) *The National Music of America and its Sources* (1900), *Shakespeare in Music* (1901), *The History of American Music* (1904).

[89] Louis C. Elson, *Great Composers and Their Work* (Boston: L. C. Page and Co., 1898), 127, 253, 260–61.

local symphony society concerts, and in some cases, who may even have underwritten them financially. Elson's readership may have been culturally engaged—even influential—but it was not necessarily broad. For that breadth, we turn to the newspapermen, whose concert reviews, widely disseminated on a daily basis, form the basis of our critical inquiry.

The Critics

For most of the nineteenth century, by-lines were almost entirely absent from the broadsheets, and so even preeminent critics wrote 'anonymously'. Newspaper staff lists were not confidential, and the affiliations of eminent journalists and critics were publicly known—at least among the *cognoscenti*. But many of the larger papers employed multiple reviewers to divide responsibility for the week, meaning that the lay audience—and certainly first-time readers—would have had little to no idea whom they were reading.[90] Consequently, reviews were taken to represent more than the musical opinions of individuals; they represented the opinion of the paper corporate, in all of its weight and force. Even among America's most authoritative and widely-published critics—William James Henderson and James Gibbons Huneker at the *Sun*, Richard Aldrich at the *Times* and Henry Edward Krehbiel at the *Tribune*—published reviews were almost invariably anonymized. Stripped of their personal attributions, these articles could take on a more objective role, if hardly an objective tone. In moments of critical disagreement, the result was a bewildering array of disparate opinions and thinly veiled jabs. But as we shall see, in those moments of convergence, the American critical apparatus could have an immense

[90] There are a few ready examples of this practice: writing to his fellow critic Henry Krehbiel, James Huneker would explain, 'You see, I only read the paper [the *Tribune*] on Sundays and Mondays—your days'. Huneker to Krehbiel, New York, 24 July 1904, in *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, 27. Henry Taylor Parker of the *Boston Evening Transcript* also worked in a similar system: 'On Mondays he takes the most important play or concert for himself; the next goes to his assistant; the others—quite often as many as seven—he assigns to what he labels "various hands"'. David McCord, *H.T.P.: Portrait of a Critic*, (New York: Coward-McCann, 1935), 9.

influence on the solidification of artistic taste. The nominal anonymity of American criticism could be an occasional source of confusion, but it could also give the broadsheets a united front. Taken together, the papers could direct the public perception of musical performances, aesthetics, developments, and values. With the increase of wire services and syndication, the influence of the New York dailies, specifically, grew markedly. Musical opinion in the *New York Times* was no longer restricted to its subscribers, or even the New York readership more generally. Rather, it was available to audiences on a national scale.

What then, were the musical values of this critical apparatus? Was there a degree of aesthetic consistency across these various critics? Did they have similar visions for the development of a national American art? How were their evaluative criteria played out in the reception of eminent European musicians in America, specifically Strauss, Saint-Saëns, and Scriabin? As we shall see, there were considerable variations in opinion: there existed factions of both 'conservatives' and 'progressives', there were those sympathetic to the musical innovations of the new French, Italian, or Russian schools as well as vigorous dissenters. In the realm of American music, there were enthusiastic Indianists, active partisans for the Negro spiritual as a basis of American art, and virulent ethnocentrists, resolutely opposed to both. But there were also strong continuities of reception, the most significant of which was a moral affirmation of the Austro-German compositional lineage as the cornerstone of American musical activity. This last element was perhaps the most significant, because seemingly, it was the least polemical. Critics were almost unanimous in their conflation of the characteristics of German romanticism with universal musical ideals. The trajectory of modern American music was the subject of intense debate, but its starting point, German late romanticism and early modernism, was largely assumed. As we shall see, the reasons for this orientation were manifold. They were bound up in the changing ethnic makeup of the United States, patterns of German assimilation, and changing cultural conceptions of whiteness that increasingly aligned Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic stock.

Moreover, American critics existed in a musical landscape dominated by German conductors and impresarios, as well as numerous and robust German amateur music societies, orchestras, and choruses. Finally, many of the nation's most influential critics shared a personal affiliation with German musical institutions that helped solidify their values and tastes. There were of course, variations in their artistic sensibilities, but in the broad arc of their criticism, these men articulated aesthetic values that were remarkably consistent, about the core repertory of Western classical music, and its American potentials in the new century. Since their writings contributed significantly to the establishment of American taste—and especially because their by-lines appeared rarely in print—it is worth sketching their careers. As the copious footnotes will demonstrate, parsing the critical field in 1904 is no easy feat:

Table 1.3: Major American Music Critics, 1904–1907

City	Paper	Tenure	Critic
Boston	*Boston Evening Transcript*	(1881–1903)	William Foster Apthorp (1848–1913).[91]
Boston	*Boston Evening Transcript*	(1905–34)	Henry Taylor Parker (1867–1934).[92]
Boston	*Boston Herald*	(1903–33)	Philip Hale (1854–1934).[93]
Chicago	*Chicago Inter Ocean*	(1901–10 [?])	Glenn Dillard Gunn (1874–1963)
Chicago	*Chicago Tribune*	(1899–1907)	William Lines Hubbard (1867–1951).[94]
New York	*Harper's Weekly*	(1901–13)	Lawrence Gilman (1878–1939).[95]
New York	*New York Evening Post*	(1881–1924)	Henry Theophilus Finck (1854–1926).[96]
New York	*New York Sun*	(1900–12)	James Gibbons Huneker (1857–1921).[97]
New York	*New York Sun*	(1902–37)	William James Henderson (1855–1937).[98]
New York	*New York Times*	(1902–24)	Richard Aldrich (1863–1937).[99]
New York	*New-York Tribune*	(1880–1923)	Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854–1923).[100]

[91] Educated at Harvard (BA, 1869). Contributor: *Atlantic Monthly* (1872–76); *Boston Sunday Courier* (1876–78); *Daily Evening Traveller* (1878–80); *Evening* Transcript (1880 or 1881–1803); *Dwight's Journal of Music.* Musical editor, *Scribner's Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians* (1880–90). Program annotator for the Boston Symphony Orchestra (1892–1901). See *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Apthorp, William Foster'; *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, vol. 1, ed. John Howard Brown (Boston: James H. Lamb Company, 1900), s. v. 'Apthorp, William Foster'.

[92] New York correspondent, *Boston Evening Transcript* (1892–98, 1901–03); theatre critic, *New York Commercial Advertiser* (1898–1900); and during the Strauss tour, *New York Globe* (1903–05). See *Historical Dictionary of American Theatre: Modernism*, 2nd ed., ed. James Fisher and Felicia Hardison Londré (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), s. v. 'Parker, H. T. (1867–1934)'. Also, David McCord, *H.T.P.: Portrait of a Critic*, (New York: Coward-McCann, 1935).; Henry Taylor Parker, *Motion Arrested: Dance Reviews of H. T. Parker*, ed. Oliver Holmes, (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982). Late in life, Parker published his own compilation of reviews, but it principally musicians in the period *after* the scope of this dissertation. See Henry T. Parker, *Eighth Notes: Voices and Figures of Music and the Dance* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1922).

[93] Educated at Yale; Music critic, *Albany Times* (1878–82, 1887–89); *Albany Union* (1887–89), *Boston Home Journal* (1889–90), *Boston Post* (1890–91); *Boston Journal* (1891–1903); *Boston Herald* (1903–33). Also contributed to the *Musical Courier* (1892–98), *Musical Record*, (1897–1901), *Musical World* (1901–02). See *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Hale, Philip'. Also see John C. Mitchell, *Trans-Atlantic Passages: Philip Hale on the Boston Symphony Orchestra 1889–1933* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1.

[94] Music critic, *Chicago Tribune* (1891–92) and again (1899–1907), with intervening study and performance in Europe. During his years at the *Tribune*, Hubbard was also sometime literary critic. See William Lines Hubbard, ed., *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 5, Musical Biographies, vol. 1 (London: Irving Squire, 1908), s. v. 'Hubbard, William Lines'.

[95] Music critic, *New York Herald* (1896–98); *Harper's Weekly* (1901–1913), music critic (1901–03), assistant editor (1903–11), managing editor (1911–13); *Harper's Magazine* (1913–15); *North American Review* (1915–1923); *New York Herald Tribune* (1923–1939, succeeding Henry E. Krehbiel). See *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Gilman, Lawrence'.

[96] Educated at Harvard. Also contributed to *The Nation*. Reviewed the first Bayreuth Festival for the *New York World* and *Atlantic Monthly*. See *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Finck, Henry Theophilus'.

[97] Music critic, *New York Recorder* (1891–95); *Morning Advertiser* (1895–97); *Morning Telegraph* (1898); *Musical Courier* (1887–1902); *New York Sun* (1900–02), drama critic (1902–04), art critic (1906–12); foreign correspondent, *New York Times* (1912–14); critic, *Puck* (1914–16); *New York Sun* (1916); *Philadelphia Press* (1917–19); *New York Times* (1918–19); *New York World* (1919–21). See *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Huneker, James Gibbons'.

[98] Educated at Princeton. Music critic, *New York Times* (1887–1902); *New York Sun* (1902–20 and 1924–37), and possibly, also at the *New York Herald* (1920–24). The documentation for Henderson's four-year stint at the *Herald* is unclear. Arthur Mendel, 'Obituary: Richard Aldrich and William J. Henderson', *Musical Times*, 78 no. 1133 (1937): 654; *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Henderson, William James'.

[99] Music critic, *Providence Journal* (1880s); *Washington Evening Star* (1889–91); *New-York Tribune* (1891–1902, assisting Krehbiel); *New York Times* (1902–24). Arthur Mendel, 'Obituary: Richard Aldrich and William J. Henderson', *Musical Times*, 78 no. 1133 (1937): 654; *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Aldrich, Richard'.

[100] *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Krehbiel, Henry Edward'.

Of course, this is far from an exhaustive list of American critics at the *fin de siècle*. A full appraisal of American musical criticism in this period is well beyond the scope of the present inquiry, but this list provides a representative tool. It is nevertheless important to note that not all newspapermen were men. Jennie Irene Mix of the *Pittsburgh Post* and Berenice Thompson of the *Washington Post* appear at several intervals, but published biographical material on either is rare.[101] There are also several other named correspondents, including Walton Perkins of the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Gustav Schlotterbeck, of the *Pittsburgh Post*, and the regionally-syndicated columnist, Robert Butler, about whom little information survives.[102] Another trend, evidenced by the huge diversity of newspapers that will be cited in the following chapters, is that serious musical criticism was not restricted to New York, Boston, or Chicago. Long-form, analytical reviews appeared in the papers of almost every mid-sized American city, and even many small towns. As we will see, some of the most colourful writing and trenchant analysis of the period came from anonymous critics in small regional papers. Indeed, these dailies were the training-grounds for the next generation of 'national' critics, and a quick appraisal of the footnotes at the end of Table 1.3 finds a young Philip Hale at the *Albany Times*, James Huneker at the smaller *New York Recorder* and *Morning Advertiser*, and Richard Aldrich at the *Providence Journal*.

These regional papers took their cultural briefs seriously, and when Strauss or Saint-Saëns performed in Cincinnati, for instance, there was an *Enquirer* critic on hand to assess his debut. Still, concertgoers did not enter Cincinnati's sprawling Music Hall as blank slates. Many of them would have already read reviews of Strauss's New York, Boston, and Chicago

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[101] The *Pittsburgh Post*, like several other newspapers, was sometimes referenced specifically as the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* and the *Pittsburgh Sunday Post*. For consistency, this dissertation does not distinguish between weekday and Sunday editions, and all references use the same title which appeared in print: the *Pittsburgh Post*.

[102] Butler's reviews appear in papers such as the *Eau Claire* (Wisconsin) *Leader*, and the *Pittston* (Pennsylvania) *Gazette*. Elsewhere, there are correspondents identified exclusively by their initials, such as C. I. B. of the *New-York Tribune*. I have attempted to identify them when possible, but more obscure instances would require a specialist study of American criticism in the period.

performances, syndicated in their own local paper. So, in the immense critical landscape of the American *fin de siècle*, the New York, Boston, and Chicago papers can serve as a stand-in for aesthetic trends and orientations, writ large. Though they represented only a small corner of their field numerically, these eleven men, Apthorp, Parker, Hale, Gunn, Hubbard, Gilman, Finck, Huneker, Henderson, Aldrich, and Krehbiel, held disproportionate sway over the formation of musical taste, on a national scale. Their educational and professional backgrounds reveal much about the music they valued and propagated.

William Foster Apthorp (1848–1913), was an archetypical Boston Brahmin born to a prominent family with strong European connections.[103] As a child, Apthorp spent four years travelling around Europe with his family, studying languages and painting in Dresden, Berlin, Rome, and Florence, before returning to the United States and entering Harvard. There, like many of his Bostonian peers, Apthorp was a student of John Knowles Paine. He entered journalism in 1872 at the *Atlantic Monthly* and subsequently worked for a range of papers in Boston and New York. Apthorp was a career music educator, long affiliated with the New England Conservatory and Boston University, and also an active book editor, overseeing three volumes of *Scribner's Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians* in the late 1880s. It was in the context of this scholarly work that Apthorp was engaged to write historical programme notes for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, giving him a direct role in audience reception and education.[104]

Apthorp's colleague, Henry Taylor Parker (1867–1934), known almost exclusively as H.T.P.—or 'Hell-to-Pay Parker' to his staff—spent nearly thirty years as the music, drama,

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[103] The 'Boston Brahmins' were members of that city's cultural elite. The term, coined in an 1860 *Atlantic Monthly* article by Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94), referred to members of a number of influential New England families, many with roots back to the Mayflower. 'Brahmin' is a loan-word from the Hindi, in which it describes the highest level of the Hindu caste system.

[104] No extended biographies of Apthorp exist, however there is a doctoral dissertation concerning his criticism and programme annotations. Robert B. Nelson, 'The Commentaries and Criticisms of William Foster Apthorp' (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1991).

and dance critic of the *Boston Evening Transcript*.[105] Parker never married, and lived a quiet, verging on monastic existence in Boston, producing an astonishing amount of copy over the course of his career. He was a noted eccentric who kept odd hours, rising at eleven, and finishing his reviews as late as three or six in the morning. He was also a prolific concertgoer, and instantly recognisable with his dangling cigarette and bent bamboo cane. In his memorial, *Portrait of a Critic* (actually written shortly before Parker's death), David McCord stressed Parker's fundamental cosmopolitanism: he was a 'gentleman of New York, who would prefer residence in Munich or Vienna', and one whose days were 'confounded, it seems, between New England where he was born, England where he went to school, Harvard where he ranked with the Class of 1890, New York where he began as a critic, Boston where he liv[ed], and Germany where he intend[ed] to die'.[106] McCord's portrait also stressed a sort of malleability of national type, suggesting that Parker was indefinably European, and rarely pigeon-holed as an American abroad.[107] Though the historical writing on Parker is thin, the consensus paints him as a fair-minded, if conservative critic, one aggressively disinterested in 'dressing room gossip', and largely sympathetic to changing tastes. He was at once disengaged from Boston's polite society, 'a small and bitter gargoyle above the Brahmin sea',[108] and at the same time a product of its values, possessed of a 'full-blown East Coast elitism', and understanding 'Boston as the cultural center of the United States (if not the Hub of the Universe)'.[109]

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[105] Brooks Atkinson, 'Preface: H.T.P', in Henry Taylor Parker, *Motion Arrested: Dance Reviews of H. T. Parker*, ed. Oliver Holmes, (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), xiii.

[106] David McCord, *H.T.P.: Portrait of a Critic*, (New York: Coward-McCann, 1935), 3, 18. Other sources confirm that Parker did not finish at Harvard, leaving early because the institution 'failed to offer sufficient courses in drama and literature'. *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre*, 3rd ed., ed. Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak, s. v. 'Parker, Henry Taylor (1867–1934), critic'. Parker may have done some of his schooling at the Harrow School, but McCord notes that '[c]uriously enough, the School authorities have failed to find Mr. Parker's name on any of their available records'. McCord, *H.T.P.*, 18.

[107] 'Every summer he goes to Europe, gives up cigarettes, and smokes a pipe. By synthetic accident of foreign clothes, he is assumed in London to be a Frenchman, in Paris a German, and in Berlin an Englishman'. McCord, *H.T.P.*, 22.

[108] McCord, *H.T.P.*, 15–16.

[109] Oliver Holmes, 'Prologue', in Henry Taylor Parker, *Motion Arrested: Dance Reviews of H. T. Parker*, ed. Oliver Holmes, (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), xxi.

The last of the Bostonians was Philip Hale (1854–1934), who had an extraordinary, thirty-year tenure at the *Boston Herald*, almost until his death. Hale was a Yale alumnus, and like many young Americans of his generation, he travelled to Berlin and Munich in the 1880s, undertaking a concerted study of organ, counterpoint, and composition.[110] (Unlike most of his colleagues, he was also the product of some French study with Guilmant). Hale died shortly after his retirement from the *Herald*, and to his eulogists, his legacy was not just local, but national, key to 'the development of musical standards and taste' across the nation.[111] As Jon C. Mitchell observes, this outsized impact on national taste was in part due to Hale's astounding prolificity: 795 program books for the Boston Symphony Orchestra (succeeding Apthorp), and 1,056 weekly reviews of that orchestra, alone—not counting the hundreds of additional reviews of other ensembles and visiting solo artists.[112] Unlike Parker, who largely eschewed personal associations with the musicians whom he reviewed, Hale was on friendly terms with many Bostonian cultural luminaries. As a member of three of the city's exclusive gentlemen's clubs, he was a fixture of Boston's aristocratic social circuit as much as its concert life.[113] Hale stood apart from his colleagues in one notable respect, his consistent advocacy of broadening the repertoire and his noted—if sometimes 'overstated'—'Francophile tendencies'.[114] He was also a lone dissenting voice against the general critical adulation of Brahms as 'the only legitimate successor of Beethoven'.[115] But Hale's German education was still formative. Through his formal study at the Hochschule für Musik Berlin, as well as his private tuition, Hale had learned from some of the principal academicians of the nineteenth century, including Carl August Haupt (1810–91), Albert

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[110] 'Philip Hale is Dead, Music, Drama Critic: Leader in Musical World—30 Years With Herald', *Boston Globe*, 1 December 1934, 13, col. 2.

[111] Olin Downes, 'Tribute to Philip Hale: A Colleague Credits Him With Setting New Critical Ideas', *New York Times*, 1 December 1934, 13, col. 4.

[112] John C. Mitchell, *Trans-Atlantic Passages: Philip Hale on the Boston Symphony Orchestra 1889–1933* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1.

[113] Mitchell, *Philip Hale*, 3.

[114] Mitchell, *Philip Hale*, 4.

[115] Louis C. Elson, *Great Composers and Their Work* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1898), 253.

Heintz (1822–1911), Xaver Scharwenka (1850–1924), Oscar Raif (1847–99), Heinrich Urban (1837–1901), Woldemar Bargiel (1828–97), Josef Rheinberger (1839–1901), and Immanuel Gottlob Faisst (1823–94). In late career, however, he became a notable outlier, essentially 'Francophile in his music criticism, generally favoring the Franco-Russian timbre-oriented approaches to orchestral composition over the more Germanic logical development of themes'.[116]

Unlike most of his East-Coast colleagues, William Lines Hubbard (1867–1951), received no formal university training. He grew up in southern Illinois, passed through the public schools, and joined the *Chicago Evening Journal* as a bookkeeper at eighteen.[117] In his twenties Hubbard pursued dual ambitions as a writer and a professional pianist, and so—like many of his contemporaries—he travelled to Germany. It was a formative period: in 1890 he attended both the Mozart Festival in Salzburg and the season at Bayreuth. For five years, from 1893 to 1898, he lived and worked in Dresden. Almost as soon as he resumed the music editorship of the *Chicago Tribune* in 1899, he was sent back to Europe as the paper's Vienna correspondent for a year. As a result, Hubbard was not only familiar with the concert cultures of Germany's and Austria's principal musical centres, he was also personally acquainted with many of their eminent performers—musicians who would invariably pass through Chicago on their concert tours. Though Hubbard did not enjoy the celebrity status of some of his New York colleagues, he—and the *Chicago Tribune* more generally—was still operating on a national scale. Hubbard became Editor in Chief of the *American History and Encylopedia of Music*, an immense undertaking which from 1908 to 1910, drew contributions from most of the nation's eminent critics and composers.[118]

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[116] Mitchell, *Philip Hale*, 14–15.

[117] William Lines Hubbard, ed., *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 5, Musical Biographies, vol. 1 (London: Irving Squire, 1908), s. v. 'Hubbard, William Lines'.

[118] Including George Whitefield Chadwick, Walter Damrosch, Arnold Dolmetsch, Arthur Foote, William James Henderson, Franz Kniesel, Henry Krehbiel, Emil Liebling, Frederic W. Root, and Frederick Stock.

Hubbard's counterpart at the *Chicago Inter Ocean* was Glenn Dillard Gunn (1874–1963). Aside from Lawrence Gilman, Gunn was a decidedly junior member of the cohort, between ten and twenty years younger than most of his eminent peers. In fact, at the time of Strauss's arrival in 1904, Gunn was only recently returned from his own German study; in 1893, at the age of nineteen, he had entered the Leipzig Conservatory to learn from Carl Reinecke, though by 1901, he was back in the United States, teaching at the Chicago Musical College (now a division of Roosevelt University's Chicago College of Performing Arts). Three years after Hubbard's departure from the *Tribune*, Gunn would take over that music desk, serving as the chief critic there from 1910 to 1915. His ambitions lay principally in performance, however, and in 1915 he left Chicago to establish the American Symphony Orchestra, an ensemble dedicated to modern American premieres.[119]

The musical activities of Boston and Chicago were the subject of both regional and national interest, in large part because of the pre-eminence of their orchestras, built up under the auspices of the businessman, Henry Lee Higginson in Boston, and the conductor, Theodore Thomas in Chicago.[120] Their demographic and cultural contexts varied substantially, however. Many eminent Bostonians, especially those connected with Harvard, the New England Conservatory, the Handel and Haydn Society, and the Boston Symphony, self-presented as both the arbiters and guardians of national cultural development.[121] The explosion of cultural activity in Chicago, by contrast, was a fairly recent phenomenon—the product of a huge expansion in population from the 1871 Great Fire, onwards. In 1870 there were close to three hundred thousand Chicagoans. By 1910, the United States Census

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[119] *Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 2nd ed., s. v. 'Gunn, Glenn Dillard'. Gunn's papers are held by the Library of Congress Music Division. Though his collected correspondence mostly dates from the inter-war period onwards, it contains letters to and from Ferruccio Busoni, Walter Damrosch, Percy Grainger, Hans Kindler, Dimitri Mitropoulus, Serge Prokofieff, Moriz Rosenthal, Leopold Stokowski.

[120] Henry Lee Higginson was first cousin of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, with whom this chapter began.

[121] Again, what Oliver Holmes has identified as the tendency to see Boston as the 'cultural center of the United States (if not the Hub of the Universe)'. Holmes, 'Prologue', in Parker, *Motion Arrested*, xxi.

would count 2,185,283—an increase of approximately seven hundred percent in just forty years. In addition to becoming one of the largest cities in the nation, Chicago had also become one of its most determinately international, a fact made especially apparent in the many national parades that accompanied the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition.[122] If Boston exemplified what Joseph Horowitz and Jackson Lears have called a 'sacralised' musical culture—and what George Santayana derided as a bloodless, 'genteel tradition'—then Chicago represented a sort of dynamic, if still unformed cosmopolitanism.[123] But in spite of their important cultural contributions, neither city gained the same national and international attention as New York, especially in the realm of cultural criticism. That critical landscape, however, was still very uneven across varied newspapers and magazines.

New York Newspapermen

By 1904, New York was home to a sizeable cohort of critics, and while some held disproportionate sway over public opinion, others, including Lawrence Gilman (1878–1939) of *Harpers* and Henry Theophilus Finck (1854–1926) of the *New York Evening Post*, occupied a smaller corner of the field. At twenty-six, Gilman was the junior member at the time of Strauss's arrival, though his first book, *Phases of Modern Music* (1904) would shortly put him on the map. Six books would follow in as many years, including *The Music of Tomorrow* (1906), *Stories of Symphonic Music* (1907), *A Guide to Strauss' 'Salome'* (1907) *A Guide to Debussy's 'Pelleas et Melisande'* (1907), *'Aspects of Modern Opera'* (1908), and *Edward MacDowell: A Study* (1909). As a consequence, Gilman would establish himself as both a leading authority on

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[122] 'Of the total population in 1900 not less than 34.6% were foreign-born; the number of persons either born abroad, or born in the United States of foreign parentage (i.e. father or both parents foreign), was 77.4% of the population, and in the total number of males of voting age, the foreign-born predominated (53.4%). Of the latter category 68.2% were already citizens by naturalization'. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1911), vol. 6, s. v. 'Chicago'.

[123] George Santayana, 'The Genteel Tradition', in *Winds of Doctrine: Studies in Contemporary Opinion* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 204. This will form a significant part of the discussion in Chapter III: Camille Saint-Saëns.

Strauss and Debussy, and as a representative of a new generation of critics. Gilman had originally intended to study art, attending the Collins Street Classical School in Hartford, and then the Art Students League in New York, but by eighteen he was already in the bullpen of the *New York Herald*. He joined *Harper's* as their music critic in 1901, when he was just twenty-three.[124]

If Gilman represented a forward-looking young guard, Finck was the face of a more conservative establishment in music criticism. Born in Missouri and raised in Oregon, Finck grew up in a highly literate and musical household, even though most of his childhood was spent in provincial towns. His father was a medical doctor and a talented amateur musician, organising the volunteer bands and choral societies in which his son performed. Finck entered Harvard to study medicine, but his interests later drew him into the Classics and Philosophy departments, as well as to harmony, counterpoint, and music history lessons with John Knowles Paine.[125] After finishing in 1876, he spent a year at Cambridge University, and then studied 'physiological psychology' in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Vienna from 1878 to 1881.[126] Finck attended the inaugural Bayreuth Festival in 1876 and spent a year in Munich hearing the rest of Wagner's works, simultaneously reviewing them for the *New York World*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and *The National*. It was apparently during this period that he met Wagner in person and began writing a book on the music dramas.[127] The capstone of this 'propaganda for Wagner's music', was a complete American edition of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, published in 1903.[128] In this respect, Finck demonstrates a unique

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[124] 'Lawrence Gilman Dead: Reviewer for Herald Tribune Since 1923 Succumbs in Sugar Hill, N.H., at 61', *New York Times*, 10 September 1939, 49, cols. 1–2.

[125] William Lines Hubbard, ed., *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 5, Musical Biographies, vol. 1 (London: Irving Squire, 1908), s. v. 'Finck, Henry Theophilus, 1854–'.

[126] James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, ed., *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1887), s. v. 'Finck, Henry Theophilus'.

[127] William Lines Hubbard, ed., *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 5, Musical Biographies, vol. 1 (London: Irving Squire, 1908), s. v. 'Finck, Henry Theophilus, 1854–'.

[128] George Edwin Rines, ed., *Encyclopedia Americana: A Library of Universal Knowledge*, vol. 11 (New York: Encyclopedia Americana Corporation, 1922), s. v. 'Finck, Henry Theophilus'.

characteristic of 'conservative' American criticism—namely that it was entirely consistent with Wagnerism. As Joseph Horowitz has demonstrated, American Wagnerism took on a distinctly wholesome, melioristic tone, and Wagner himself was re-cast as a preacher of 'uplift'.[129] But the music dramas were not an all-consuming passion for Finck, and the rest of his published catalogue—with subjects ranging from gastronomy, to travel and composer biography—demonstrates just how wide-ranging his intellectual interests were.[130]

Beyond Gilman and Finck, New York music criticism was principally dominated by the works of four influential men: James Gibbons Huneker (1857–1921) and William James Henderson (1855–1937) of the *New York Sun*, Richard Aldrich (1863–1937) of the *New York Times*, and Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854–1923) of the *New-York Tribune*. Though their musical opinions would often diverge, in most respects, they represented an uncommonly close quartet of colleagues. With the exception of the slightly younger Aldrich, they were almost exact contemporaries, born within three years of one another, and closely related through their professional activities. For a decade, Aldrich had been Krehbiel's assistant at the *New-York Tribune*, and in 1902, he would succeed his close friend and colleague, William Henderson at the *Times*. Henderson, in turn, would go to the *Sun*, where he would work alongside Huneker. It was a revolving door of professional appointments in which these four men would assist and succeed one another, in varying permutations. Of course, they corresponded as well. Huneker's many exchanges with Aldrich and Krehbiel—ordinarily addressed simply as Dick and Harry—ranged from robust artistic disagreement to editorial comment on each other's manuscripts, and to the prosaic logistics of dinner and drinks. The

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[129] For more on this see Joseph Horowitz, 'Finding a "Real Self": American Women and the Wagner Cult of the Late Nineteenth Century', *Musical Quarterly*, 78, no. 2 (1994): 189–205.; Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).; Horowitz, *Moral Fire: Musical Portraits from America's Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

[130] *The Gastronomic Value of Odours* (1886), *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty* (1887), *Chopin, and Other Musical Essays* (1889), *Pacific Coast Scenic Tour* (1890), *Spain and Morocco* (1891), *Wagner and his Works* (1893), *Paderewski and his Art* (1895), *Lotus Time in Japan* (1895), *Primitive Love and Love Stories* (1899), *Pictorial Wagner* (1899), *Anton Seidl* (1899), *Songs and Song Writers* (1900), and *Edvard Grieg* (1905).

letters to Krehbiel, especially—or '*Jupiter Tonans*', as Huneker would occasionally reference him—demonstrate a special warmth and friendly allegiance that far outweighed their sparring matches in print.[131] Not only did he write regularly to his colleagues, he was also a confidant for the new generation of critics, especially his own deputy at the *Sun*, Edward E. Ziegler (1870–1947) and Krehbiel's assistant, Walter Prichard Eaton (1878–1957). As they grew older, the connections between these men took on a more sombre tone. They were each other's eulogists: to Krehbiel, Huneker was a 'rare and gallant soul'.[132] To Aldrich, Krehbiel was 'a man of positive opinions, fearless in putting them forth, incorruptible in his honesty'.[133] Aldrich's death in 1937 was especially affecting for his best friend, Henderson, a lifelong bachelor who was by then the last of the quartet. Three days later, he shot himself in his New York apartment.

Of these four, the most versatile critic was surely James Gibbons Huneker. Writing a decade after Huneker's death (in the 1932 *Dictionary of American Biography*), Henderson would observe that he 'was above all else an explorer'. On hearing of a new territory,

> […] he went to it at once; and if there he found new gods, he bowed before their altars till he had learned all they could tell him and then set out in search of farther lands. This trend of mind gave him astonishing versatility. As a literary worker he was primarily a prose stylist. He knew verse and loved it, but the technique of poetry never interested him as that of prose did. Splendor in style always aroused him. He had the soul of a seventeenth-century Venetian. All that was most voluptuous in form and color filled him with rapture which sought utterance in sonorous phrase.[134]

Of course, Henderson's mimicry of his subject's prose style—especially in an otherwise staid publication—was a sort of tribute in its own right. In Henderson's evaluation, it was

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[131] 'Well, old man, our divergent tastes in art matters will never sever our friendship. Damn the silliness and smallness that can't stand criticism. You have praised my work, and you have a perfect right to pound it, anyhow I learn something […]'. Evidently, Huneker had far less time for some of the other critics, notably Finck. Huneker to Krehbiel, New York, 24 July 1904, in *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, 27.

[132] 'A Rare and Gallant Soul', *New-York Tribune*, 11 February 1921, 10, col. 3.

[133] Richard Aldrich, 'Henry Edward Krehbiel', *Music & Letters*, 4, no. 3 (1923): 267.

[134] *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 9 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), s. v. 'Huneker,' 379.

the musician in Huneker that 'urged him to try to employ his language not merely as an instrument, but as an orchestra', a fact that explained 'his incessant flights into oratorical picturesqueness and the variety of his luxurious imagery'. ('Oratorical picturesqueness', of course, is precisely the kind of phrase that permeates Huneker's own writing.) The intellectual scope of Huneker's newspaper criticism and his published monographs was vast, and over the course of his career he was varyingly a critic in art, literature, theatre, and music. In his spare time, he was also a humourist, an essayist, a poet, and an author of short stories. His fiction, often tongue-in-cheek, ranged from the absurd to the prophetic: his collection of short stories, *Melomaniacs*, even includes an anarchic Russian virtuoso and composer, whose synesthetic colour symphony brings about the end of the world.[135] ('The Piper of Dreams', it should be noted, was published a full year before Scriabin began work on his *Mysterium*.) But Huneker stood apart from his colleagues in other notable ways, particularly in his largely self-directed education. The grandson of an Irish poet and a church organist, Huneker grew up in an exceptionally literate, but otherwise 'old-fashioned, middle-class family'.[136] It was not akin to the backgrounds of Parker, Hale, or Finck, or the almost aristocratic upbringing of Apthorp in Boston, but it was characterised by a deep investment in literature and the visual arts. In his biography, *Steeplejack*, Huneker describes a small, tidy house filled with steel engravings and mezzotints, and an education anchored in Cicero, Horace, and Saint Augustine. Though he was raised in an observant Irish Catholic household, Huneker also lived in close interrelation with Philadelphia's Jewish community,

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[135] James Huneker, 'The Piper of Dreams', in *Melomaniacs* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 31–62.

[136] Huneker's description of his childhood paints a confused picture of his family's social standing. One grandfather apparently owned a printing office, and the family employed an 'old nurse, a devoted Irish servant, with us over a quarter of a century'. Huneker's childhood home at 1434 North 7th Street, Philadelphia apparently still stands, a three-storey brick terrace home on a quiet, unremarkable street. So few of the original buildings remain however, that it is difficult to gauge how the neighbourhood originally appeared. James Gibbons Huneker, *Steeplejack* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920. Reprint, 1922), 13–17.

eventually coming to see 'Jewish blood' as a sort of 'spiritual leaven […] a barrier to the rapidly growing wave of fanatical puritanism' in American cultural life.[137]

Huneker's formal education was cut short: he was pulled out of Roth's Military Academy in Philadelphia, aged twelve, and entered the Baldwin Locomotive works as a labourer.[138] After an abortive attempt at the civil law, he travelled to Paris, where he entered the Conservatoire in 1878 to work with Théodore Ritter (Born Toussaint Prévost, 1840–86), and Leopold Doutreleau (1844–1921).[139] In 1886, he returned to the United States to work with Rafael Joseffy (1852–1915), becoming his assistant at the National Conservatory two years later. In the decade that he taught piano at the Conservatory, Huneker worked alongside a number of visiting European musicians, particularly Dvořák.[140] Huneker's critical vocabulary was not only affected by an extensive, cultural self-education, but also by his own technical facility as a performer, as well as his personal familiarity with many of the musicians he reviewed. Often, Huneker's style is immediately identifiable. In some instances, passages from daily newspaper reviews re-appear in published anthologies of Huneker's essays, confirming his authorship. But elsewhere, the attribution is less obvious. Huneker gave up the *Sun*'s music desk in 1902, where he was replaced by Henderson. During Strauss's tour, Huneker was the *Sun*'s drama critic, and during the tours of Saint-Saëns and Scriabin, he covered art. But throughout that decade, he still produced regular music criticism for other publications, as well as his own monographs and compilations. We know from his letters, that he regularly attended New York debuts, especially those of

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137 James Huneker, *New Cosmopolis: A Book of Images: Intimate New York. Certain European Cities Before the War: Vienna, Prague, Little Holland, Belgian Etchings, Madrid, Dublin, Marienbad, Atlantic City and Newport* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 70.

138 Arnold T. Schwab, 'Notes and Queries: Huneker's Hidden Birthdate', *American Literature*, 23, no. 3 (1951): 351.

139 William Lines Hubbard, ed., *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 5, Musical Biographies, vol. 1 (London: Irving Squire, 1908), s. v. 'Huneker, James Gibbons'. It was during this time that he also pursued some independent study at the Sorbonne.

140 'We spoke in German and I was happy to meet a man whose accent and grammar were worse than my own. Yet we got along swimmingly'. James Gibbons Huneker, *Steeplejack*, vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 67.

Strauss. Consequently, while it is reasonable to assume then that most of the *New York Sun* musical reviews in this period were written by Henderson, some particularly characteristic examples may be the work of Huneker.[141]

William James Henderson (1855–1937) had begun writing for newspapers as early as the age of fifteen. After finishing at Princeton, he relocated to New York, where he wrote for the *Tribune*, then the *Times* from 1887 to 1902. His tenure at the *New-York Tribune* lasted from 1902 to 1937.[142] Biographical information on Henderson is surprisingly scant, and it mostly exists in the form of two obituaries, both coupled with announcements of Aldrich's death three days prior.[143] Of these, the most interesting is really a eulogy for an entire period of musical criticism, bound up in this New York cohort at the *fin de siècle*. Famously sceptical of the demonym 'musicologist', Henderson apparently 'liked to regard himself as first of all a newspaperman; he was a reporter—with a specialty, music; as other newspapermen were reporters with their specialties: finance, sports, politics, *et cetera*'.[144] Nevertheless, he was a prolific author of books on music history and vocal pedagogy. His subjects were varied, though as 'Henderson himself would have viewed it, this sort of research was not musicology (the word rather amused him; if used in his presence, he invariably asked what it meant) but just the kind of digging expected of a good reporter'.[145] Among his more than a dozen books were *The Story of Music* (1889), *Preludes and Studies: Musical Themes of the Day* (1891), *What is Good Music: Suggestions to Persons Desiring to Cultivate a Taste in Musical Art*

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[141] In Chapter IV, I suggest that a review of Scriabin's first symphony is probably Huneker and not Henderson. 'Some Russian Novelties: Scriabine Hears His Own First Symphony', *New York Sun*, 1 March 1907, 9, col. 1.

[142] Most contemporary sources list his *Tribune* career as 1902–37, inclusive. There is some evidence he may have had a four-year interruption, during his time at the New York Herald (1920–24), but the documentation is unclear.

[143] Arthur Mendel, 'Obituary: Richard Aldrich and William J. Henderson', *Musical Times*, 78 no. 1133 (1937): 654.; Oscar Thompson, 'An American School of Criticism: The Legacy Left by W. J. Henderson, Richard Aldrich, and their Colleagues of the Old Guard', Musical Quarterly, 23 no. 4 (1937): 428–39.

[144] Thompson, 'An American School', 429–30.

[145] Thompson, 'An American School', 430. The editor of the *Musical Quarterly* would add: 'this alleged ignorance of Mr. Henderson's concerning what the term "musicology" meant did not prevent him from accepting membership in the recently founded American Musicology Society, nor his attending—busy man that he was—several of its meetings'.

(1898), *The Orchestra and Orchestral Music* (1899), *Richard Wagner: His Life and His Dramas* (1902), *Modern Musical Drift* (1904), *Pipes and Timbrels* (1905), *The Art of the Singer: Practical Hints about Vocal Technics and Style* (1906), *Some Forerunners of Italian Opera* (1911), and an *Early History of Singing* (1921).[146] Most of these texts recapitulate a Germano-centric historiography common in Anglo-American musical scholarship at the time. Henderson draws a progressive teleology from the renaissance masters through Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Berlioz, and Wagner. Wagner scholarship occupies the plurality of his work, both in long-form history, aesthetic criticism, and—like his colleague Lawrence Gilman—the creation of new performance editions. Most interesting among Henderson's books is his *Modern Musical Drift*, whose subject is Wagner (specifically *Parsifal*, *Der Ring Des Nibelungen*, and *Tristan und Isolde*), and the varied German and Italian responses to his legacy. Nearly seventy pages of his inquiry are devoted to Richard Strauss as both Wagner's musical heir and primary modern antagonist.[147]

Henderson's close friend, Richard Aldrich (1863–1937) had a similarly Wagnerian orientation. His own catalogue of monographs includes a short *Guide to Parsifal* (1904), and *A Guide to The Ring of the Nibelung: The Trilogy of Richard Wagner, Its Origin, Story, and Music* (1905).[148] Two compilation of Aldrich's criticism in the *New York Times* also include several of the articles that will be cited in the coming chapters.[149] At Harvard, Aldrich had studied with John Knowles Paine, and after graduating in 1885, he travelled to Germany to continue

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[146] An accomplished sailor, he also found time to compile a set of *Sea Yarns for Boys* (1894), and an instruction manual on *The Elements of Navigation* (1895); he took his one break from music criticism during the First World War to instruct United States Navy midshipmen.

[147] 'What he has already done is to stir up the musical world as it has not been stirred since Richard Wagner proclaimed his regenerative theories of the musical drama. Strauss has turned the technic of orchestral composition topsy-turvy, and has made orchestras sing new songs. He has in certain ways discredited Beethoven and the prophets, and has shrunk the orchestral wonders of Berlioz and Wagner to the dimensions of a Sunday afternoon band concert'. William Henderson, *Modern Musical Drift* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 98.

[148] Aldrich's other publications include a translation of Lilli Lehmann's *How to Sing (Meine Gesangskunst)* (1902) and critical notes for a collection of songs by Liszt (G. Schirmer 1902), and Weber's *Der Freischütz* (G. Schirmer, 1904).

[149] Richard Aldrich, *Musical Discourse: From the New York Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), and posthumously, Richard Aldrich, *Concert Life in New York: 1902–1923* (New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1941).

his musical education. By 1889, he was back in Providence, where he began his journalism career at the *Journal*, followed by brief stints at *Washington Evening Star*, and the *New-York Tribune* (as Krehbiel's assistant), before he took up his post at the *New York Times*.[150] Aldrich travelled to Europe throughout his career, and his connections to European musicians and institutions were often personal and familial. His brother would eventually become director of the American Academy in Rome, and through marriage, he was related to the wealthy Anglo-American Astor family. (Perhaps it was this affiliation that led Oscar Thompson to quip, '[t]ransplanted, Aldrich conceivably might have passed for British; but Henderson certainly would have retained a salty Americanism anywhere under the sun').[151]

The last of the New York critics was its musical 'Dean', a man who, as Joseph Horowitz has put it, 'was emblematic of a vibrant intellectual community that blended Germanic and American traits'.[152] Indeed, as 'a dominant propagator of a distinctively wholesome American Wagnerism', Henry Edward Krehbiel 'embodied both German Kunst and American meliorism'.[153] Krehbiel was born in the heart of the German Midwest to a German Methodist cleric. His classical and theological education mostly occurred at home, and it was perhaps the peculiar upbringing as a parson's son that lent him 'his inalienable right to pontificate'.[154] Though he began law studies in Cincinnati, Krehbiel did not finish any formal university study in either America or Germany, and so his socialisation into a peculiarly German-American system of cultural values occurred organically. Of all of his colleagues, Krehbiel was perhaps the most actively engaged in propagating a very specific vision for the creation of an 'American school' of composition. As we will see, he was unique in his enthusiasm for both traditional Indian music and the Negro spiritual as the

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150 'Richard Aldrich Dies in Rome at 73', *New York Times*, 3 June 1937, 25, cols. 1–3.
151 Oscar Thompson, 'An American School', 429.
152 Joseph Horowitz, 'Henry Krehbiel: German American, Music Critic', *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 8, no. 2 (2009), 165.
153 Ibid.
154 Thompson, 'An American School', 432.

potential bases for an American compositional idiom. His ethnomusicological investigations into black American music, especially, were uncharacteristically sympathetic for their time.

There was, of course, a direct intellectual link between Krehbiel's interest in the American vernacular and his advocacy for the music of Brahms and Dvořák—this was a deep investment in vernacular music. Folk material was a musical binding agent for Krehbiel; it anchored art music in the soil and in the work of the common man; it was spiritually ennobling and archetypically democratic. This musical 'rootedness'—a term that will return throughout this dissertation, especially in the context of musical cosmopolitanism—was thus a potential through-line between American and Austro-German compositional schools.[155] This may explain Krehbiel's antipathy towards modern developments in French composition, and what other critics would call its un-moored formlessness.[156] Over the course of his career, Krehbiel wrote more than a dozen books and historical sketches. Their subjects demonstrate both a desire to document the musical life of his city and its musical institutions, as well as to instruct a burgeoning class of first-time concertgoers. From the 1880s on, he published *Notes on the Cultivation of Choral Music and the Oratorio Society of New York* (1884), *Studies in the Wagnerian Drama* (1891), *The Philharmonic Society of New York: A Memorial* (1892), *How to Listen to Music* (1897), *Music and Manners in the Classical Period* (1898), and *Chapters of Opera* (1908). In 1921 Krehbiel completed the first English translation of Alexander Wheelock Thayer's *Life of Ludwig van Beethoven*.[157]

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[155] Krehbiel was also a strong supporter of both Dvořák and Tchaikovsky. His enthusiasm for a Bohemian and Russian might seem at odds with his preponderantly German orientations, but the reality is more subtle. As we shall see, many American critics enthused over West-Slavic and Russian musicians, provided that they ascribed to a kind of folk-nationalism that was deeply rooted in German aesthetic values. Those Eastern Europeans who bucked the expectations of 'characteristic', folk-driven music, could be critically problematic. As Chapter IV discusses, Scriabin's articulation of an alternate, Russian modernism (one that had virtually no basis in folk music) was perceived as a direct artistic threat.

[156] Elaine Brody, "'Vive La France": Gallic Accents in American Music from 1880 to 1914', *Musical Quarterly*, 75, no. 4, (1991): 225–26.

[157] Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Leben*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1866).; Alexander Thayer, *The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven*, ed. and trans. Henry Krehbiel (New York: The Beethoven Association, 1921).

Krehbiel's musical and intellectual passions were necessarily bound up in his hyphenated existence: he was a German-American, with a literal and metaphorical fluency in both worlds. As Joseph Horowitz has so colourfully recounted, Krehbiel was not just an inveterate concertgoer, but also an inveterate club man. He was a staple of Kleindeutschland's venerable haunts, of restaurants like Lüchow's and Fleischmann's. It was in the former that The Bohemians, Krehbiel among them, would hold the first decade of their meetings. Krehbiel would remember those gatherings both fondly and nobly; his was an organisation in which 'goodfellowship, *camaraderie* were to be promoted, the too common feelings of envy and jealousy frowned on, the art and its practitioners, lofty and lowly, encouraged'.[158] But Lüchow's, with its spacious, sky-lit 'garden' café was not so far—physically or experientially—from what Huneker described as those 'old-fashioned beer saloons of yesteryear with the sanded floor, the pinochle players, and the ripe, pure beverage'.[159] (Indeed it was only a twenty-minute stroll from the anarchist meetings in Justus Schwab's Saloon, where, if 'there were no bombs', there was still 'plenty of beer').[160] Krehbiel's professional and personal life was steeped in the activities of the German-American diaspora. He developed a close friendship with the conductor Anton Seidl and evangelised on behalf of a peculiarly American reading of the Wagner operas, one suffused with a pragmatic, American meliorism. In trying to articulate the peculiar nature of Krehbiel's 'hyphenated' existence, Horowitz writes that his 'eagerness to educate new listeners was egalitarian, democratic and American'.[161] As Horowitz asserts, the investigation of what it meant to be American was at the very core of his entire professional mission.

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[158] Henry Edward Krehbiel, *"The Bohemians" (New York Musicians' Club): A Historical Narrative and Record: Written and Compiled for the Celebration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Foundation of The Club.* (New York, 1921), 8.

[159] James Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, 7.

[160] Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, 5.

[161] Horowitz goes on to say, 'At the same time, Krehbiel the German American packed his pedagogy with intellectual asides unthinkable from his American colleagues.' This is a dubious assertion given the immense learning of some of his peers, most especially Huneker. Joseph Horowitz, 'Henry Krehbiel: German American, Music Critic', *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 8, no. 2 (2009): 181.

These authors, critics, and public intellectuals varied, sometimes considerably, in the specifics of their musical taste. There were both relative 'conservatives' and 'progressives' among them, though oftentimes—as in the case of Krehbiel and Huneker— those aesthetic differences were worked out in the context of close personal and professional relationships. But there were also strong lines of continuity. Of the fourteen men whose careers and backgrounds have been briefly sketched here, five came out of the theory classes of John Knowles Paine at Harvard, two were graduates of Yale, and all but three undertook formal musical study in Europe.[162] Of those who studied abroad, almost all were the products of German teachers and institutions. These educations, unsurprisingly, resulted in a very specific critical relationship to the Austro-German canon. For some writers, its musical supremacy was unquestionable—German repertoire occupied the highest plane in a clear hierarchy of national musical schools. For others, it was *primus inter pares*, a compositional lineage that was enriched by its interaction with Poles, Bohemians, Magyars—even Russians—but also one that implicitly stood apart. Viewed in aggregate, a broad swathe of the American critical apparatus had, at least since John Sullivan Dwight, begun to conflate German art music with a platonic, universal idiom. The music-theoretical and aesthetic characteristics of German art became, for many writers, conductors, and impresarios, synonymous with the characteristics of 'good' art.

That there was a burgeoning movement of 'all-American' concerts in direct response to foreign [read: German] musical dominance in the concert hall, demonstrates just how pervasive these evaluative assumptions were.[163] To say that American concert culture has felt the enduring weight of German art music is not itself remarkable. Far more interesting

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[162] The three without European educations were Lawrence Gilman, Rupert Hughes, and ironically, Henry Edward Krehbiel.

[163] For more on this see E. Douglas Bomberger, '*A Tidal Wave of Encouragement': American Composers' Concerts in the Gilded Age* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002).

is the question, why? Why did three generations of American musicians travel to Germany for further study? What was it about German musical values, nebulous and vaguely defined though they were, that attracted American musicians, critics, and concertgoers? Why sacralise and enshrine this particular canon of works, and not that of France, Italy, or Russia? How did the reception of visiting European musicians reflect and shape aesthetic values? Finally, what role did the reception of foreign music, German and otherwise, play in the fashioning of an American 'Self'? The answer to this first question is, at its most basic, simple demographics. But more broadly, the answer lies in the changing relationship between Anglo- and German-American communities, new definitions of 'Old Stock', and the complex mediation of American 'Whiteness' at the *fin de siècle*.

As we have seen, many American musicians and musical institutions recapitulated 'German aesthetic values' for a simple reason: they were surrounded by Germans. In 1900, there were some 2,663,418 German-born immigrants in the United States. Native-born American citizens who were born to two German parents accounted for an even higher number: 3,574,409.[164] The total number of American residents, native and non-native, with both parents born in Germany was an immense 6,244,799.[165] There were a further 1,180,024 persons with German fathers and native mothers.[166] 407,858 Americans were born to a German mother and native father.[167] By almost every metric, German populations exceeded the other leading immigrant groups in the United States—those from England, Ireland, and

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[164] United States Census, 1900, vol. 1, Population (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1900), Statistics of Population, Table 40, 'Native White Persons Having Both Parents Born in Specified Countries, or of Mixed Foreign Parentage, by States and Territories: 1900', 814.

[165] United States Census, 1900, vol. 1, Population (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1900), Statistics of Population, Table 38, 'Total Persons Having Both Parents Born in Specified Countries, or of Mixed Foreign Parentage, by States and Territories: 1900', 810.

[166] United States Census, 1900, vol. 1, Population (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1900), Statistics of Population: Table 42, 'Total Persons Having Fathers Born in Specified Countries and Native Mothers, by States and Territories: 1900', 818.

[167] United States Census, 1900, vol. 1, Population (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1900), Statistics of Population: Table 46, 'Total Persons Having Mothers Born in Specified Countries and Native Fathers, by States and Territories: 1900', 826.

Canada. Of course, these figures do not even begin to count the German-American population that was more than a generation removed from Europe. Many Pennsylvania Germans had maintained a strong sense of their hyphenated identity for more than a century, largely because of the continued use of *Hochdeutsch* in their Lutheran and Moravian churches, as well as state-supported grammar schools. These German-speaking communities—whether their ancestors had arrived in the eighteenth century, or as dispossessed Forty-Eighters, or as economic migrants after the Civil War—all gave some kind of musical expression to their Old-World inheritance. German musicians had founded and staffed many burgeoning American orchestras and also served as their principal conductors. They had educated a generation of American men and women and encouraged the best of them to pursue study abroad, mostly in Leipzig, Munich, and Berlin.

German musical influence was most pervasive, however, in the thousands of amateur music institutions across the United States. The names of these organisations, meticulously documented in the Boston Musical Bureau's 1902 *Handbook of Musical Statistics*, demonstrate the centricity of that very 'Germanness'.[168] Mostly chamber music societies or choral unions, these organisations included *Liederkränze*, *Liedertafeln*, *Männerchöre*, *Sängerbünde*, and *Gesangvereine*, many with telling geographic—or at least quasi-geographic—specifications: Germania, Zoellner, Teutonia, Saxonia, Schwaebischer, and the like. Even the Schweizerdeutsch were represented in Columbus Ohio's Helvetia Maennerchor, and the Schweizer Maennerchor of Scranton, Pennsylvania.

[168] Boston Musical Bureau, *Handbook of Musical Statistics* (Boston: Boston Musical Bureau, 1902), 70–94.

Table 1.4: Amateur Musical Societies in the United States (selected), 1902

Beethoven Clubs (4)

Beethoven Club (Moline, IL)
Beethoven Club (Granville, NY)
Beethoven Club (Memphis, TN)
Beethoven Singing Society (Wheeling, WV)

Chaminade Clubs (3)

Chaminade Club (Yonkers, NY)
Chaminade Circle (Memphis, TN)
Chaminade Club (Nashville, TN)

Liebling Clubs (2)

Liebling Amateurs (Chicago, IL)
Liebling Club (Rockford, IL)

***Liederkränze*, etc. (4)**

Eichenkranz (Long Island City, NY)
German Liederkranz (New York, NY)
Liederkranz (Philadelphia, PA)
Scranton Liederkranz (Scranton, PA)

***Liedertafeln* (4)**

Buffalo Liedertafel (Buffalo, NY)
Arbeiter Liedertafel (Long Island City, NY)
Germantown Liedertafel (Germantown, PA)
Fairmont Liedertafel (Philadelphia, PA)

Martin Luther Clubs (2)

Luther League Choral Union (New York, NY)
Martin Luther Choral Society (New York, NY)

***Männerchöre* (16)**

Cairo Germania Maennerchor (Cairo, IL)
Germania Maennerchor (Baltimore, MD)
Zoellner Maennerchor (Brooklyn, NY)
Teutonia Maennerchor (Buffalo, NY)
Beethoven Maennerchor (New York, NY)
Columbus Maennerchor (Columbus, OH)
Helvetia Maennerchor (Columbus, OH)
Maennerchor Singing Society (Martin's Ferry, OH)
Germantown Maennerchor (Germantown, PA)
Beethoven Maennerchor (Philadelphia, PA)
Hermann Soehne Maennerchor (Philadelphia, PA)
Junger Maennerchor (Philadelphia, PA)
Maennerchor (Philadelphia, PA)
Saxonia Maennerchor (Philadelphia, PA)
West Philadelphia Maennerchor (Philadelphia, PA)
Schweizer Maennerchor (Scranton, PA)

Mendelssohn Clubs (9)

Mendelssohn Club (Chicago, IL)
Mendelssohn Club (Rockford, IL)
Mendelssohn Club (Wahoo, NE)
Mendelssohn Choral Club (Newark, NJ)
Mendelssohn Club (Elmira, NY)
Mendelssohn Glee Club (New York, NY)
Mendelssohn Club (Philadelphia, PA)
Fanny Mendelssohn Society (Scranton, PA)
Mendelssohn Club (Janesville, WI)

Mozart Clubs (7)

Mozart Club (Burlington, KS)
Mozart Glee Club (Brewster, NY)
Mozart Symphony Club (New York, NY)
Mozart Club (Dayton, OH)
Mozart Harmonie (Philadelphia, PA)
Mozart Club (Pittsburgh, PA)
Mozart Club (Spokane, WA)

Rubinstein Clubs (4)

Rubinstein Club (Oak Park, IL)
Rubinstein Club (Rockland, ME)
Rubinstein Club (St Louis, MS)
Rubinstein Club (New York, NY)

***Sängerbünde* (8)**

Delaware Saengerbund (Wilmington, DE)
Washington Saengerbund (Washington, DC)
Freeport Saengerbund (Freeport, IL)
Brooklyn Saengerbund (Brooklyn, NY)
Schwaebischer Saengerbund (Brooklyn, NY)
Williamsburg Saengerbund (Brooklyn, NY)
Buffalo Saengerbund (Buffalo, NY)
Kreuznacher Saengerbund (Philadelphia, PA)

Schubert Clubs (3)

Schubert Club (Grand Rapids, MI)
Schubert Club (St Paul, MN)
Schubert Choral Society (McKeesport, PA)

Schumann Clubs (7)

Clara Schuman Club (Mobile, AL)
Schumann Club (Rockford, IL)
Schumann Club (Chanute, KS)
Schumann Club (Bangor, ME)
Schumann Club (Fergus Falls, MI)
Schumann Club (Brooklyn, NY)
Clara Schumann Club (Findlay, OH)

***Gesangvereine*, etc. (7)**

Vereinigte Saenger von Brooklyn (Brooklyn, NY)
Aschenbroedel Verein (New York, NY)
Humboldt Verein (Columbus, OH)
Allemania Gesang Verein (Philadelphia, PA)
Columbia Gesang Verein (Philadelphia, PA)
Arbeiter Verein (Scranton, PA)
Gesangverein Virginia (Richmond, VA)

Of course, most of the organisations recorded by the Musical Bureau did not have foreign etymologies. Apollo and Orpheus Clubs, Lyric Societies, Crescendo Clubs, Treble Clubs, Euterpean Clubs, and Cecilian Clubs abounded. More still had straightforward, geographic designations: the Wichita Musical Club, the Grand Rapids Oratorio Society. But of those institutions dedicated to foreign composers or names, most were German.[169]

In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, many of these ensembles had been resolutely German in their outward expression. Their repertoire comprised secular ballads and patriotic songs, and they existed as fraternal organisations and drinking societies as much as concert institutions. But as Karen Ahlquist has shown in her study of the 1879 Cincinnati *Sängerfest*, these dynamics gradually changed as the German singing societies vied with 'Anglo-American' institutions and festivals for artistic recognition. The principal objection to these *Sängerbünde*—at least among Anglophone critics—was that they were too 'characteristically' ethnic. They focussed too much on social expressions of German nationalism and fraternity to rise to the level of high art. It would be better, some would suggest, if Cincinnati's Germans put aside their *Trinklieder* and sang some real art music—perhaps Beethoven or Brahms. It was a peculiar cultural inversion in which implicitly *Anglo*-American critics and musicians were defending German art from the more 'common' instincts of Germans themselves. Ahlquist writes that

> In the wake of the [1879 *Sängerfest*], the Cincinnati Germans' uniqueness was still obvious to the community at large. But their failed assertion of social and cultural power furthered their adaptation to an Anglo-based model of "serious" musical life. The local "people of music" lost some of their hold on the art as a cultural marker and sign of superiority, weakening ties between a German-centered repertoire and the "German element" itself.[170]

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[169] There are a few notable exceptions: two clubs dedicated to Cécile Chaminade, a Chopin Club (Providence, RI), a MacDowell Club (Boston, MA), and a Swedish Glee Club (Jamestown, NY), for instance.

[170] Karen Ahlquist, 'Musical Assimilation and "the German Element" at the Cincinnati Sängerfest, 1879', *Musical Quarterly*, 94, no. 3 (2011): 409.

Drawing on Russell Kazal's *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*, Ahlquist describes the way in which Cincinnati's Germans used the *Sängerfest* to position themselves within their city's cultural context. It was a complicated process which involved an assertive declaration of German cultural value, and an implicit competition with the nominally 'Anglo-American' Cincinnati May Festival. Cincinnati's Germans were not claiming their cultural value for its own sake—there was an inherently assimilative project at work, one which relied to a degree on earning the validation of the non-German musical establishment. Ahlquist's narrative elucidates this peculiar mixture of national pride and cultural insecurity, but for the most part, it sees the festival from the German-American perspective. Many cultural histories of the period view German cultural assimilation from the immigrant's point of view, as a bid for inclusion into the Old Stock of white America. This designation traditionally referred to a predominantly Anglo-American community, one tracing its lineage to the first English settlers, and the subsequent waves of Anglophone immigrants before the Revolution. Necessarily, these communities were socioeconomically stratified like any other, and members of this Anglo-American Old Stock were both rich and poor, urban and rural. But in the cultural hubs of the East Coast and Midwest, Old Stock became gradually synonymous with the social and political elite—Boston Brahmins like Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and his cousin, Henry Lee. What these narratives often leave unaddressed—and what lies at the heart of this dissertation—is the sometimes-profound cultural insecurity of the Anglo-American musical establishment. Between 1900 and 1910, the immigrant makeup of the United States changed drastically, with huge influxes of Southern and Eastern Europeans. As anti-immigrant sentiment was rekindled, German-Americans had a vested interest in 'becoming Old Stock' and claiming both cultural and racial connection with their Anglo neighbours. But this assimilation cut both ways. Anglo-America—ill-defined though it was—had a vested interest in hastening German assimilation, if not claiming the Germans outright. Certainly, in the realm of

classical music, the conflation of German compositional idioms with 'universal' musical values was part of a broader project of asserting cultural ownership. Like the Cincinnati *Sängerfest*, it was 'an opportunity of widening the scope of [the Germans community's] mission, so that they [would] not alone promote a love for the German art among the Germans, but for the universal musical art among all our population'.[171] As the boundaries between the German- and Anglo-American musical establishments became increasingly nebulous, so too did the definition of the 'American' musician. These critics, conductors, composers and impresarios might have always been Old Stock, or may have been recently inducted into the club, but they were involved in a shared cultural project, and one with peculiarly American hallmarks: they would affirm the Austro-German canon while positioning themselves as its new, cosmopolitan heirs.

[171] *Cincinnati Gazette*, 5 June 1879, 10. Quoted in Ahlquist, 'Musical Assimilation', 404.

CHAPTER II: RICHARD STRAUSS

> Masculinity and the nation-state are inexorably linked in the modern European consciousness: to say such a thing is not so remarkable except to note that, in saying this, we are also drawing attention to a relation (gender and state) that is so pervasive as to have become almost invisible […] nineteenth-century discourses on the nation and the nation-state (arguably this was the time and place at which so-called 'modern' European nationalism emerged) also made extensive and consistent recourse to images of the male citizen (as warrior, venturist, statesman and intellectual).[1]
>
> – Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson, 2009

> Strauss is the most modern of the devils, and to the old classical group he would be the reductio ad absurdum of the movement that began with Beethoven. Do you hear me? Beethoven! To assert that his shoulders are not broad enough to wear the mantle of Liszt, I can only ask why? Liszt seems jejune when it comes to covering an orchestral canvas of the size of Strauss. Strauss is his natural musical son, and the son has quite as much to say thematically as the father, while in the matter of brush brilliancy, massing of color, startling figure drawing […] and swift thinking, Strauss is easily the superior.[2]
>
> – James Gibbons Huneker, 1899

[1] Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson, 'Section Two: Introduction' in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 135.

[2] James Gibbons Huneker, *Mezzotints in Modern Music: Brahms, Tschaïkowsky, Chopin, Richard Strauss, Liszt and Wagner* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 152–53.

The Lion of the Musical Hour

James Huneker did not always care to *hear* Richard Strauss. In fact, he seems to have entirely skipped the premiere of the *Symphonia Domestica* in favour of *The Wizard of Oz*, preferring to enjoy himself rather than 'sweat and toil over the domesticities of the Wizard of Munich!'.[3] But Huneker had no doubt that Strauss would eventually achieve the very apex of musical modernism, and that his compositional language was the purest expression of a masculine, Teutonic, tonal philosophy. Moreover, he argued, in psychologizing his music, Strauss had brought the art closer to expressing the inner worlds of men than any composer who had come before him. Strauss stood on the shoulders of Bach, Haydn, Beethoven, Liszt, and Wagner, and yet surpassed them all. He was at once a defiant revolutionary, and at the same time heir to the very throne under attack. Strauss was 'a thinker, a philosopher as well as a poet, and deeply religious in the cosmical sense', and he purposed 'no less a task than the complete subjugation of men's imagination'.[4] Huneker's critical appraisals of Strauss were not entirely adulatory, but his vocabulary was unerringly consistent. The result was a collection of nineteenth-century tropes about masculinity, nationalism, and artistic inheritance, so improbably comprehensive as to seem self-conscious. Strauss existed in two forms for Huneker: one was an ordinary, affable Bavarian whom he had interviewed over a *Weißbier* and lunch; the other was 'Richard II', a totem with which Huneker could synthesize complex themes of nineteenth-century German romanticism. Huneker did not, however, identify another German successor. In referring to his music as the 'reductio ad absurdum of the movement that began with Beethoven', he even suggested Strauss might be the end of the line; the final stage in a progression now at

[3] Huneker to Edwin W. Morse, 21 March 1904, in *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, ed. Josephine Huneker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 19–20. L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was originally published by George M. Hill of Chicago in 1900. The 1902 musical adaptation was premiered in Chicago, to a score by Paul Tietjens (1877–1943). Huneker caught the middle of a highly successful run at the Majestic Theatre, Columbus Circle.

[4] James Huneker, *Overtones: A Book of Temperaments* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 49.

its furthest logical extension. So why spill the ink? In a concert culture that already privileged the Austro-German canon above all else, why did this author specifically, and the critical vanguard more generally, crown Strauss as 'a Prince Fortunatus of music',[5] and 'the lion of the musical hour'?[6] What distinguished this composer from his contemporaries?

I suggest the key is in what Huneker called Strauss's 'independence': Strauss may have been a 'legitimate successor' of his famous predecessors, steeped in the canonical texts of German romanticism, but it was with these unimpeachable credentials that he was artistically liberated. What better metaphor could American musicians have for their own artistic *Bildungsroman*? Through a diligent study of the Greats and a deliberate cultivation of the [Austro-German] canon, American artists could, in turn, demonstrate their own legitimate inheritance. And like Strauss, they might revolutionise music with the force of their independence and 'positive individuality'.[7] American affinity for Strauss ran deep. He was an everyman, refreshingly un-aesthetic in his personal comportment. If, as Van Wyck Brooks suggested, Americans were the only people who 'keenly relished'—even conflated—saintliness and shrewdness, then Strauss was all the more attractive as a character.[8] With his inescapable air of commercialism, Strauss took on the mantle of the 'talented huckster', and even the most strident accusations of charlatanry could not help but delight many American readers. Strauss was simultaneously a poster-boy for the canon and an imp of the perverse. Critically, his music, through its explicit connection to Wagner and Nietzsche as well as the

[5] Richard Aldrich, 'Richard Strauss the Composer: Some Facts about the Famous Musician Who is Coming to New York this Week', *New York Times,* 21 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 5–6.

[6] 'In Music's Domain', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 3 April 1904, sec. 4, pg. 3, cols. 1–3.

[7] 'Strauss has Rehearsal: German Composer Conducts the Chicago Symphony', *Chicago Tribune*, 31 March 1904, 3, col. 2.

[8] Van Wyck Brooks, *America's Coming-of-Age* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1915), 79. 'For if the logical result of a thorough-going, self-reliant individualism in the world of the spirit is to become a saint, it is no less true that the logical result of a thorough-going, self-reliant individualism in the world of the flesh is to become a millionaire, and in fact it would be hard to say whether Emerson more keenly relished saintliness or shrewdness. Both qualities he himself possessed in a high degree, as only an American can; and if on one side of his nature he was a most lonely and beautiful seer, the records of his life prove that he lacked none of the sagacity and caution of the true Yankee husbandman'. Joseph Horowitz eloquently reworks this passage in his "'Sermons in Tones": Sacralization as a Theme in American Classical Music', *American Music* 16, no. 3 (1998): 311–40.

'symphonic heritage of Beethoven and Brahms', articulated a kind of robust, archetypically 'German' masculinity that resonated strongly with the American musical establishment.[9]

Embodying an Artistic Manhood

As we will see, much of Strauss's success and his enthusiastic, if not always laudatory, coverage by male critics—like the more ambivalent receptions of Saint-Saëns and Scriabin—relate to a sudden shift across the arts: a 're-masculinisation' of the Aesthetic. By 1900, many men in the arts, sensing the increasingly 'feminised' character of their profession, began actively to re-invoke those masculine ideals left exhausted by the Civil War. Mary W. Blanchard has demonstrated how wartime bloodletting resulted in the 'collapse of the warrior ideal', relegating 'the soldier/hero to a marginal iconological status'.[10] During the decades from 1865 to 1900, many American men turned away from the more martial modes of self-expression that characterised the war years, towards 'cultivated' [read: more 'feminine'?] pursuits. A dichotomy arose between the 'vigor, aggressiveness, tenacity, and "manliness" of [the soldier]', here attached to the ethos of the entrepreneur frontiersmen, and an 'effete' cultivation of the arts.[11]

American men, particularly those who made their living as music teachers and performers, were increasingly aware of the 'feminisation' of their field. As Gavin James Campbell has demonstrated, by 1900, music allowed women a public voice and access to a professional life that was socially acceptable, especially for those in the middle and upper-middle class. Across the board, women entered professional life at exceptional rates at the start of the twentieth century.[12] Campbell argues that this challenge to male hegemony in

[9] Huneker, *Overtones*, 45.
[10] Mary W. Blanchard, 'The Soldier and the Aesthete: Homosexuality and Popular Culture in Gilded Age America', *Journal of American Studies*, 30, no. 1 (1996): 25.
[11] Blanchard, 'The Soldier and the Aesthete', 26.
[12] Gavin James Campbell, 'Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900–1925', *American Music*, 21, no. 4 (2003): 447.

artistic realms prompted a vigorous reaction at the *fin de siècle*. *Harper's Magazine* would invoke Theodore Roosevelt and the great Robber Barons as crusaders for art, championing music as an essential virtue of American manhood, its repertoire anchored in Bach, a 'manly music maker', and Beethoven, a 'genuine man'.[13] Orchestral conductors were lionised as 'specimens of masculinity', and the great operatic male leads were extolled for their physical prowess.[14] Horowitz argues that this cultured manhood was essential to the success of the conductor Theodore Thomas, whose 'appeal to others less genteel depended on his "masculinity" counteracting Gilded Age notions of effete high culture'.[15] Richard Crawford similarly observes this in the reception of the composer Edward MacDowell, and his 'physical soundness and vigour'.[16] The framing of a new artistic masculinity was commensurate with changes in the political sphere: the entire American empire—such as it was—was built between 1898 and 1904, and its rise was eagerly reported in political cartoons and inflammatory foreign dispatches.[17]

This is the intellectual climate into which Strauss arrived in the early spring of 1904. The American musical establishment was perfectly primed for action and Strauss was the spark. In spite of his fairly ordinary physical appearance, and quiet, 'family man' demeanour, Strauss was transmogrified into a specimen of robust, Teutonic manhood. In sharing the stage with his wife, he also provided critics with a ready point of comparison. For male observers already unnerved by the increasing prominence of women in the concert hall, Pauline Strauss de Ahna became a living case-in-point. Consciously or not, critics

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[13] Campbell, 'Classical Music', 458.

[14] Campbell, 'Classical Music', 460.

[15] Horowitz, 'Sermons in Tones', 315. The 'Gilded Age' generally describes the period of immense commercial and artistic growth in the United States from approximately the mid-1870s to around 1900. While the term did not come into standard use until after the First World War, it derives from the 1873 novel, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*, co-authored by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner.

[16] Lawrence Gilman (1906), quoted in Richard Crawford, 'Edward MacDowell: Musical Nationalism and an American Tone Poet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49, no. 3 (1996): 537.

[17] Kristin Hoganson even suggests that gender politics played a role in provoking the outbreak of those hostilities. Interestingly the Spanish American War tends to get short shrift in the work of Blanchard, Campbell, and Horowitz. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

emphasized the artistic disparities between husband and wife, amplifying Strauss's heroism and exaggerating de Ahna's dependency. A series of binaries arose: masculine/feminine, strong/weak, musical/unmusical, 'at his zenith'/'past her prime'. Taken to excess, these disparities would result in the fantastical headline:

SHE SINGS UNDER
HYPNOTIC CONTROL

DR. STRAUSS' STRANGE INFLU-
ENCE UPON HIS WIFE'S SINGING.

**It is Exercised Like that of Svengali
Upon Trilby—**[18]

De Ahna's reception was by no means uniformly negative. But even in positive reviews, critics often remarked on what they perceived as her fragility or unsteadiness.[19] Strauss began to appear as both an artistic and emotional bedrock—a mischaracterisation of the actual dynamics of that marriage as reflected in the documentary evidence.[20] In short, American critics, performers, composers and impresarios adapted both Strauss and de Ahna to their own needs, and in emphasizing the personal and aesthetic disparities within their marriage, they affirmed German—and by extension, American—art as a fundamentally masculine endeavour.

There was, of course, a broader metaphysical aim here: to establish the evaluative criteria by which Americans judged and shaped their own music. As we will see, the average American symphony orchestra of 1904 was overwhelmingly German, not just in its repertoire, but also in its personnel. Two of the greatest American piano manufacturers, Steinway and Knabe were proud pillars of the German-American community, where

[18] 'She Sings Under Hypnotic Control: Dr. Strauss' Strange Influence Upon His Wife's Singing', *Minneapolis Journal*, 9 April 1904, 6, col. 4.

[19] 'Strauss Song Recital: Mme. Strauss-de Ahna and Her Husband Appear Together', *New York Times*, 2 March 1904, 9, col. 3.

[20] For an insight into the Strauss marriage, see Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; Reprint, New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 26–29. Though 'Richard was phlegmatic and "unflappable", Pauline temperamental, fiery, tactless, rude and beguiling', Strauss still heavily relied on her for artistic inspiration and emotional support. It was far from a one-sided relationship.

English was still the second language on the shop room floor. Even those musicians like Horatio Parker, who resolutely held to their *Anglo*-Saxon heritage as being 'built upon a more solid foundation', were almost invariably German-trained.[21] In both Cleveland [22] and Milwaukee,[23] Strauss was honoured by the Germans of the city. In those institutions in which he was elaborately fêted, such as the Lotus and *Liederkranz* Clubs, German was either the principal, or *de facto* second tongue. What might have been in 1848 very stark differences between the Anglo-Saxon and Teuton were, by 1904, much more nebulous. While these distinctions would re-calcify during the First World War, for at least the first decade of the twentieth century, many within the Anglo-American musical establishment would resolutely affirm the Austro-German canon as their own. And here we return to the metaphor of the American *Bildungsroman*: after struggle, rebellion, and eventually a studious appreciation of the Masters, American art was poised for its own liberation. In affirming the Austro-German canon all the way through its most recent and most modern articulation, Richard Strauss, many American critics saw their own national art as the next rightful heir.

Dispelling Myths

Remarkably, the 1904 tour remains a footnote in most Strauss scholarship, and much of the received wisdom, particularly regarding Strauss's journalistic reception, is somewhat incomplete. In his 1995 monograph, *Richard Strauss*, Michael Kennedy expends about a page on the trip, focussing on the premiere of the *Symphonia Domestica*, a work

[21] Isabel Parker Semler, *Horatio Parker: A Memoir for His Grandchildren Compiled from Letters and Papers*, ed. Pierson Underwood (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 164. From an 'Address, 1902. Read to The Club. Impressions of a Year in Europe': 'On the whole, I am inclined to think that music among the Anglo-Saxons is built upon a more solid foundation, one better calculated to sustain the weight of an imposing structure, than the music of the Germans. The music of the Germans is now so colored by externals that it has hardly a separate existence'.

[22] 'Last Concert of Season: Germans Will Give Silver Cup to Richard Strauss', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 10 March 1904, 12, col. 7.

[23] 'Music and the Drama', *Chicago Tribune*, 30 March 1904, 7, col. 2.

apparently 'received politely by the public and most impolitely by the American critics'.[24] In his later book, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma*, Kennedy gives a brief chronology of Strauss's recital tours to Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, but otherwise largely maintains his earlier citation.[25] Norman Del Mar, similarly framing his coverage of the 1904 tour around *Domestica*, reports that 'the Americans were as merciless as only the American critics can be, beginning immediately in typical style with a headline reading "Home Sweet Home as written by Richard Strauss—Papa and Momma and Baby Celebrated in Huge Conglomeration of Orchestral Music"'.[26] Linda Tyler references Strauss's Wanamaker Department Store concerts in an article for the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*,[27] as does Scott Warfield in 'Strauss and the Business of Music',[28] his contribution to *The Cambridge Companion to Strauss*. This edited volume includes one of the few near-complete lists of Strauss's tour stops that is available in English: a three-line reference in the *Chronology of Strauss's life and career*. Beyond this there is no comprehensive study of the trip.

If only two anecdotes survive from Strauss's first transatlantic excursion, they are invariably the controversy surrounding the Wanamaker Department Store concerts (which the doctor, William Hirsch decried as a 'prostitution' of art),[29] and the charming—if somewhat improbable—honours bestowed on Strauss by Morgantown, West Virginia. These historical curios provide ready relief in Strauss biographies, wedged in between the heady subjects of a suspected extra-marital affair and the premiere of *Salome*, but their persistence may have more to do with their convenient—if ultimately misleading—

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[24] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 40–41. Kennedy's original *Richard Strauss* was published in 1976 by J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., of London. In one previous citation, I refer specifically to the American publication of the 1995 revised edition.

[25] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 139.

[26] Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol. 1 (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 197.

[27] Linda L. Tyler, 'Commerce and Poetry Hand in Hand: Music in American Department Stores, 1880-1930', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45, no. 1 (1992): 75–120.

[28] Charles Youmans, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[29] Tyler, 'Commerce and Poetry', 110–11.

reflections of American cultural dynamics at the *fin de siècle*. Filtered through these coloured lenses, Strauss's American tour appears to be the experience of American commercialism at its very height, juxtaposed with overly-earnest [read: uncultured] provincialism. In reality, these two moments were not representative of the tour as a whole. The Wanamaker concerts did not occur on the sales floor, but rather in a spacious ballroom, specially retrofitted for the concerts.[30] The fixation on Morgantown can be similarly misleading: far from a cultural backwater, it was by then home to a thriving state university with an active music programme. The importation of the Pittsburgh Symphony for a single night's concert—and the rearrangement of a whole day's classes and business for the celebration of one man—demonstrates the remarkable cultural literacy in many American small towns, and the way in which artistic production was closely linked to the expression of civic pride and cultural ambitions.

These two well-trodden anecdotes, colourful though they are, only grasp a small part of what was a huge administrative and artistic undertaking. The present chapter aims to revise these notions and contextualise the 1904 tour in a much broader sample of contemporary criticism. Kennedy and Del Mar's quotations suggest a critical establishment dismissive of, or at best bemused by, Strauss's work—and to be sure, those factions existed. But taken in its totality, American reception of Strauss was much more complex, confused, and varied. Critically, many scholarly references to the spring of 1904 downplay the importance of de Ahna or even drop her from the equation entirely. In stark contrast to the connotations of Del Mar's select headlines, Strauss was actually the recipient of considerable adulation in the American press in 1904.[31] While the tour would have been musically and administratively impossible without her, it was de Ahna who suffered almost constant criticism, coupled with only the most qualified and begrudging compliments—it was an

[30] 'Dr. Strauss at Wanamaker's: A Vast Throng of Guests Hears an Orchestral Concert Under His Direction and Other Music', *New York Times*, 17 April 1904, 7, col. 5.
[31] We will treat numerous examples later in the chapter.

irony that no doubt stung. The 1904 Strauss tour, exhaustingly scheduled and obsessively reported, provides a fascinating insight into the dynamics of the Strauss marriage, the increasing professionalization and commercialization of celebrity concert tours, and the American cultural fascination with concepts of masculinity and femininity, race, physiognomy, and teleological evolution. The fantastically colourful journalistic prose of the broadsheets lays bare the most important cultural preoccupations of the Gilded Age—all in the context of one man's music and critical evaluation. The lasting effects of Strauss's tour lay in that artistic reception, but its foundations were commercial, wrapped up in what D. W. Fostle has called the 'piano wars'. Strauss's American tour began with Steinway & Sons.

Pianists and Patronage

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, many European and American piano manufacturers began to extend their portfolios into artist management and concert promotion. Several prestigious firms would construct their own halls—elegantly-appointed concert rooms that would become known for their exceptional acoustics.[32] Almost invariably, patrons entered and exited these venues through the showrooms, where they could admire—maybe even purchase—the instrument they had seen on stage. The Salle Pleyel (Paris, 1829), Steinway Hall (New York, 1866), Bösendorfer-Saal (Vienna, 1872), Chickering Hall (Boston, 1883, 1901), Bechstein Hall (now Wigmore Hall, London, 1901), and the Blüthner-Saal (Berlin, 1909) would varyingly run their own concert series. On off nights, anyone willing to pay the fee could hire the space themselves. Invariably, these

[32] 'People will be glad of the opportunity of again hearing a classical concert in Steinway Hall, the scene of so many delightful musical events in the past years. It is acoustically the best concert hall in the city, and is neither too large for the sparsely scored classical works nor too small for the richly scored works of modern composers'. Howard, 'Steinway Hall Concerts', *Boston Globe*, 14 December 1886, 4, col. 7.

venues would also showcase a retinue of touring virtuosos, all signed to the firm. Table 2.1 relates several major concert tours funded by American piano firms from 1872 to 1906.[33]

Table 2.1: Concert Tours Funded by Piano Manufacturers (selected), 1872–1906

1872	Anton Rubinstein	Steinway [34]	1891	Ignacy Jan Paderewski	Steinway [38]
1875	Hans von Bülow	Chickering	1893	Ignacy Jan Paderewski	Steinway
1876	John Nelson Pattison	Weber	1898	Moriz Rosenthal	Steinway [39]
1876	Frederick Boskovitz	Steinway	1898	Harold Victor Bauer	Knabe [40]
1876	Charles Jarvis	Chickering	1898	María Teresa Carreño	Chickering [41]
1880	Oscar M. Newell	Weber	1903	Ferruccio Busoni	Knabe [?] [42]
1889	Hans von Bülow	Knabe [35]	1904	Richard Strauss	Steinway
1891	Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	Knabe [36]	1905	Arthur Rubinstein	Knabe [43]
1891	Rafael Joseffy	Steinway [37]	1906	Camille Saint-Saëns	Knabe

The piano firms had a vested interest in promoting composers and virtuosos, and the partnership was redefining the very nature of the instrument itself. Fostle observes that

> [w]hen William [Steinway (1835–96)] was young, a piano virtuoso was one who played his own compositions. This was the time of De Meyer and Herz and Gottschalk. In the slow sweep of time, virtuosity was redefined, and the *executant* who could powerfully interpret the works of other masters as well as his own became the operating norm. Though there were antecedents, the Steinway-sponsored tour of Anton Rubinstein marked the emergence of this definition of virtuosity in America. But these were dyads; and an artist and a composer were all that were necessary. The Battle of the Columbian Exhibition [Chicago, 1893] transformed the dyad into triad: virtuosity was now redefined as artist, composer, *and* piano. The *Instrumentenmacher* was propelled from the

[33] Sometimes multiple firms would organise or participate in a series, for instance the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (1876) and the National Academy of Design Concerts (1880). See Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Fireside Book, Simon and Schuster, 1954. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1990), 534.

[34] Richard K. Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 56.; Ronald V. Ratcliffe, *Steinway & Sons* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1989), 112–18.

[35] David K. Hildebrand and Elizabeth M. Schaaf, *Musical Maryland: A History of Song and Performance from the Colonial Period to the Age of Radio* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 111.

[36] Edward E. Swenson, 'Knabe & Company' in *The Piano: An Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., Robert Palmieri, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2003), 210. Also see Hildebrand and Schaaf, *Musical Maryland*, 110.

[37] Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons*, 108.

[38] Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons*, 108–114.

[39] Ehrlich, *The Piano*, 132.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Swenson, 'Knabe & Company' in *The Piano: An Encyclopedia*, 210.

[43] Harvey Sachs, *Arthur Rubinstein: A Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1995. Reprint, London: Phoenix, 1997), 82–92.

> wings to a coequal position on the stage, an integral part of the virtuosic equation.[44]

In these new circumstances, the piano firms were no longer engaging artists just for a pithy and publishable endorsement—though they still did so in spades. Rather, they were re-branding themselves as major patrons of the arts. This is the context in which Strauss's tour, organised by the young conductor, Hermann Hans Wetzler (1870–1943), was underwritten by Steinway.[45] Having signed Joseffy, Paderewski, Rosenthal, and Strauss, Steinway & Sons were engaged in a constant game of one-upmanship with their peers. The competition was formidable—Knabe had held contracts with Tchaikovsky, Arthur Rubinstein, and Saint-Saëns.[46] Steinway was also demonstrating the scale of its remarkable financial comeback. In 1896 the firm had been on the brink of bankruptcy, but by 1899 they could list $420,000 in profit.[47] Quickly, the Steinway publicity campaign took on new, conspicuous forms; in 1903 the firm would furnish the White House with a gleaming 'gift to the nation'—a new art piano valued at some $7,500.[48] In February 1904, on the eve of Strauss's arrival, Charles Steinway could announce that the 'appreciation of [the firm's] properties' might even 'result in a valuation of $1,000,000'.[49] It was a huge turn in the company's fortunes, and conspicuous artistic patronage was part and parcel with that success. Enter Strauss.

Unfortunately, the financial specifics of Strauss's tour require some conjecture. Because contractual details were negotiated through a complex network of musicians,

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[44] D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga: An American Dynasty* (New York; London: Scribner, 1995), 377.

[45] Wetzler settled in New York in 1892 and founded his own orchestra in 1903. See Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma*, 138.

[46] For more on the competition between Steinway and other firms, see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 137–42. The three most reputable firms in the United States, Steinway, Chickering, and Knabe, may have produced the highest quality instruments, but in terms of actual numbers, they were dwarfed by larger conglomerates. In 1910, Steinway produced 5,000 instruments, Chickering, 2,200, and Knabe, 2,000. Kimball and Cable produced 22,000 and 15,000 instruments, respectively.

[47] Richard Liberman writes, '[d]uring the next three years profits soared even further, reaching an all-time record of more than half a million dollars each year. In 1900 Steinway & Sons made so much money that the directors voted to increase their own salaries by 25 percent from $12,000 to $16,000. Compared to what the average working-class family in New York City earned—between $600 and $700 a year—this was a lot of money'. Richard K. Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 120–24.

[48] Ibid. This was almost five times the cost of their most expensive Model D concert grand ($1,600).

[49] Fostle, *Steinway Saga*, 421.

agents, and Steinway representatives, it has been difficult to assemble a comprehensive financial history. Though Wetzler had invited Strauss, it seems that the tour was mostly organised by the Wolfsohn Musical Bureau, along with Charles F. Tretbar, the veteran director of Steinway's Concert and Artist Department.[50] Apparently, Steinway had arranged all of the concerts, but most of Strauss's personal interactions were with Wolfsohn.[51] It was a productive relationship; Strauss found his American agent 'pleasant and skilful', and he was relieved by the unusually calm and business-like negotiations. The Steinway brothers themselves, he would relate, were consummate gentlemen.[52] Some useful details do emerge, however. Strauss and de Ahna had all of their travel and accommodation guaranteed, and they sailed to the United States in a first-class double stateroom.[53] Once in the United States, they were constant guests of society patrons, and housed in expensive, fashionable hotels. We do know that Strauss was paid $1,000 for two Wanamaker Department Store concerts, so at nearly forty engagements, we can surmise he earned upwards of $15,000.[54] Materials do exist for other Steinway artists, however, and the 1906 contract with the pianist Josef Lhévinne is a useful point of comparison [see Fig. 2.1]. Lhévinne was promised $10,000 for a five-month, forty-concert tour. All of his travel expenses were guaranteed—though accommodation was not—and in exchange, he was obligated to play any and all

[50] Fostle, *Steinway Saga*, 430. Tretbar would retire in 1905, having 'provided the lubrication between the surfaces of business and art' for forty years.

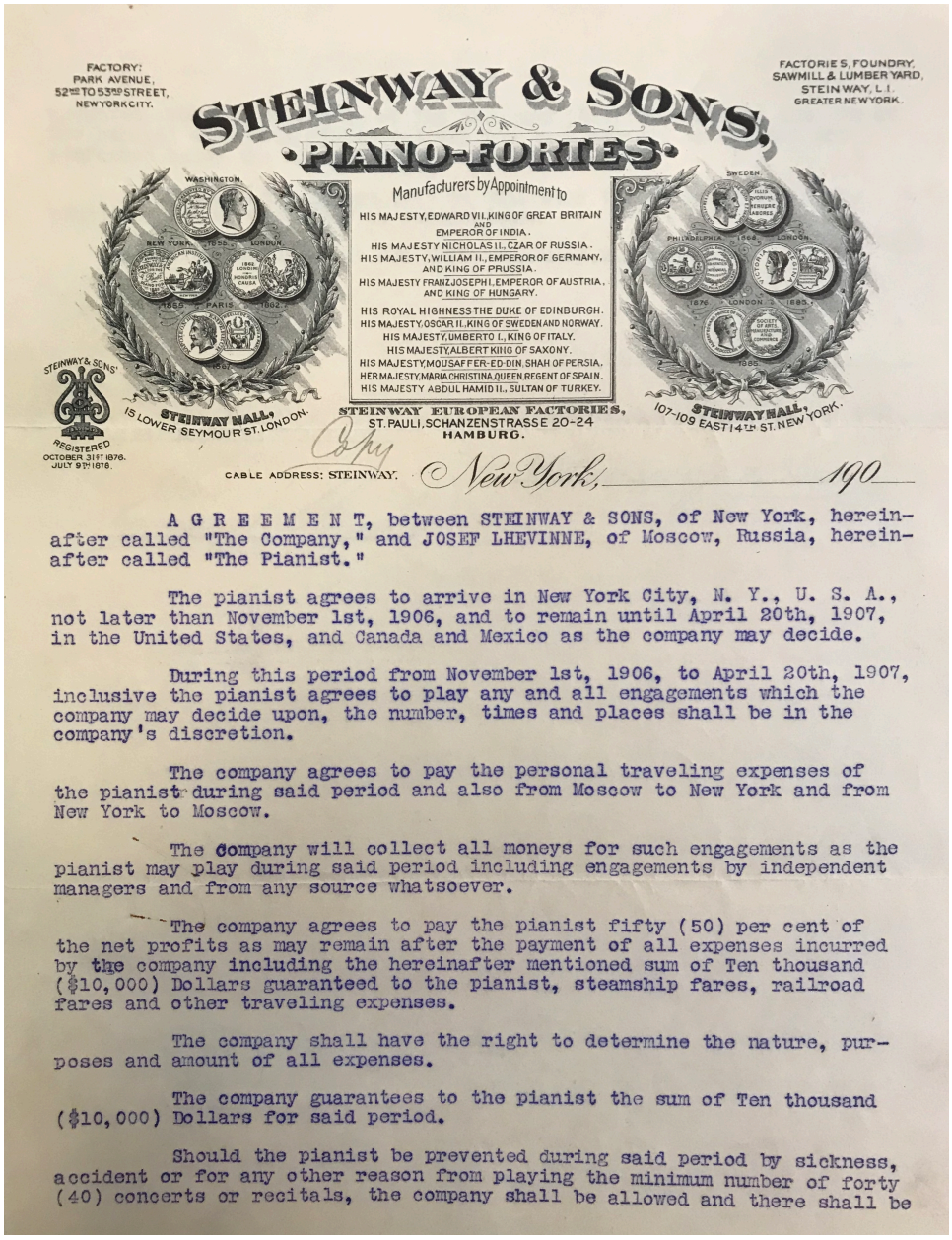
[51] The assertion that Steinway was the sole organiser comes from Mark Daniel Schmid, *The Richard Strauss Companion* (Westport CT; London: Praeger, 2003), 172. Strauss's own letters, however, suggest that the Steinway staff were only engaged in some of the bookings. One article reports Wolfsohn as the sole organiser.

[52] „Unser Agent Wolfsohn ist sehr angenehm und geschickt: alles Geschäftlich wickelt sich ruhig und sehr angenehm ab. Steinways, die ein New York Konzert garantiert haben, sind reizend, echte Gentlemen." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Providence, 22 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern, 1882–1906*, ed. Willi Schuh (Zürich: Atlantis Verlag AG, 1954), 295–96. This and all subsequent translations, mine. Strauss even left a signed photo of himself for the men 'in the back room' at Wolfsohn's. The card can be found in the Music Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

[53] 'We have two splendid cabins that ventilate very well, which is essential onboard a ship, food aplenty, and very good and pleasant company'. „Wir haben zwei famose Kabinen, die sich sehr gut ventilieren, was an Bord eines Schiffes eine sehr große Wesentlichkeit ist, Essen in Hülle und Fülle und sehr gut und rechte nette Gesellschaft." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, SS *Moltke*, 20 February 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 287.

[54] Alan Jefferson, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), 97–99.

engagements scheduled on his behalf.[55] In the light of the Lhévinne contracts, as well as Saint-Saëns's agreement with Knabe (discussed at length in Chapter III), it seems probable that Strauss's fees were even higher.



FACTORY: PARK AVENUE, 52ND TO 53RD STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

FACTORIES, FOUNDRY, SAWMILL & LUMBER YARD, STEINWAY, L.I. GREATER NEW YORK.

STEINWAY & SONS, PIANO-FORTES

Manufacturers by Appointment to

HIS MAJESTY, EDWARD VII, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND EMPEROR OF INDIA.
HIS MAJESTY NICHOLAS II., CZAR OF RUSSIA.
HIS MAJESTY, WILLIAM II., EMPEROR OF GERMANY, AND KING OF PRUSSIA.
HIS MAJESTY FRANZ JOSEPH I., EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA, AND KING OF HUNGARY.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.
HIS MAJESTY, OSCAR II., KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY, UMBERTO I., KING OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY, ALBERT KING OF SAXONY.
HIS MAJESTY, MOUSAFFER-ED-DIN, SHAH OF PERSIA.
HER MAJESTY, MARIA CHRISTINA, QUEEN REGENT OF SPAIN.
HIS MAJESTY ABDUL HAMID II., SULTAN OF TURKEY.

STEINWAY & SONS' REGISTERED OCTOBER 31ST 1876. JULY 9TH 1878.

STEINWAY HALL, IS LOWER SEYMOUR ST. LONDON.

STEINWAY EUROPEAN FACTORIES, ST. PAULI, SCHANZENSTRASSE 20-24 HAMBURG.

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CABLE ADDRESS: STEINWAY.

Copy

New York, 190

A G R E E M E N T, between STEINWAY & SONS, of New York, hereinafter called "The Company," and JOSEF LHEVINNE, of Moscow, Russia, hereinafter called "The Pianist."

The pianist agrees to arrive in New York City, N. Y., U. S. A., not later than November 1st, 1906, and to remain until April 20th, 1907, in the United States, and Canada and Mexico as the company may decide.

During this period from November 1st, 1906, to April 20th, 1907, inclusive the pianist agrees to play any and all engagements which the company may decide upon, the number, times and places shall be in the company's discretion.

The company agrees to pay the personal traveling expenses of the pianist during said period and also from Moscow to New York and from New York to Moscow.

The company will collect all moneys for such engagements as the pianist may play during said period including engagements by independent managers and from any source whatsoever.

The company agrees to pay the pianist fifty (50) per cent of the net profits as may remain after the payment of all expenses incurred by the company including the hereinafter mentioned sum of Ten thousand ($10,000) Dollars guaranteed to the pianist, steamship fares, railroad fares and other traveling expenses.

The company shall have the right to determine the nature, purposes and amount of all expenses.

The company guarantees to the pianist the sum of Ten thousand ($10,000) Dollars for said period.

Should the pianist be prevented during said period by sickness, accident or for any other reason from playing the minimum number of forty (40) concerts or recitals, the company shall be allowed and there shall be

Figure 2.1: Contract between Josef Lhévinne and Steinway & Sons, 1906. Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Rosina Lhevinne Papers, MAI-46886, series D, box 31, folder 5. Photograph by the author.

[55] Lhévinne undertook a similar tour in the 1908–09 season, where he was guaranteed $15,000. In that run, Lhévinne gave thirty-seven concerts, with net receipts reaching $19,471.17. After subtracting the Carnegie Hall expenses and the manager's commission, the tour earned $17,763.15. Once travel costs and other expenses were deducted, Steinway & Sons were left narrowly in the red. As a result, Lhévinne only received his contractually stipulated $15,000; there was no surplus of which to take a share. 'Concert Tournee: Josef Lhevinne: Season 1908–09: Memorandum of Receipts; Accounting Sheet'. Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Rosina Lhevinne Papers, MAI-46886, series D, box 31, folder 5.

These rates were presaged on Strauss's demonstrated success at the box office, and in gauging his celebrity status amongst Anglophone audiences, Wolfsohn and Tretbar did not need to look far.

The Tour in Context

Before his 1904 trip to the United States, Strauss had already made forays into an international career. In 1902 and 1903, Strauss appeared in London as both a pianist in lieder and chamber music recitals, and also as a conductor, leading performances of Schumann's *Manfred*, and dedicated programmes of his own works. In 1903, these engagements culminated in a week-long 'Strauss Festival' at St James's Hall.[56] These performances—the composer's first major engagements in the Anglophone world—signalled a broadening of Strauss's career. The London Strauss Festival laid important groundwork, but it was the American tour, highly publicised, financially advantageous, and in some respects, controversial, that would help rocket Strauss from his position as a German *Generalmusikdirigent*, into modern musical stardom.[57]

On 1 February 1904, Strauss and de Ahna departed Berlin on the start of a three-week journey to the United States. They spent ten days in the port city of Hamburg, and on 12 February, boarded the SS *Moltke*, one of the flagships of the Hamburg-America Line. It was a hulking vessel, stable and commodious, if a little slow. It was also full of modern amenities, including—Strauss was intrigued to find—a new Marconi wireless telegraph and an 'electrified gymnasium'. It was calm across the north Atlantic, but somewhere south of Newfoundland an immense storm blew in, and the *Motlke* 'stomped, rolled, rose and fell', as waves reached 'high above the ship'. The sea—Strauss noted in poetic turn of phrase—was

[56] All the 1902 London engagements occurred at the Queen's Hall.

[57] Strauss's achievement of what might be called 'modern musical stardom', that is, a well-publicised public persona, assisted by commercial sponsorship (in this case, Steinway & Sons), is related to but not the same as 'musical modernism', something Dalhaus discusses in the context of *Don Juan* (1888).

the 'light blue [of] glacial grottoes'. It was a 'great spectacle' that would have terrified less seaworthy passengers, but de Ahna, slightly irritated, simply slept through it. Strauss ran laps on the top-deck to keep his feet warm.[58]

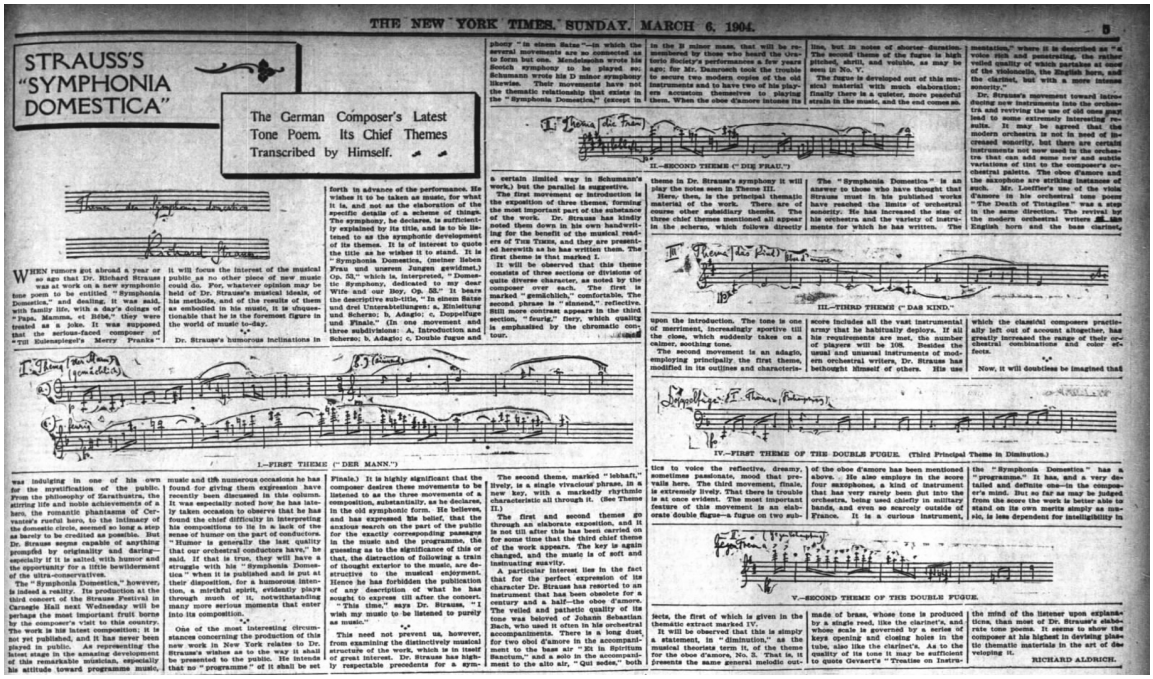
When the *Molke* pulled into New York harbour on the 24th, there was already a crowd of journalists, colleagues, and admirers at the docks.[59] As he disembarked, Richard Strauss instantly became one of the most celebrated musical visitors to America since Anton Rubinstein. There had been significant luminaries in between—von Bülow, Bruch, Tchaikovsky, Joseffy, Dvořák, Paderewski, and Busoni, for example—but Strauss's tour would stand apart. Contrary to the enthusiastic assertions of the dailies, his presentation in the 'threefold capacity of composer, conductor, and pianist', was not unusual amongst his contemporaries, but the tour was notable in its large geographic scope and in the number of engagements.[60] Unlike preceding *composers* specifically, Strauss would strike out to a number of small regional centres, cities and towns which had seen the travelling virtuosos of the 1860s and 1870s, but not Bruch, Tchaikovsky, or Dvořák. Strauss performed in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Morgantown, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and Buffalo. Along the way, journalists were his constant companions, and at the forefront of this coverage was the *New York Times*. Richard Aldrich was particularly interested in Strauss's musical structure

[58] „Das Schiff stampfte, rollte, stieg und fiel, und heute morgen erwachten wir, nachdem wir gut geschlafen, bei Eis und Schnee und im Anblick eines geradezu tobenden Ozeans. Die Wellen standen oft haushoch über dem Schiff, das Meer war ums Schiff herum hellblau wie Gletschergrotten, 5 Grad Reaumur unter Null. Schneestürme, ein großartiges Schauspiel. Wenn wir nicht schon so seefest wären, erginge es uns heute wohl böse. Pauline, seit gestern unpäßlich, liegt zu Bett und fühlt sich leidlich wohl. Ich renne wie ein wahnsinniger Fliegenfisch auf dem Promenadendeck herum, um mir die Füße zu wärmen." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, SS *Moltke*, 20 February 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 287–89.

[59] Richard Aldrich of the *New York Times* was clearly not at the pier for Strauss's landing. His assistant was evidently less well-prepared: 'Asked if he was the son of Strauss, the "Waltz King," he replied through an interpreter that many mistake him for the son of that composer, but that he is in no way related to him. "My father," he said, "was a member of the Court Orchestra at Munich, and considered one of the finest horn players in Europe. He composed only for his favorite instrument." "Will you play any of the Strauss waltz music?" was asked. "No," replied Dr. Strauss. "All of the music which I shall give here will be from my own compositions"'. 'Strauss, the Composer, Here', *New York Times*, 25 February 1904, 9, col. 3.

[60] 'Richard Strauss the Composer: Some Facts About the Famous Musician Who Is Coming to New York This Week', *New York Times*, 21 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 5–6.

and style, and he produced a variety of articles on *Don Quixote*,[61] the early tone poems,[62] and elements of humour in *Till Eulenspiegel*.[63] In March, Aldrich would spend seven columns analysing the *Symphonia Domestica*, interpolating music examples in the composer's hand.[64]



THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 6, 1904. 5

STRAUSS'S "SYMPHONIA DOMESTICA"

The German Composer's Latest Tone Poem. Its Chief Themes Transcribed by Himself.

Richard Strauss

I.—FIRST THEME ("DER MANN.")

II.—SECOND THEME ("DIE FRAU.")

III.—THIRD THEME ("DAS KIND.")

IV.—FIRST THEME OF THE DOUBLE FUGUE. (Third Principal Theme in Diminution.)

V.—SECOND THEME OF THE DOUBLE FUGUE.

RICHARD ALDRICH.

Figure 2.2: Richard Aldrich, 'Strauss's "Symphonia Domestica"', *New York Times*, 6 March 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 1–7.

What emerged in the *Times* was representative of most of the New York dailies—a peculiar combination of lengthy, high-brow criticism, coupled with straightforward concert reviews and 'Society Page' gossip. On 28 February 1904, the *Times* contained no fewer than three articles on the newly-arrived German, and Aldrich would produce three lengthy features in the first two weeks. It was a breathless pace of criticism and it would continue, almost unabated, until the end of the tour.

[61] Richard Aldrich, 'Strauss's "Don Quixote," The Realistic Tone Poem to Be Given Here for the First Time this Week', *New York Times*, 14 February 1904, 25, cols. 1–4.

[62] 'Richard Strauss the Composer: Some Facts About the Famous Musician Who Is Coming to New York This Week', *New York Times*, 21 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 5–6.

[63] 'Richard Strauss, Humorist: One of the Essentially Modern Characteristics of the Man of the Musical Hour', *New York Times*, 28 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 1–2.

[64] 'Strauss's "Symphonia Domestica": The German Composer's Latest Tone Poem. Its Chief Themes Transcribed by Himself.', *New York Times*, 6 March 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 1–7.

Strauss made his American debut on Saturday, 27 February 1904 with the Wetzler Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall. The programme was prodigious, including *Also sprach Zarathustra*, conducted by Wetzler, and *Die Ulme zu Hirsau*, Op. 43, No. 3, *Nachtgang*, Op. 29, No. 3, *Das Lied des Steinklopfers*, Op. 49, No. 4, and *Ein Heldenleben*, under Strauss. Though some critics were disappointed by the composer's business-like demeanour on the rostrum, in the packed auditorium at least, he was an immense success. Strauss was delighted by the uproarious applause—he was recalled to the stage no less than five times—and equally impressed by the acoustical properties of the hall.[65] From then on, Strauss was a constant feature of the papers, and each of his concerts and social calls was assiduously documented in the press. He did not disappoint; two days later, when a camera ignited at the Strollers' Club, knocking Heinrich Conried unconscious, Strauss was on hand to put the fire out.[66]

On the 29th, Pauline made her own debut with Wetzler's orchestra, across the East River at the Brooklyn Baptist Temple. It was a similarly massive programme, with *Don Juan*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, and *Tod und Verklärung*. Interspersed, were Pauline's six lieder (and three further encores), which Strauss accompanied on the piano.[67] Another lieder recital followed, and on 3 March, Strauss was back on stage for his third engagement with the Wetzler Orchestra, this time conducting *Don Quixote* with a young Pablo Casals (1876–1973). From

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[65] 'My first concert on Saturday was a great reception, with an orchestral *Tusch* (salute), and an excellent performance of *Zarathustra* under Wetzler, and *Heldenleben* under me. I was recalled about five times to thunderous applause. The orchestra is very amiable and willing, and will give me a welcome dinner on 16 March […] Carnegie Hall is a beautiful auditorium for 4,000 people, but with a good acoustic, such that Pauline's voice would be able to fill the whole room nicely'. „Mein erstes Konzert Sonnabend war ein großartiger Empfang mit Orchestertusch, eine vorzüglich Aufführung des „Zarathustra" unter Wetzler, „Heldenleben" unter mir. Nach „Heldenleben" wurde ich ca. fünfmal stürmisch gerufen. Orchester sehr liebenswürdig und willig, will mir am 16. März eigens ein Festkommers geben […] Carnegie Hall [ist] ein schöner Riesensaal für 4000 Menschen, aber gut akustisch, so daß Paulinens Stimme den ganzen Raum schön ausfüllen konnte." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, New York, 2 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 290.

[66] 'Musician's Close Call: Photographic Chemicals Explode and Herr Conried Is Knocked Senseless at Strollers' Club', *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 29 February 1904, 1, col. 6. 'Dr. Richard Strauss was present and aided in preventing further disaster'.

[67] While orchestrated versions of these songs (including *Cäcilie*, Op. 27, No. 2), were not published by Universal Edition until 1911, it is clear that some orchestrations already existed in manuscript; Strauss and de Ahna performed the Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1 with full orchestra in Philadelphia. (See *Minneapolis Journal*, 9 April 1904, 6, col. 4.) However, it seems likely that many of these works were accompanied by Strauss on the piano, and not by full orchestra. Strauss specifically says that Pauline sang her 'sechs Klavierlieder' (six piano songs) in these concerts. Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, New York, 2 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 290.

there, the couple travelled and performed at an astounding pace, giving almost daily concerts for the first half of March. In just two weeks they would perform in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. But it was in a small college town in West Virginia that they enjoyed their most remarkable reception:

> Since Pauline started this letter in Pittsburgh, we arrived yesterday evening in the small town of Morgantown, West Virginia—some 10,000 inhabitants and a university, situated on high hills, a bit like Jena [in Thuringia]. Underneath the city, all kinds of sources of natural gas. We are staying high up in the hills with the university's music director, Rithson, who held a great tribute here for me. As of 10:30, I have just been appointed an honorary citizen of the city by the mayor, in a solemn state ceremony in the university assembly hall, in the presence of the Governor. I was presented with a great proclamation and a ceremonial 'sword of the city' made of glass; they gave me two orations, and I responded; the army was then dispatched and saluted me with music, then a tour of the university, etc. In short, it was very nice.[68]

Morgantown's civic pageantry could hardly be matched, but there were still impressive receptions during the rest of the tour. In Cleveland, Strauss had received an engraved silver loving cup (it was worth about 700 or 800 Marks—Strauss periodically increased its value in his letters).[69] On 19 March, he was honoured by the Lotos Club, and on the 20th at an immense dinner of the New York *Liederkranz*.[70]

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[68] „Seit Pauline diesen Brief in Pittsburg begonnen, sind wir inzwischen gestern Abend in dem kleinen Städtchen Morgantown in West-Virginia angekommen, 10 000 Einwohner und Universität, auf hohen Hügeln gelegen, ein bißchen Jena ähnlich. Unter der Stadt alles Quellen von natürlichem Gas. Wir wohnen hoch auf dem Berge bei dem Universitätsmusikdirektor Rithson, der hier eine große Ehrung für mich inszenierte. Ich bin soeben ½11 Uhr in feierlichem Staatsakt in der Aula der Universität in Anwesenheit des Gouverneurs durch den Bürgermeister zum Ehrenbürger der Stadt ernannt worden. Man überreichte mir eine große Proklamation und eine gläsernen Ehrensäbel der Stadt, hielt zwei Reden auf mich, ich erwiderte; das Militär war dazu ausgerückt und empfing mich mit Musik an der Türe der Universität etc. Kurz, es war sehr nett." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Morgantown, 14 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 293.

[69] 'In Cleveland I was honoured that, during the concert, a representative of the Germans [of the city] celebrated me in a great a speech and gave me an engraved silver cup as a memento, worth over 700 Marks. After the concert the German *Gesangverein* serenaded Pauline and me at the hotel balcony like princes'. „In Cleveland wurde mir die Ehre zuteil, daß ein Vertreter der Deutschen mich währen des Konzertes in großer Rede feierte und mir zum Andenken einen großen silbernen Becher mit eingravierter Widmung im Werte von ca. 700 Mark über reichte. Nach dem Konzert brachte mir im Hotel der deutsche Gesangverein ein Städtchen, Pauline und ich auf dem Balkon wie die Fürsten." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Morgantown, 14 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 293–94.

[70] Saturday and Sunday I was at two dinners that were held in my honour (Lotos Club and *Liederkranz*), celebrated colossally, countless speeches and lectures, magnificent menus ([to my taste, they were] lovely, drawn and designed after scenes from my works), I have sent it to you. The Americans know how to celebrate, and they are hugely hospitable and gracious.' „Samstag und Sonntag wurde ich in zwei mir zu Ehren

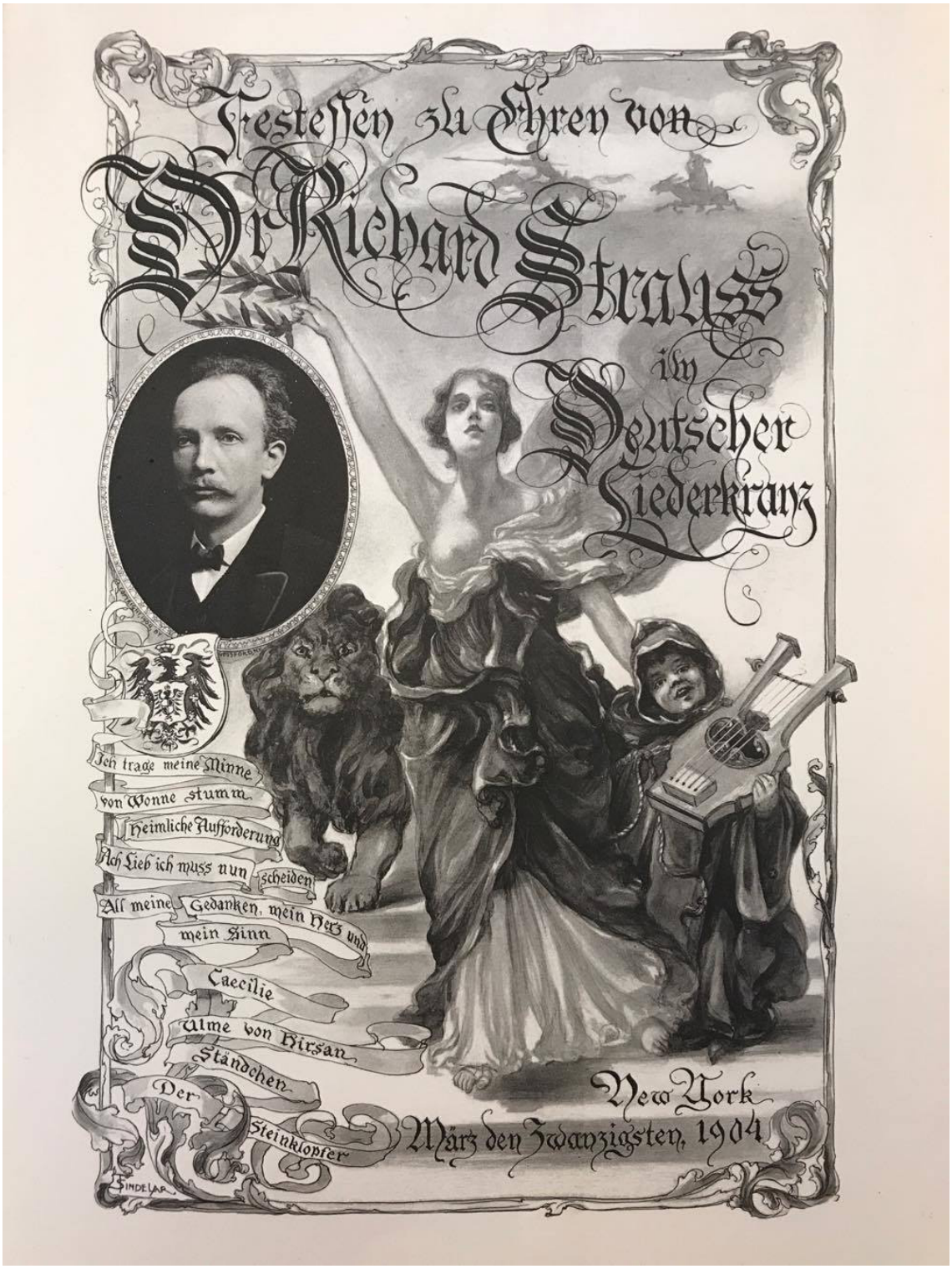


Figure 2.3: New York *Liederkranz*, Strauss dinner commemorative menu, 20 March 1904, Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Carl V. Lachmund Collection, JPB 92–1, series 6, box 13, folder 41. Photograph by the author.

veranstalteten Diners (Lotosklub und Liederkranz) kolossal gefeiert, unzählige Reden und Vorträge, prachtvolle Menus (reizend für mich gezeichnet und entworfen nach Szenen aus meinen Werken), ich habe sie Dir schicken lassen. Die Amerikaner verstehen sich aufs Feiern und sie [?] riesig gastfrei und liebenswürdig." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Providence, 22 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 296.

The next day was the famous premiere of the *Symphonia Domestica*. It was the product of some fifteen rehearsals and had been threatened by a near-revolt of New York's musical 'band of anarchists' (Anarchistenbande der New Yorker Musikanten). Nevertheless, Strauss called it a 'colossal, enthusiastic success' (kolossalen enthusiastischen Erfolg).[71] Unlike the Philharmonic, and the polished orchestras in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, Wetzler's ensemble did not have a standing roster. It was a rag-tag—if wildly ambitious—band of freelancers. Evidently, Strauss had found the process frustrating, punctuating his rehearsals with 'plenty of ranting' (reichlichem Schimpfen). But the end result was more than satisfactory and had given Strauss a clear sense of the piece's strengths and scope.[72] Next were engagements with the New York Philharmonic, and recitals in Boston, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and Chicago again. Back in New York, Strauss would re-join Wetzler for two final concerts in Wanamaker's Department Store. The performances, on 16 and 18 April, were massively attended, with some six thousand concertgoers each evening, but they were not a critical success.[73] One German-language critic likened the acoustic to that of 'a large cardboard box'. He acknowledged that 'the dry goods firm and its employees [had done] everything to make Apollo not seem out of place in Mercury's temple', but 'to bring these two gods together harmoniously [was surely] to conjure up a *Götterdämmerung*'.[74] Strauss at least, was unfazed; his only comment—though it is perhaps spurious—was that 'earning money for his wife and child is no disgrace, even for an artist!'[75] In any event, there was hardly time to reflect; the following day, Strauss was in Higginson's Symphony Hall, conducting the Boston Symphony Orchestra. In the initial scheduling of the tour, Boston had been omitted, apparently because of the objections

[71] Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Providence, 22 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 294–95.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Linda L. Tyler, '"Commerce and Poetry Hand in Hand": Music in American Department Stores, 1880–1930', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45, no. 1 (1992): 81.
[74] 'Richard Strauss in neuer Umgebung', *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 17 April 1904, 38. Cited and translated in Tyler, 'Commerce and Poetry', 81.
[75] Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma*, 139.

of its music director, Wilhelm Gericke (1845–1925). After the Philadelphia concerts, Higginson had approached Strauss directly, but negotiations broke down when the Boston management offered too low a fee. It was the orchestra membership that eventually invited Strauss, under the special auspices of their pension fund concert. To have been invited by the musicians themselves must have been gratifying, and Strauss was evidently delighted with what he called 'one of the most splendid orchestras in the world'.[76] In the press, Strauss—or more likely, his publicist—had extolled the virtues of several ensembles, notably the New York Philharmonic, the Pittsburgh Symphony, and the Chicago Orchestra. But in his letters home, it was clear that Boston was the artistic peak of his tour:

> The Boston Orchestra is wonderful, [their] sound, [their] technique of a perfection which I've hardly ever encountered. Moreover, the orchestra was full of enthusiasm, because it has to play under that terrible shoemaker year in, year out.[77]

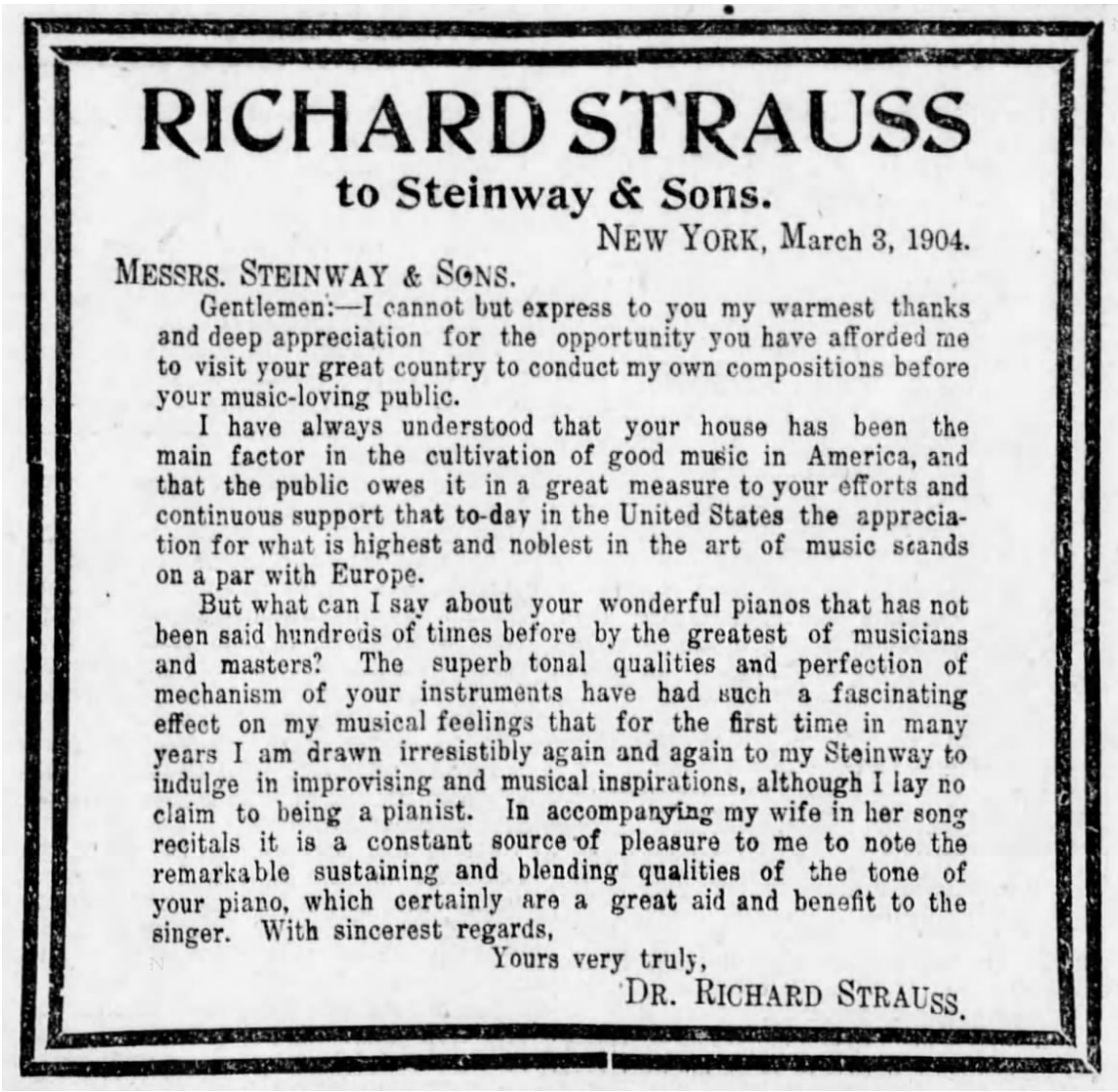
It was his last orchestral concert in America and a fitting note on which to end. There were only two major performances left, a chamber music recital at Chicago's Studebaker Hall, and a lieder concert in Washington's National Theatre. The most important social call had been saved for last; Strauss and de Ahna were received at the Roosevelt White House, greeted by the German legation, and given a tour of the capitol.[78] At 10:00 PM on 26 April they caught the last train for New York, but not before William Knabe—Steinway's principal competitor—was able to treat them to dinner. Two days later, on 28 April 1904, Strauss departed the New World on the SS *Bleucher*. In his two months in the United States, Strauss had drawn immense crowds and been an obsession of the musical press. Steinway & Sons had also benefited—they reprinted Strauss's testimonial for the entire year of 1904.

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[76] „Habe gestern mit einem der herrlichsten Orchester der Welt hier ein wundervolles Konzert dirigiert." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Boston, 20 April 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 297.

[77] „Das Boston-Orchester ist wundervoll, Klang, Technik von einer Vollendung, wie ich's kaum je getroffen. Dazu war das Orchester voller Begeisterung, denn es muß jahraus jahrein unter einem entsetzlichen Schuster spielen und atmete gestern geradezu auf.—" Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, Boston, 20 April 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern*, 297.

[78] 'Social & Personal: Mrs. Roosevelt Issues Invitations to a Musicale', *Washington Post*, 22 April 1904, 7, col. 4.



RICHARD STRAUSS

to Steinway & Sons.

NEW YORK, March 3, 1904.

MESSRS. STEINWAY & SONS.

Gentlemen:—I cannot but express to you my warmest thanks and deep appreciation for the opportunity you have afforded me to visit your great country to conduct my own compositions before your music-loving public.

I have always understood that your house has been the main factor in the cultivation of good music in America, and that the public owes it in a great measure to your efforts and continuous support that to-day in the United States the appreciation for what is highest and noblest in the art of music stands on a par with Europe.

But what can I say about your wonderful pianos that has not been said hundreds of times before by the greatest of musicians and masters? The superb tonal qualities and perfection of mechanism of your instruments have had such a fascinating effect on my musical feelings that for the first time in many years I am drawn irresistibly again and again to my Steinway to indulge in improvising and musical inspirations, although I lay no claim to being a pianist. In accompanying my wife in her song recitals it is a constant source of pleasure to me to note the remarkable sustaining and blending qualities of the tone of your piano, which certainly are a great aid and benefit to the singer. With sincerest regards,

Yours very truly,

DR. RICHARD STRAUSS.

Figure 2.4: 'Richard Strauss to Steinway & Sons', *New-York Tribune*, 10 March 1904, 3, cols. 1–2

Germanism and Its Influence in American Music

In just two months, Strauss had covered a huge swathe of the country, visiting all of the nation's cultural capitals, as well as a number of smaller, regional centres. These appearances engendered a strong sense of civic pride in each, but also a robust cultural competition between them, largely played out in the press. Strauss's presence was artistically validating, and by making him an honorary citizen or by inducting him into local societies, these cities could try and claim Strauss as one of their own. The ethnic composition of each of these locales played an important role in that process. Everywhere Strauss travelled, he

was greeted by German-American social clubs, fraternal organisations, and music societies. In lavishing Strauss with a 'loving cup', for instance, the Germans of Cleveland did a double service, celebrating their European inheritance, as well as demonstrating both social prominence and cultural clout in their adopted, American home.[79] These welcome committees were often chaired by local businessmen and politicians, and invariably included the community's eminent German-American musicians.

By 1904, the musical activity in most American towns had become remarkably German in both repertoire and in personnel, and most of the nation's pre-eminent symphonic conductors were either Austrian- or German-born, or otherwise trained at a German institution. Of the conductors engaged as titular music directors of major American symphonies in 1904, almost all had a German affiliation.

Table 2.2: Music Directors of Major American Orchestras (selected), 1904

	Conductor	Nationality	Education
Boston	Wilhelm Gericke (1845–1925)	Austrian	Vienna Conservatoire
Chicago	Theodore Thomas (1835–1905)	German-American	Private, New York
Cincinnati	Frank Van der Stucken (1858–1929)	Belgian-American	Antwerp Conservatoire [80]
Detroit	Hugo Kalsow (n.d.)	German	Dresden Conservatoire
Minneapolis	Emil Oberhoffer (1867–1933)	Austrian	Private, Bad Kissingen [81]
New York	Walter Damrosch (1862–1950)	German-American	Dresden Conservatoire [82]
Philadelphia	Fritz Scheel (1852–1907)	Austrian	Private, Leipzig
Pittsburgh	Victor Herbert (1859–1924)	Irish	Stuttgart Conservatoire

There were other men, mostly associated with New York and Philadelphia, who had been traded back and forth between the major orchestras. The late Leopold Damrosch (1832–85), had been educated at the University of Berlin, and his German-born sons, Frank (1859–

[79] 'Not for Effect, But for Melody: Richard Strauss Sways Orchestra with Perfect Control', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11 March 1904, 4, col. 2.

[80] Van der Stucken was Belgian-born and -educated, but most of his early career was spent as a *Kapellmeister* in Breslau and Weimar. He returned to Germany to work in Hanover from 1908 to 1917.

[81] With the composer Cyrill Kistler (1848–1907).

[82] Since his father's death in 1885, Walter Damrosch had been Music Director of the New York Symphony Orchestra. He held the music directorship of the New York Philharmonic for one season (1902–03), after which that orchestra largely employed guest conductors until 1909. Vasily Safonov was the principal in 1907.

1937), and Walter (1862–1950) had both returned to Europe to receive their music education. The Metropolitan Opera's Anton Seidl (1850-1898) had studied at Leipzig, and both Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) and Emil Paur (1855-1932) at Vienna.[83] Underwritten by the German-American firm, Steinway & Sons, Strauss's tour was initiated by another true dual-national, Hermann Hans Wetzler, who was German-born, Chicago-raised, and educated in both Cincinnati and Frankfurt. These names dominated the billboards of American music halls at the turn of the twentieth century, and on the concert stages within, German was the *de facto* second language of business. Strauss's English was poor, and it seems likely that in some cities, large sections of his orchestral rehearsals were conducted entirely in German. With a predominantly German repertory, a history of German-born and -educated conductors, and a proportion of German-speaking players, the account of Strauss's first rehearsal with Theodore Thomas's Chicago Orchestra seems emblematic:

> The two men shook hands, and Mr. Thomas then turning to the orchestra said in German: "Gentlemen, Dr. Richard Strauss" […] the composer opened the score, rapped for order, and with a "Bitte, meine Herrn" the rehearsal began.[84]

Off the podium as well, Strauss was surrounded by countrymen. Upon his arrival in Cincinnati, he was greeted by Ernest Urchs 'an intimate, personal friend',[85] and later treated to a game of Skat with the local businessmen and philanthropists, Charles H. Krippendorf,[86] J.G. Schmidlapp,[87] and the conductor, Frank Van der Stucken.[88] At many, if not most of the

[83] Joseph Horowitz writes at length on the enduring importance of foreign (specifically German) conductors and concert soloists, and the notion of a 'performer cult'. Joseph Horowitz, 'More Conductors', and 'The World's Great Soloists', in *Classical Music in America* (New York; London: W. W. Norton, 2005), 305–58.

[84] 'Strauss Has Rehearsal: German Composer Conducts the Chicago Orchestra', *Chicago Tribune*, 31 March 1904, 3, col. 2.

[85] Urchs was also a Steinway affiliate. He is one of the signatories on Lhévinne's Steinway contracts.

[86] Charles H. Krippendorf (1836–1919) immigrated to the United States in 1867, gradually establishing the Krippendorf-Dittman Company, with which he made a fortune in shoe manufacture. His son, Carl, would create the sprawling 'Karlsruhe Gardens' which now make up the Cincinnati Nature Center. Jane Stotts, 'Our Roots in Review: Tracking CNC's Rich Cultural History', in *The Founding of Cincinnati Nature Center*, https://www.cincynature.org/media/history/Fall_Newsleaf_History_JaneStotts.pdf

[87] Jacob G. Schmidlapp (1849–1919) was the founder of the Union Savings and Trust. See 'Gave Millions Away During His Lifetime: Will of J.G. Schmidlapp of Cincinnati Records His Ideas, Another Million for Suffering', *New York Times*, 25 December 1919, 1, col. 2.

[88] 'Dr. Richard Strauss Talks', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 7 April 1904, 9, col. 3.

celebratory dinners in his honour, Strauss was surrounded by eminent burghers with German surnames.[89] In Washington, he was received at the German Legation by the ambassador, and throughout the rest of his travels he was honoured at meals by eminent German-American patrons, including the Steinways in New York, and the Baltimore-based Knabes in Washington. The *Liederkranz* in New York, and German musical associations throughout the country threw lavish receptions for the visiting composer, and a firm sense of diasporic national pride permeated all these engagements.[90] Even the Lotos Club of New York was unabashed in its national 'leanings', as the club's toastmaster, Arthur von Briesen, made apparent in his opening remarks to Strauss:

> "I should call the attention of the guest of the evening to the fact," said Mr. Von Briesem, [*sic.*] "that the club has recently shown special German leanings, since it was only a little while ago that we had Mr. Conried with us, as a tribute to his devotion to the first Richard in the Empire of Music. The second Richard of that Empire we have with us to-night.[91]

Von Briesen (1843–1920), an eminent New York lawyer and philanthropist, could not have been a more apt representation of the tensions and complexities of the German-American diaspora in 1904. A staunch American patriot, the teenaged von Briesen had served in the First New York Volunteers during the Civil War, just a few years after arriving in his adopted home. In peacetime, he would be called to the bar, later steering the Legal Aid Society of New York for some twenty-six years. During the First World War, however, von Briesen's spiritual dual-citizenship would become an acute source of personal and professional strain. In 1916 he would be forced to step down from the Legal Aid Society as controversy surrounded his pro-German sympathies. But at least in 1904, his German and

[89] 'Strauss Entertained', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1904, 2, col. 6.

[90] As we have seen, in Cleveland, Strauss received a 'magnificent loving cup […] on behalf of the German citizens' of the city. The presentation and reply were both given in German. 'Not for Effect, But for Melody: Richard Strauss Sways Orchestra with Perfect Control', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11 March 1904, 4, col. 2.

[91] 'Ask Strauss to Set Skyscrapers to Music: Walter Damrosch's Suggestion at Dinner to Composer: Honoured by the Lotos Club', *New York Times*, 20 March 1904, 7, col. 3. The first Richard in the 'Empire of Music', of course, was Richard Wagner.

American allegiances were not in conflict, in fact, they were apparently complementary. Here, an unfailing partisan for New York cultural life was heralding two Richards, the King and his heir, both presiding over the Empire of Music. The choice of the word *Reich* (Empire)—von Briesen addressed the assembled in German—had an obvious political resonance: the Empire of Music was not merely a platonic ideal; it had literal borders, and they overlapped neatly with those of two temporal realms, one German, the other Austro-Hungarian. In fact, throughout the dinner, representatives of political authority were in full force. The German consul general in New York, Carl Gottlieb Bünz (1843–1918), was at Strauss's table, and Frank R. Lawrence (1845–1918), president of the Lotus Club noted 'that he had been requested by [Strauss] to mail a copy of the elaborate menu card of the evening to the German Emperor, a request, he added, that would be speedily complied with'.[92]

But these orations were more than simple paeans to Austro-German musical prowess. Even von Briesen seemed to subtly co-opt Strauss into the American fold, making his successes—through a bit of linguistic ambiguity—American successes too: 'We have every reason to be proud of him as our guest and friend, as well as proud of him on account of the great future that is before him', von Briesen concluded, 'I ask you to drink to his long life and happiness'.[93] Von Briesen's 'we' was an ambiguous category. Was he referencing the elite membership of the Lotus Club, into which Strauss had just been warmly inducted, or was he casting a wider net?[94] The club was not merely proud to entertain Strauss, that reflexive pride in being graced by another's presence, but rather, was proud *of* Strauss, implying investment, if not some sense of ownership. Could Americans take an active role in championing a German's career? Could American accolades propel an international

[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Like many prominent guests, Strauss was given honorary membership in the club as part of his tribute dinner.

celebrity to even greater stardom? Finally, would Strauss's American experiences change him in any deep, artistic way?

It was Walter Damrosch, now forty-two, and firmly established as one of New York's preeminent conductors and impresarios, who would broach this last question. German-born and -educated, but American-raised, Damrosch was himself a princeling of sorts, carrying on his father's musical legacy in the city of New York. At just thirty-one, he had been fêted with his own dinner at the Lotus Club, and at Strauss's reception he was the closing act. There he said, 'among other things, that he felt sure that when Dr. Strauss returned to Germany he would write a "Symphonia Americana," in which there would be the effect of great twenty-four-story skyscrapers, the roar of the elevated trains, the grandeur of Niagara, and various other sounds peculiar to America'.[95]

Of course, there was to be no *Symphonia Americana*, and Strauss's next major work, *Salome*, would be withdrawn after a single performance at the Metropolitan Opera in January 1907. But Damrosch's assuredness that modern America would indelibly change *Strauss* was a perfect encapsulation of both the potentials and the anxieties of European influence. Damrosch was not the only person in the halls of the Lotos Club for whom Strauss's presence had significant cultural ramifications. Many, if not most, of the men present were actively mediating American musical development, negotiating its relationship with the Old World, and charting the course of its coming emancipation. Present at Strauss's banquet were composers, conductors, critics, impresarios, and a slew of deep-pocketed men who were underwriting the entire enterprise. In a musical culture which had, for a variety of reasons, come to affirm the Austro-German canon as its own, the presence of Germany's most modern musical representative was validating. But it was also something of an artistic prerequisite. If American art was to surge into the twentieth century on its own terms,

[95] 'Ask Strauss to Set Skyscrapers to Music: Walter Damrosch's Suggestion at Dinner to Composer: Honoured by the Lotos Club', *New York Times*, 20 March 1904, 7, col. 3.

specifically as the logical successor to the Austro-German canon, it first had to grapple with the currently perceived terminus of that line: Richard Strauss. Coming to grips with German art in its most hyperextended, post-Wagnerian form was thus the final stage of the romantic American *Bildungsroman*. Whatever form American music would take, it would begin here.

American Music and the Metaphor of the Bildungsroman

Bildung is perhaps one of the most fraught literary terms in German studies, its meaning the subject of intense debate. But the concept of *Bildung* can still be a useful rhetorical construct, and with respect to nineteenth-century American musical life the *Bildungsroman* becomes a striking metaphor not just for culture building generally, but also the deliberately and self-consciously German lines along which American identities formed. However, we must address a key point of anachronism, namely that widespread academic use of the term in America began after Strauss's tour and the historical period in question.

As Manfred Engel explains, the term *Bildungsroman* has a somewhat convoluted etymology, and one in which historical anachronism is 'its congenital defect'.[96] Originally coined to describe German romantic works of the late-eighteenth century, its first contemporary use—by the rhetorician Karl von Morgenstern (1770–1852) in 1810—was forgotten almost immediately. It was not until Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) wrote his *Das Leben Schleiermachers* (The Life of Schleiermacher, 1870) and more importantly, his *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (Poetry and Experience, 1905), that the term took its contemporary meaning and entered the common academic lexicon.[97] It is worth noting that Dilthey was not unknown in the United States in 1904. First editions of *Das Leben Schleiermachers* existed in the university collections of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and the New York

[96] Manfred Engel, 'Variants of the Romantic »Bildungsroman« (with a short note on the »artistic novel«)', in *Romantic Prose Fiction*, ed. Gerald Gillespie, Manfred Engel, and Bernard Dieterle (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), 263.
[97] Ibid.

Public Library, along with varying permutations of his other essays, philosophical treatises, and the edited volumes of Schleiermacher's letters.[98] His works no doubt appeared in the shops of German booksellers, who would announce their recent arrivals in papers like Baltimore's *Deutsche Correspondent*.[99] But the fact remains that *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, published in 1905, would take years to permeate into Anglophone literary criticism, and there would be no systematic evaluation of Dilthey's work in English until 1944.[100] So should the absence of the technical term *Bildungsroman* prevent us from discussing its manifestations, either literal or metaphorical? Engel argues no. In fact, it was only in the 'fourth phase of the history of the genre—after its beginning in the late Enlightenment, [and] its Romantic and its Realist version—' that authors would begin to describe their own works as *Bildungsromane*:

> In Romanticism and Realism there was no such concept; but there was a clear awareness of an intertextual connection. All 19th-century German novels which we today call *Bildungsromane* refer back to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship Years* as their common pre-text.[101]

The situation was no different across the Atlantic. While the word *Bildung* in its German original was largely absent from American literature at the *fin de siècle*, its narrative *topoi* were inescapable. Many American artists, musicians, and critics conceived of their nation's cultural development as a societal projection of individual growth. Moreover, they were actively engaged in mediating their nation's relationship with the Old World, a cultural process that was both metaphorically and literally bound up in the *Bildungsroman*. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth-century, American authors began to experiment with these

[98] Interestingly, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* only appears in the collections of Princeton and Columbia. There are seemingly no original printings of Dilthey's work at the Boston Public Library.

[99] While I have not found announcements for books by Dilthey himself, some do exist for books about Dilthey's work. In November 1903, for instance, New York's G. F. Stechert & Co publicised a new tribute by Ludwig Stein (1859–1930), dedicated to Dilthey on his seventieth birthday („Ludwig Stein widmet dem Philosophen Wilhelm Dilthey ein Gesetzblatt zu seinem 70. Geburtstage"). *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 28 November 1903, 2, col. 4.

[100] H. A. Hodges, *Wilhelm Dilthey: An Introduction* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1944).

[101] Engel, 'Variants of the Romantic »Bildungsroman«', 264.

'formation-novels', in which young, rough-hewn protagonists would face adversity to arrive at a place of intellectual, physical, or moral maturity. Literary theorists have traced these themes in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Hyperion* (1839),[102] Herman Melville's *Mardi, and a Voyage Thither* (1849), *Moby-Dick* (1851), and *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities* (1852),[103] Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (1884),[104] Henry James's *Roderick Hudson* (1875), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), and *The Ambassadors* (1903),[105] and immediately after the War, Upton Sinclair's *Jimmie Higgins* (1919).[106] There were notable poetic examples as well, such as Walt Whitman's 'There Was a Child Went Forth' (1855). But I argue that it is in the domain of cultural criticism that we find the most potent examples of individual *Bildung* representing national development. As American music critics heralded a sudden and marked improvement in national orchestras, in conservatories, and in the calibre of domestic musicians, they also betrayed a profound anxiety about the nation's cultural youthfulness, and its relationship to European models. Perhaps nowhere is this anxiety more acutely expressed than in the works of Rupert Hughes, who decried American cultural chauvinism during the mid-nineteenth century: 'We were notorious in the earlier half of the century', he wrote,

> for boasting, not only of the virtues we indubitably had, but of the qualities that existed solely in our own imagination. We sounded our barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world. A century of almost unanimous European disapproval, particularly of our artistic estate, finally converted us from this attitude to one of deprecation almost abject. Having learned the habit of modesty, it has clung to us even now, when some of the foremost artists in the world are Americans.[107]

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[102] Robert L. Gale, *A Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Companion* (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 2003), 118.

[103] Margy Thomas Horton, 'Melville's Unfolding Selves: Identity Formation in *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, and *Pierre*', (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2014).

[104] James E. Caron, 'The Comic Bildungsroman of Mark Twain', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 50, no. 2, (1989): 145–72.

[105] Jeremy Adler, '"A Vast Intellectual Fusion . . . of the Various National Tendencies": Goethe and Henry James', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 83, no. 1 (2014): 53–72.

[106] Karsten H. Piep, 'War as Proletarian Bildungsroman in Upton Sinclair's *Jimmie Higgins*', in *War, Literature & the Arts: An International Journal of the Humanities*, 17, no. 1–2, (2005): 199–226.

[107] Rupert Hughes, *Famous American Composers* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1900), 30.

But Hughes's narrative also emphasized a marked artistic development, achieved through both adversity and criticism. 'The time has come to take American music seriously', he resolutely asserted, and though 'the day for boasting is not yet here,—indeed if it ever comes; [the] day of penitent humility is surely past'.[108] Hughes anchored the systemic development of American music in the personal development of individuals, a narrative highly reminiscent of the archetypical German *Bildungsroman*: the 'American artist',

> having long ago ceased to credit himself with all the virtues, has been for years earnestly working out his own salvation in that spirit of solemn determination which makes it proverbial for the American to get anything he sets his heart on. He has submitted himself to a devout study of the Old Masters and the New; he has made pilgrimage after pilgrimage to the ancient temples of art, and has brought home influences that cannot but work for good.[109]

Hughes's archetypical American artist studies his craft with religious intensity. 'Salvation', solemnity, devotion, 'pilgrimage', these are his watchwords, and they conjure images of monastic seclusion and self-denial. But the insistently democratic undertones of Hughes's American ideal suggest yet another character: Cincinnatus.[110] Hughes's imagined composer may be part monk, but he is also part legionnaire, diligently tending to his fields, only to be called up to save the art of the Republic. Contrast the above lines with the famous passage from Dilthey's *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, translated here by Manfred Engel:

> *Hyperion* belongs to the *Bildungsromane* which, under the influence of Rousseau, originated in Germany from the tendency of our spirit towards a culture of inwardness […] Starting with *Wilhelm Meister* and *Hesperus*, [these novels] all present the youth of their times as he steps into life in blissful ignorance, searching for related souls, experiencing friendship and love, as he then struggles with the hard realities of the world, and thus, in manifold encounters with life, matures, finds himself, and comes to know his mission in the world.

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[108] Ibid.

[109] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 31.

[110] The Roman Consul, Cincinnatus (c.519–c.430 BC) became famous for literally leaving his plough to take up consulship of the Roman Empire, and upon the completion of his duties, relinquishing power and returning to his farm. A familiar character to American audiences because of his parallels to George Washington, he was the namesake of no fewer than seven American cities as well as the famous hereditary Society of the Cincinnati, a patriotic fraternal order.

> […] The dissonances and conflicts of life appear as necessary transitional stages of the individual on his way to maturity and harmony.[111]

Though an ocean apart, Hughes and Dilthey were adopting the same literary tropes as they charted the young artist's progression from 'blissful ignorance' (or in the American context, boastfulness and 'barbaric yawps'), through struggle and maturation. These ideal protagonists, both German and American, eventually arrived at a discernment of their 'mission in the world'. The projection of this individual self-actualization onto a global destiny was important, all the more so given the auspicious timing of Dilthey's books. He completed *Das Leben Schleiermachers* in 1870, the year of the Franco-Prussian war, and just a year before the inauguration of a unified German Reich. By 1905 when he published *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, the German Empire was one of the strongest military powers in the world, engaged in an accelerating arms race that would shortly lead to the First World War. Germany had become a resolutely expansionist power while Dilthey was still identifying the 'tendency of [the German] spirit towards a culture of inwardness' as its most distinguishing characteristic.[112] While this troubled literary *Innigkeit* did not map exactly onto American cultural bravado, there was a close analogue in the American obsession with individualism. Indeed, the Republic had had its own analogous transformation from 1870 to 1905. It began the Gilded Age militarily exhausted, with an intelligentsia that had retreated from the bloodletting of the Civil War into an aesthetic inwardness of its own. But after thirty-five years of spectacular industrial and financial growth, the final conquest of the American interior, and the Spanish-American War, the country had discerned its national 'mission in the world' as that of a quasi-imperial power. In a real, political sense, its global ambitions would come later. But in a rhetorical, iconographic sense, they had already arrived.

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[111] Dilthey is discussing the *Hyperion* (1797) of Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), not those of Keats or Longfellow. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1907; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 272. Translated in Engel, 'Variants of the Romantic »Bildungsroman«', 263.

[112] Ibid. „[…] der Richtung unseres Geistes auf innere Kultur hervorgegangen sind."

Nationalism, Masculinity, and Canonicity: Tracing the Bildungsroman *in American Letters*

Regardless of Wilhelm Dilthey's direct influence on American authors and social critics, the literary themes of the *Bildungsroman* became potent metaphors for American development. Not only were American writers thinking about their national art in terms of challenge, formation, and burgeoning maturity, but they were doing so in a highly individualized fashion that was directly based on German models. As a literary form inaugurated in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796), the *Bildungsroman* was inextricable from these tropes and *topoi* of early German romanticism, anchored in that language, and in the historical peculiarities of German apprenticeship and *Wanderjahre*. (It is no accident that two seminal American formation novels, Longfellow's *Hyperion* and James's *Roderick Hudson* both involve German wanderings of their own.) Central to this is Johann Gottfried Herder's famous line 'Denn jedes Volk ist Volk; es hat seine National-Bildung wie eine Sprache' (Because every people is 'a People', it has its national formation [expressed through, or] like a language'). Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson argue that this 'points, in this older-liberal imagination of the nation, to a logic of self-ownership, of sovereignty and autonomy and to an internally-facing imagination of the people constituted *among themselves* as an ideal unit'.[113] So in this sense, through the emphasis of self-ownership, sovereignty, and autonomy, German *National-Bildung* and American nation building were highly analogous.[114]

The *Bildungsroman* could also be a highly masculinised form, one that intertwined intellectual and artistic growth with the development of physical, biological manhood. Again, there were national implications: Marcia Citron calls the unification of Germany under Prussian rule 'a kind of masculine psychological development – a struggle and triumph over adversity, resulting in the fully constituted male and the unified German

[113] Biddle and Gibson, *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, 136–37.

[114] Though in a nation of immigrants, the nature of a 'people constituted *among themselves* as an ideal unit' was necessarily an open question.

nation'.[115] Even the concept of *Bildung* more broadly, she asserts, 'was an ideal for the male, not the female.[116] American artists did not internalize these frameworks accidentally. Over the course of the nineteenth-century, American painters, writers, musicians, and academics travelled to the German-speaking lands in droves. Almost all of the nation's major composers undertook study in Germany or Austria, including (in order of birth), William Henry Fry, James C. D. Parker (Leipzig), William Mason (with Liszt and Moscheles), Charles Converse (Leipzig), Whitney Eugene Thayer (Berlin), Dudley Buck (Leipzig), John Knowles Paine (Berlin), George Whitefield Chadwick (Leipzig), Edgar Stillman Kelley (Stuttgart), Frank Van der Stucken (Breslau), Edward MacDowell (Frankfurt), Arthur B. Whiting (Munich), Henry H. Huss (Munich), Horatio Parker (Munich), Frederick Converse (Munich), Henry Kimball Hadley (Vienna), and Arthur Farwell (Berlin).[117]

What was it then, precisely, that American composers, performers, and critics had internalized about the German canon? To begin, it was the acknowledgment of such a canon at all—specifically one whose constituent members were exclusively Austro-German, and whose historiographical logic was based on the theoretical writings of Hegel, Herder, and Nietzsche. It was the same canon that had been literally etched in stone at Ludwig I's Regensburg Walhalla, a Greco-Roman temple to Teutonic achievement, which Biddle and Gibson have called the 'materialization of the nineteenth-century tendency to catalogue, taxonomize and hierarchize cultural production'.[118] What it shows, they evince,

> is that the symbolic systems that produced conceptions of male creativity in the nineteenth century were also symptomatic of a wider tendency in nineteenth-century European culture to propagandize that creativity as exemplary or as speaking for human endeavor as a whole while simultaneously, in the Germanophone world in particular,

[115] Marcia J. Citron, 'Gendered Reception of Brahms: Masculinity, Nationalism and Musical Politics', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 150.

[116] Citron, 'Gendered Reception', 147.

[117] A few notable Americans travelled to Paris instead, including Edward Burlingame Hill and Daniel Gregory Mason. Others, such as John Alden Carpenter, sought out English teachers.

[118] Biddle and Gibson, *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, 2.

> making claims to that national culture as the apotheosis of the European tradition.[119]

Though American analogues were less overtly fantastical, they largely inscribed the same hierarchies and values. Consider Theodore Baur's (1835–94 [?]) brooding *Beethoven* in the Library of Congress rotunda (1890–97), standing alongside Michelangelo as one of only two representatives of the fine arts.[120] Museums and concert halls across the nation were emblazoned with similar icons, with the names of the great cultural fathers carefully ordered above colonnades. Indeed, at Harvard's John Knowles Paine Concert Hall, Katherine Bergeron writes,

> Our musical Fathers stand in gold leaf, protected, enshrined, preserved (as Frank Kermode would say) in a continuous state of modernity: Beethoven is front and center, flanked by Mozart and Schubert; the rest fall in like so many ranks of troops. It is the Canon at a glance; a solemn spectacle of the disciplining of music.[121]

Next door, Harvard's academic music faculty, along with the burgeoning departments of Columbia and Yale, was beginning to professionalize its curriculum on distinctly German lines. Modern American musicology, like its German analogue, was much-influenced by Guido Adler (particularly his 1885 article, 'Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft', in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*), and most of its practitioners were German-trained.[122] Across the Charles at the New England Conservatory, the editor, critic, and theorist, Louis C. Elson, would give clearest voice to the Austro-German musical canon, in its peculiarly American understanding.[123] As we have seen, Elson not only articulated the evolution of German music with the clarity of an insider (in addition

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[119] Biddle and Gibson, *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, 7–8.

[120] It has been difficult to find a verifiable date of death for Baur. The Library of Congress Building (now known as the Thomas Jefferson Building) was constructed over a period of seven years from 1890 to 1897, so it is possible that the statue was cast early in the construction process, or posthumously from an earlier model.

[121] Katherine Bergeron, 'Prologue: Disciplining Music', in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1.

[122] Oscar Sonneck, the 'Dean of American Musicology', was born in Jersey City, but educated in Heidelberg and Munich.

[123] Elson is mostly known today as the namesake of lecture series at both Harvard and the Library of Congress.

to being trained at Leipzig, he had been a personal guest of Cosima Wagner at Wahnfried) but he also fitted American music within the same arc.[124] Necessarily, this began with Bach who, 'great as musician and great as man', stood 'unabashed in "the fierce light that beats around a throne"'.[125] In his *History of German Song* (1888), *The Realm of Music* (1892), *Great Composers and their Work* (1898), *The History of American Music* (1904), *Modern Music and Musicians* (1912), and *Women in Music* (1918), Elson hardened the boundaries of the acceptable canon, made clear the lines of succession, as well as the evolutionary dead-ends. Writing in 1898, he would point to Brahms as 'the only legitimate successor of Beethoven, the only man who has been able to rival the great symphonist in the domain of development and treatment of large instrumental forms'.[126] A thoroughgoing conservative, Elson was a friend of, and partisan for Raff, Rheinberger, and Goldmark.[127] Through his prolific writing and public lecturing, Elson did much to articulate a clear vision of the Austro-German canon for American audiences. As the chair of theory at the nation's oldest conservatory, his interpretations came with institutional pedigree. As a personal acquaintance of many of his subjects, his anecdotes and quotations came with first-person authority. To be sure, Rubinstein's landmark farewell concerts in 1873, and Seidl's inaugural Wagner productions both had done much to canonize the Austro-German repertory. The weight of these monumental events was reinforced by the day-to-day activities of German-educated musicians. But it was the authors and critics who took these patterns of performance and clarified them for audiences in black and white. Pedagogues like Elson would articulate the Canon as it was. The critics and polemicists would express it as it might become.

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[124] Louis C. Elson, *European Reminiscences, Musical and Otherwise: Being the Recollections of the Vacation Tours of a Musician in Various Countries* (Chicago: Manual Publishing Company, 1891), 77.

[125] Louis C. Elson, *The Realm of Music: A Series of Musical Essays, Chiefly Historical and Educational.* 13th ed. (Boston: New England Conservatory of Music, 1892), 208.

[126] Louis C. Elson, *Great Composers and Their Work* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1898), 253–54.

[127] To him, Strauss was mostly 'leading his muse through the brambles instead of along the highroad of art', but Elson did not for a moment doubt the composer's 'great orchestral power'. Elson, *Great Composers*, 295–96.

Civic Pride and Strauss Reception

In discussing the peculiarities of American journalistic criticism, it is useful to note that it differed substantially from criticism in England at the same time. In general, English critics were much less immediately enamoured of Strauss's compositions, and were quick to point to the composer's predilection for 'musical effects', and a perceived weakness for melodic invention.[128] In part, this may be reflective of England's more sustained acquaintance with the composer. By 1904, most American regional capitals had had periodic Strauss performances, but they were not usually representative samples of his work. It was only in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia that audiences had heard most of the tone poems prior to Strauss's tour. Boston had had surprisingly limited exposure to Strauss's works, and the orchestra did not book Strauss during original negotiations.[129]

Most regional cities had heard two, perhaps three of the tone poems, but predominantly knew the chamber music and songs, especially *Ständchen*, Op. 17, No. 2. Strauss's large symphonic works were only periodic additions to fairly conservative season listings, and they were often considered programmatic 'novelties', a word which appears with great regularity in the American press. Reports of Strauss performances in European centres, as well as the early tour performances in New York and Philadelphia, were often written by the wire services and syndicated in the newspapers of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh and other similar mid-sized industrial cities. In order to fill copy, some papers would reuse entire paragraphs of biographical or analytic material from earlier articles. The result was the regular repetition of the same journalistic tropes and observations, and in some cases, the perpetuation of incorrect biographical information.[130]

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[128] 'But the subjects he uses are very rarely even tolerable as melodies; where they are not commonplace they are ungainly, and nearly always unpleasing'. 'Concerts', *Times of London*, 30 March 1903, 8, col. 2.

[129] 'Special—Symphony Hall—Special […] Only Appearances in Boston of Dr. Richard Strauss', *Boston Post*, 31 January 1904, 19, col. 1. Originally scheduled performances were with the Philadelphia Orchestra. The Boston Symphony booked Strauss after his arrival and pointed observations in the press that the BSO had been left out.

[130] Any number of articles incorrectly refer to Richard Strauss as 'The Waltz King'. Others incorrectly report Strauss's age at the time (39). 'The Observant Citizen', *Boston Post*, 27 February 1904, 6, col. 2.; 'Will Honor the

Journalistic appraisals of Strauss were not uniformly adulatory. In fact, the degree of pomp and circumstance accorded to the composer, both in person and in print, seems loosely related to dynamics of civic pride and institutional one-upmanship. The *New York Times* and its fellow Manhattan dailies were more ambivalent in their coverage of Strauss as a visiting conductor and performer. Reviewers in the metropolises of New York and Chicago, and to a lesser extent, Boston, appeared to suffer less from a social obligation to fawn. In these centres, well-acquainted with foreign visiting artists, reviewers attempted to strike a delicate balance, reinforcing a narrative in which their institutions merited international celebrity, while still cultivating a cool, critical worldliness that was not easily impressed. This project involved the general adulation of Strauss tempered with occasional doses of withering critique. The *Chicago Tribune* offered a characteristic example in March 1904:

> We here in Chicago have—thanks to the presence of Mr. Thomas and the Chicago orchestra been made unusually familiar with all the orchestra works of Strauss… We are, therefore in better position than is any other city in this country to receive Dr. Strauss with understanding and appreciation of what he has accomplished in music. No other American city heard all of his tone poems so early, and nowhere have they been given with such frequency since that time as here in Chicago… Even the decriers of Chicago and all that is Chicagoan can but admit that the only orchestra in the United States which can compete with our own for technical and interpretive supremacy is the Boston Symphony. The other orchestras of the country are capable, but they are not of the superior excellency that distinguishes the one we call our own and that which Boston has so long boasted.
>
> When he comes to Chicago, therefore, he will have under his baton for the first time in this country an orchestra of supreme capabilities.[131]

A later article in the same paper would include a quoted testimonial from 'Strauss himself'. This example immediately raises the question of translation. There is no indication as to

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"Waltz King": German Singers to Present Costly Souvenir to Richard Strauss', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 February 1904, 8, col. 2.

[131] 'The Playgoer: Theatrical Comment of the Week: Coming of Richard Strauss', *Chicago Tribune*, 13 March 1904, 21, col. 1.

whether Strauss spoke in German or in English. If he replied in German, his comment may have been translated by one of his managers, a representative of the orchestra, or the reporter himself. Regardless, it is likely that there was some careful tailoring along the way:

> You men play so exactly according to the marks in the score that I have to pay particular attention to what I'm doing in order not to show my ignorance […] Gentlemen, it is my pleasure and my pride to be able to direct today so faultless an orchestra and to hear my music played in a manner so completely in accordance with my every wish. Your organization is a model in all ways, and I feel proud to be associated with an orchestra which has been brought to such perfection by a man whom I have honoured and wished to know for full twenty years—Mr. Thomas.[132]

To the competing *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Strauss's compliments were even more remarkable:

> The Chicago orchestra is one of the two greatest orchestras in the world. I have never led an orchestra that responded more quickly to my wishes than does this one. I had but one rehearsal with these men, and that one was hardly necessary. The whole vast country of America should be proud of your Theodore Thomas and the good he has accomplished in music. It is marvellous that your city, not more than fifty years old, has such an organization.
>
> The audience today was intelligent and, I might say, delightfully responsive. It was a pleasure to appear before them.—Richard Strauss.[133]

Smaller regional centres had an even greater vested interest in promoting the Strauss concerts, and in general they dispensed with the cooler rhetoric of critics in Boston, Chicago, and New York. The 'advent' of Strauss—as one paper deemed it—to Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Morgantown was heralded with great fanfare. Previous visiting artists had not been nearly so catholic in their choice of venues, and the success of engaging Strauss in these cities was a source of great civic pride. Moreover, the local papers, often imbued with a strong civic partisanship, may have felt a duty to further that prevailing ethos. The *Cincinnati Enquirer* depicted an ebullient Strauss,

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[132] 'Strauss Has Rehearsal: German Composer Conducts the Chicago Orchestra', *Chicago Tribune*, 31 March 1904, 3, col. 2.

[133] Walton Perkins, 'Dr. Strauss Leads Chicago Orchestra: Great Composer Calls Theodore Thomas' Musicians One of Two Greatest Organizations in the World', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 2 April 1904, 3, col. 1.

delighted with what was probably a very fine ensemble, but with much less of the grandeur of New York, Chicago, or New York. The reviewer observed:

> It seemed to be the outcome of spontaneous enthusiasm on his part to walk over to [the music director,] Mr. Van der Stucken at the close of the first tone poem and express to him his hearty thanks and approval of the result.[134]

While Strauss seems to have been gracious to all of his orchestral hosts he was, by all accounts particularly impressed with the Pittsburgh Symphony. That orchestra, very much the product of the personal drive and ambition of Irish-born conductor, Victor Herbert, had toured to Carnegie Hall, welcomed visiting conductors Emil Paur, and Henry J. Wood and been positively received by the New York press. Gustav Schlotterbeck of the *Pittsburgh Post*, reported Strauss's praise with bursting enthusiasm:

> What will interest Pittsburgh most is that Strauss is very enthusiastic about the orchestra. These are expressions he used to your representative:
> "Much better than New York orchestra", "Ausgezeichvete." [*sic.*] "The orchestra is beautiful, showing great care in the preparation Mr. Herbert has given to my works.[135]

Two days later, the same paper published further testimonials under the headline 'Dr. Strauss Enthuses over the Pittsburgh Orchestra':

> Will you believe me when I say that Dr. Strauss grew boldly enthusiastic over the Pittsburgh orchestra, whose work he described with words like these: "Famous," "Prachtvoll," "Vorzueglich," "Ausgezeichnet," "Unnebertroffen." Will you accept as true the statement that Dr. Strauss said to the writer in his moment of ecstasy: "The one mistake of this, my first American tour, is that I did not engage the unapproachable Pittsburgh orchestra for every one of the concerts I was engaged to conduct, including those in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston?"[136]

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[134] 'Amusements: Richard Strauss To-Day', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 8 April 1904, 7, col. 5. In actuality, the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra was still in a stage of development. Van der Stucken would politely decline to programme some of Strauss's works because he thought his ensemble was not yet capable of playing them.

[135] 'Cleveland is Captured: Huge Audience Greets Strauss' Last Symphony Concert—He Congratulates Herbert', *Pittsburgh Post*, 11 March 1904, 4, col. 6.

[136] Gustav Schlotterbeck, 'Dr. Strauss Enthuses over the Pittsburgh Orchestra', *Pittsburgh Post*, 13 March 1904, classified sec., pg. 5, cols. 1–2.

It is quite possible that Strauss's enthusiasm for Pittsburgh was genuine. The orchestra had already been well-reviewed on the national stage and had assumed increasingly ambitious programmes and a schedule of eminent guest conductors. But the *Daily Post* and internal orchestra memoranda also confirm that 1904 was a year of tense political disruption.[137] The board was in contentious contractual negotiations with Herbert and in danger of losing him. Plunging pledge rates were endangering orchestra finances, and Emil Paur and other potential replacements had already politely declined overtures from the board, citing among other things, a desire to avoid being embroiled in orchestra politics.[138] In his tremendous enthusiasm for Strauss, and by eagerly relating the composer's approval, Schlotterbeck was actually engaging in a far more pressing project: championing a civic institution in a time of turmoil. In a way, the publicity relating to Strauss provided local journalists an important defence mechanism as they advocated for their home. The *Washington Post*, acutely aware of the city's comparative musical obscurity, used Strauss's visit as an example of the political centrality of the city, even though their critic, Berenice Thompson, was occasionally disdainful in her reporting:[139]

> The reception of Dr. and Mrs. Richard Strauss at the White House will be of a family and intimate character. Possibly no step in their triumphant career through the country will better please the modest gentlefolk musicians than this truly American welcome from the heads of the nation. It is eminently fitting that Washington, as National Capital, should be identified in some such way, with an event in a lifetime of high artistic importance, as, indeed, this must be.[140]

To 'be identified' or represented during the course of Strauss's tour was a source of significant pride. In smaller cities, it validated burgeoning concert scenes, provided young

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[137] Gustav Schlotterbeck, 'The Orchestra Situation More Muddled than Ever', *Pittsburgh Post*, 14 February 1904, 9, cols. 3–4.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Even Thompson occasionally engaged in some amusing one-upmanship. She offered this amusing quip regarding the *Symphonia Domestica*: 'The New York papers have been sponsors for the statement that this new work is still in manuscript, but in this they were misinformed, for there are printed scores of the music in Washington'. Of course, this was impossible. Berenice Thompson, 'Music and Musicians: Strauss' "Symphonia Domestica"', *Washington Post*, 6 March 1904, sec. 3, pg. 6, cols. 1–2.

[140] 'Richard Strauss at the White House', *Washington Post*, 10 April 1904, sec. 3, pg. 8, col. 5.

symphony societies with valuable testimonials from a foreign conductor, and—as seats were routinely sold to capacity—often resulted in significant financial support to the institution. During March and April 1904, newspaper critics used Strauss's visit, especially reports of his rapport with the local orchestras, to further civic one-upmanship. Smaller cities used the visit to affirm their cultural ascendency, while the critics in Chicago, New York, and Boston used the composer's remarks to assert their long-held cultural pre-eminence. While there was a vested interest in lauding the concerts however, reviews were not uniformly positive. Perhaps the most consistent criticism was the difficulty audiences faced in entire concerts of uninterrupted Strauss—'a severe tax upon the attention and upon musical digestion'.[141] Early reviews also expressed disappointment at the seemingly indifferent, cavalier attitude Strauss took to several initial engagements in New York. The *Chicago Tribune* would observe:

> At the first concert directed by Dr. Strauss the seeming indifference of the composer-director was commented on by all the critics. He appeared in nowise to exert himself in order to compel the best work from his men, and distinct disappointment was expressed by those who wrote of his conducting. At the second concert […] the leader lost control of his men and for a few seconds disaster threatened. This shock seemed to rouse [Strauss] and last Wednesday when the third concert in the series was offered, the composer showed himself in a new light. The reviews were all commendatory.[142]

Elsewhere, critics and audiences occasionally expressed incredulity and bafflement at the very structure of Strauss's works. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* relayed the lacklustre reception of the *Symphonia Domestica* with qualified praise, noting a handful of beautifully crafted moments in an otherwise chaotic composition:

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[141] 'Strauss Scores Big Hit: Great Composer Makes American Debut in New York', *Chicago Tribune*, 28 February 1904, 6, col. 4. This phraseology is remarkable given the tendency of some critics (those of *The Times of London*, for instance), to often describe Strauss's music as 'without substance'.

[142] 'The Playgoer: Theatrical Comment of the Week: Strauss as a Conductor', *Chicago Tribune*, 13 March 1904, 21, col. 1.

> The cradle song is beautiful; so is much of the adagio; there are extremely interesting points in the development
> As a concert, there was much to disappoint. There was manifest at no time an overwhelming enthusiasm, albeit the applause marked a discriminating appreciation.[143]

A few other papers, while happily heralding the arrival of the composer as the crowning event of the musical season, remained largely unconvinced of the substance of his work. The very same feature in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* would call *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Tod und Verklärung* so new in form, 'that judged by the criterion of the great music of the past, they are sadly lacking'.[144] These excerpts demonstrate the degree to which many among the literati and the general concert-going public remained sceptical of some Strauss compositions, or in some cases, of his entire compositional method. Critics were underwhelmed by Strauss's apparent indifference to certain venues and audiences, his business-like demeanour on the podium, and the apparent 'inaccessibility' of his work. But the *Gazette* exemplifies the dual consciousness perfectly. While the paper would call Strauss's most significant tone poems 'sadly lacking', this harsh appraisal was still printed under the following headline: 'Musical Event of the Season: The Appearance of Dr. Strauss Drew Great Crowd to Orchestra Concert: He is Radical and Daring'.

The Construction of Heroism in Richard Strauss

The construction of Strauss's musical virility and 'Teutonic' heroism was the product of an inventive dual consciousness in the American press, uneasily balanced with the sometimes-underwhelming nature of his performance. It is clear from the more dispassionate concert reviews that Strauss's performances were of uneven calibre, as both a conductor and pianist. Some audiences, baffled by his orchestral works and overwhelmed by two hours of what was often referred to as a 'taxing idiom', petered out during the interval.

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[143] 'Musical Event of the Season: The Appearance of Dr. Strauss Drew Great Crowd to Orchestra Concert: He is Radical and Daring', *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 12 March 1904, 3, col. 1.
[144] Ibid.

New York concertgoers at the earliest performances were disappointed by the composer's apparent disengagement and lacklustre playing, and while many of the intervening performances were heralded as triumphs, the final song recitals understandably betrayed the physical and mental exhaustion of the two musicians. So, beyond the hyperbolic headlines and leads, many critical accounts subtly intimated the reality of Richard Strauss at forty: as the product of a rigidly structured German musical hierarchy, the young composer was very much a working *Generalmusikdirigent*—practical, pragmatic, and business-like.[145] While reviews of Strauss's playing and conducting were generally sympathetic, they betrayed his human fallibility, and an unprepossessing practicality, both of which were diametrically opposed to the image of the towering hero-artist. The prevailing narrative that associated Strauss with heroism, musical exceptionalism, Wagnerian inheritance, and a sort of masculine, artistic virility, did not always align with the reality of the man. Nevertheless, he was the recipient of some extraordinary epithets:

'the lion of the musical hour'[146]
'a strenuous example of modern musicianship'[147]
'the great mystic modernist of the present-day composers'[148]
'a Prince Fortunatus of music'[149]

Elsewhere, the rhetoric focussed on his compositional mastery, employing the language of musical conquest. Strauss was frequently afforded the superlatives 'pre-eminent', 'greatest', and 'foremost', 'the master figure in the musical world today'.[150] The *Pittsburgh Press* would unequivocally affirm, 'Strauss is the most conspicuous and dominating figure in instrumental compositions of the present day, he is also one of the greatest living conductors'.[151] A rhetorical mysticism also permeated much of the journalistic criticism,

[145] Strauss was in fact thirty-nine during the tour. He turned forty in June 1904.
[146] 'In Music's Domain', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 3 April 1904, sec. 4, pg. 3, cols. 1–3.
[147] 'The Strauss Concerts', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 5 April 1904, 9, col. 1.
[148] 'Amusements', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1904, 2, col. 6.
[149] Richard Aldrich, 'Richard Strauss the Composer: Some Facts about the Famous Musician Who is Coming to New York this Week', *New York Times,* 21 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, cols. 5–6.
[150] 'Music', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 4
[151] 'Music of the Week', *Pittsburgh Press*, 31 January 1904, 34, cols. 7–8.

resulting in sometimes cumbersome analogies, forced metaphors, and the hyperbolic observation that, 'Strauss fingers his orchestra with a wizard-like touch'.[152] The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, offered perhaps the boldest appraisal of Strauss, not merely a 'great conductor but the greatest musical figure of the time in the entire world'.[153] Other superlatives, 'Regal Richard',[154] 'Immortal Richard',[155] and 'Richard II' increasingly surfaced, all intended to 'honor him with the succession to Richard Wagner'.[156] This notion of compositional lineage permeated discussions of Wagner in the context of Strauss criticism. Often imbued with prophetic qualities, the Strauss of the American press was Wagner's direct inheritor, furthering the teleological evolution of Austro-German composition until its culmination in the musical modernism of the *fin de siècle*. Enlisting the voice of an amorphous musical *demos*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* trumpeted:

> He is all that they have said of him; that he has succeeded Richard Wagner as the storm center of the musical discussion the world over. He is a young man of daring originality, who has cast aside conventional forms in composition, and has created a new epoch. He is the realist of modern music, the most interesting figure in the domain of composition today, and a great conductor.[157]

The *New York Herald*, in a much-quoted passage, was direct in identifying the burden of apostolic succession:

> Overshadowing other musical affairs of this week, dominating, indeed, in importance the present concert season as a whole, is the coming of Richard Strauss, the man on whom Wagner's mantle seems to have fallen as prophet of the music of the future; the man whom Berlin idolizes as a conductor, and whom not alone Germany, but the musical

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[152] Gustav Schlotterbeck, 'A Fund of $50,000 to Keep Walter Damrosch […] A Musical Colossus', *Pittsburgh Post*, 7 February 1904, classified sec., pg. 6, cols. 1–4.

[153] 'Music', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6 March 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 3.

[154] Berenice Thompson, 'Music and Musicians: Strauss' "Symphonia Domestica"', *Washington Post*, 6 March 1904, sec. 3, pg. 6, cols. 1–2.

[155] 'Strauss to Conduct: Famous Composer and Conductor to Lead the Pittsburgh Orchestra', *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 9 March 1904, 8, col. 4

[156] 'Dr. Richard Strauss Talks', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 7 April 1904, 9, col. 3.

[157] Adella Prentiss quoted in, 'New York Daily Letter: Strauss in Cleveland', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1 March 1904, 6, col. 4.

> world at large, honor as an epoch making conductor, the apostle of a new tone philosophy.[158]

The concept of a 'tone philosophy', grandiose yet ill-defined, was essential to constructing Strauss's mythos as scholar-musician, philosopher-composer, and artist-prophet. The enormity of these claims fed into broader national trends in Strauss reception, ones in which Strauss was situated within the Wagnerian inheritance, and imbued with quasi-prophetic powers; indeed, Strauss, 'like Richard Wagner, [was] the musician of the present as well as of the future'.[159] This concept of Wagnerian inheritance derived from broader American and European ideas regarding the teleological evolution of art—the inexorable development of largely Austro-German composition from Bach through Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner. Replicating the contemporary biological fallacy that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny,[160] a critic at the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* envisioned Strauss's personal compositional development as replicating the historical 'evolution' of the whole German symphonic tradition:

> He is now only thirty-nine yet his list of compositions number more than 600 and represent a growth from Haydn-like simplicity to scientific abstruseness from which even Wagner would have shrunk. He began his training in a musical straightjacket and preserved his academical habits thus acquired long after he had begun to formulate his individual methods of writing […] From that time to the present day there have followed one composition after another, each a step in advance of its predecessors.[161]

To the *Minneapolis Journal*, Strauss's position as the logical, evolutionary outgrowth of a German tradition necessarily resulted in the previous musical 'princes' being deposed:

> There is no branch of musical art that refuses yield to Dr. Strauss homage. As a composer, his works are placed in the highest rank. Even Beethoven, the hitherto recognized standard by which all aspirants for musical honors as composers are measured, is placed but as his peer, Richard

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158 'Music', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 4. These sentences were almost directly plagiarised, without any citation, in another article the following month: 'City News: City Honored in Strauss' Visit: "Successor of Wagner" to Be Seen Here', *Minneapolis Journal*, 23 March 1904, 5, cols. 4–6.

159 'The Strauss Concerts', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 5 April 1904, 9, col. 1.

160 This phrase, propagated by the naturalist, Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), describes the idea that the development of an embryo *in utero* recapitulates the evolutionary development of mankind, historically.

161 'Music', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 4.

> Wagner, whose musical theories caused as great commotion forty years ago as those of Strauss are doing at the present day, is made to divide the honors of musical composition with this quiet, reserved man of 40 […] Something of the importance of the event might be realized if Richard Wagner himself, during his life-time, could have come to Minneapolis. Indeed, an auditorium large enough to contain the masses who would have thronged to hear and see him could not be secured. People in all ranks of life would vie with each other in the effort to do him homage.[162]

The phrase 'there is no branch of musical art that refuses yield to Dr. Strauss homage' is echoed in the criticism of Richard Adlrich of the *New York Times*:

> Music, it has been truly observed, is a grave thing and laughs unwillingly; but Strauss can compel her to it, and he can equally compel her to all the subtler fantasies that it has been considered a part of her mission only to hint at.[163]

Throughout the papers, Strauss's 'exertion of power' was a prevalent theme. Strauss's ability to 'compel the best work from his men',[164] or even the Muse herself was closely related to the broader significance of masculine authority in the construction of the 'Teutonic hero'. Nowhere however, was partisanship for Strauss-as-hero more acute than in the monographs and newspaper articles of Huneker, whose *Mezzotints in Modern Music* (1899) and *Overtones: A Book of Temperaments* (1904), provided American audiences with an exceptional synthesis of all the varied *topoi* of German musical modernism—its rhetorical tropes, its investment in lineage, succession, nationalism, masculinity, and the psycho-sexual.

James Huneker: A Case-Study in American Strauss Reception

Strauss's modernism derived from his ability to disclose psychological states-of-being through musical form and material. For Huneker, it was Strauss's thematic explication

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[162] 'To Entertain a Great Composer: Minneapolis to Welcome Dr. Strauss on Monday', *Minneapolis Journal*, 8 April 1904, 6, col. 5.

[163] Richard Aldrich, 'Strauss's "Don Quixote," The Realistic Tone Poem to Be Given Here for the First Time this Week', *New York Times*, 14 February 1904, 25, cols. 1–4.

[164] 'The Playgoer: Theatrical Comment of the Week: Strauss as a Conductor', *Chicago Tribune*, 13 March 1904, 21, col. 1.

of philosophy that released him from the shackles of merely mimetic or didactic programmaticism. In drawing this distinction, Huneker cited the work of Tchaikovsky, who had visited the United States in 1891, and Saint-Saëns, who would shortly arrive in 1906. In spite of his 'charming fancy and great musicianship', Saint-Saëns's Gallic programmaticism, inherited from Berlioz, reflected that composer's 'mastery of the decorative and more superficial side of music'. Saint-Saëns's stories, Huneker complained, dealt

> only with the external aspects of his subject. Omphale bids Hercules spin, and the orchestra is straightway transformed into a huge wheel and hums as the giant stoops over the distaff. Death dances with rattling xylophonic bones; Phaeton circles about the Sun God, and we hear his curved chariot and fervent pace. But the psychology is absent.[165]

By contrast, the throbbing emotionalism of Tchaikovsky's late symphonies, particularly the *Pathétique*, offered an indirectly programmatic formula, one in which interior psychological states now predominated, but at the expense of literary narrative. Strauss's literary-psychological tone poems, however, represented a halfway house between the works of Saint-Saëns and Tchaikovsky, superseding both. Tchaikovsky 'went far', Huneker acknowledged,

> but Richard Strauss has dared to go further. He first individualized, and rather grotesquely, Don Juan, Till Eulenspiegel, Macbeth; but in Death and Apotheosis and in Also Sprach Zarathustra he has attempted almost the impossible; he has attempted the delineation of thought, not musical thought, but philosophical ideas in tones. He has disclaimed this attempt, but the fact nevertheless remains that the various divisions and subdivisions of his extraordinary work are attempts to seize not only certain elusive psychical states, but also to paint [a] pure idea—the "Reine vernunft" of the metaphysicians. Of course he has failed, yet his failure marks a great step in the mastery over the indefiniteness of music. Strauss' German brain with its grasp of the essentials of philosophy, allied to a vigorous emotional nature and a will and imagination that stop at nothing, enabled him to throw into high relief his exited mental states.[166]

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[165] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 142.

[166] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 143–44. Vernunft is left uncapitalised in Huneker's text. It may be an error of the editor.

In referencing Immanuel Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Critique of Pure Reason, 1781), Huneker linked Strauss to an entirely separate strain of German analytic philosophy, a full two generations before his most obvious influences. In Huneker's formulation, Strauss was not only a product of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche but he was also indebted to an earlier German philosophical tradition. This was doubly important, first, because it shortened the gap between Strauss's metaphysics and the giants of American philosophy, notably Walt Whitman,[167] and second, because it emphasized Strauss as a product of Austro-German intellectual inheritance more generally, situated not just in grand arc of its composers, but in the arc of its philosophers also. Thus Kant's *reinen Vernunft* and Schopenhauer's *Wille und Vorstellung* might be reconciled and synthesized in 'Strauss' German brain' and mobilized in response to what Huneker called the 'vast emotional problems of his generation'.[168] One of the outcomes of this 'profound study in the vaticinating leaves of Nietzsche', of course, was *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (1896), whose 'pantheistic evocation of sunrise, uplifting in its elemental grandeur' seemed to be 'welded by a giant will'.[169] Huneker's constant recourse to the notion of *Wille* related to another Nietzschean construct, the *Übermensch*. As a 'painter-poet and psychologist', Strauss was possessed of a cool, analytical forcefulness—a totem of German masculine individuality.[170] In this sense, he superseded the tortured interiority of Wagner:

> Lo, another Richard has guided us to a newer domain, which, if not so fascinatingly tropical, is one where hallucinating chromaticism does not rule, where a more intellectual diatonic mode prevails. Strauss is master of a cold, astringent voluptuousness. His head rules his heart. Above all, he searches for character, for its every trait.[171]

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[167] Huneker, *Overtones*, 16. 'The Hero's Life is nearer the symphony in a formal sense than any of his newer works. It is his most robust composition. The conception is breath-catching, for it is a chant of the *Ego*, the tableau of Strauss's soul exposed as objectively as Walt Whitman's when he sang of his *Me*'.

[168] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 153.

[169] Huneker, *Overtones*, 12–13.

[170] Huneker, *Overtones*, 14.

[171] Huneker, *Overtones*, 10.

Huneker significantly emphasized Strauss's position as a dispassionate observer of the human psyche. Strauss was preternaturally gifted in articulating the range of human emotion, able to express the interiority of man in his most excited states: in his recognition of the sublime, in his final, frantic struggle for life, and in the transcendence of his own mortality. But Strauss the man was a picture of the respectable—if somewhat rakish—German *Bürger*. He was psychologically balanced, unprepossessing, amusingly business-like, and eager to escape the podium for a *Biergarten* and a game of Skat. Strauss was simultaneously a Nietzschean *Übermensch* and a thoroughly ordinary family man, an incongruity with which all of the American critics would have to grapple, not least Huneker. Writing to his friend and sparring partner, Henry Krehbiel, Huneker would acknowledge this bifurcated picture of Strauss, championing 'the power of R. S.' in spite of 'the smallness of the man'.[172] (Huneker clearly meant smallness in the sense of ordinariness; having met Strauss, he would have known the composer stood well over six feet.) Many American critics found themselves grappling with Strauss's somewhat antiheroic demeanour directly, reconciling how this man, clearly 'cast in the old heroic mould', could still resemble something of a 'great overgrown schoolboy'.[173] Huneker, for one, obviated the issue. If Strauss's physiognomy had to be addressed—and it was, unceasingly—Huneker could at least localise his observations:

> Strauss has not a normal ear. His is the most marvelous agglomeration of cortical cells that science has ever recorded. So acute are his powers of acoustical differentiation that he must hear, not alone tones beyond the base and the tops of the normal scale unheard of by ordinary humans, but he must also hear, or rather, overhear, the vibratory waves from all individual sounds.[174]

Here, as elsewhere, Huneker's most exaggerated prose is tongue-in-cheek. But the broader theme, that Strauss was both psychologically and physically predisposed to mastery over his

[172] Huneker to Krehbiel, New York, 24 July 1904, in *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, 27.
[173] 'Amusements', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1904, 2, col. 6.
[174] Huneker, *Overtones*, 55.

musical material, remains constant. Mastery, Will—these *übermenschlich* characteristics appeared in a range of receptions of Strauss, always linked to his unique facility for psychological insight. At the close of his chapter in *Overtones*, Huneker would synthesize all of these elements, repurposing the metaphor of musical kingship:

> Strauss has only reached the midway of his mortal life. A stylist, a realist in his treatment of his orchestral hosts, a psychologist among psychologists, a master of a new and generous culture, a thinker, above all an interpreter of poetic and heroic types of humanity, who shall say to him: Dare no further! His audacity is only equaled by his mental serenity. In all the fury of his fantasy his intelligence is sovereign over its kingdom.[175]

Strauss's musical sovereignty—again, 'Richard II' was a favoured epithet for several American critics—was important for various reasons. First and foremost, it sold tickets. But from a critical perspective, it assured Americans that this visiting conductor was more than a simple *Kapellmeister*. He was the picture of modern, masculine musicianship, the foremost character in the development of the art. Daring, original, technically advanced—all buzzwords in that burgeoning skyscraper age—Strauss represented the new, but also validated the old. As a conductor, his conservative programming and reverence for the First Viennese School affirmed the canonical predispositions of American audiences. As a composer, his position in that very line of succession gave his interpretations authority and weight. In the same way that Huneker situated Strauss within the broad course of German philosophy, he needed to chart his development through the course of Austro-German composers. Throughout *Overtones*, Huneker emphasized Strauss's classical upbringing, and his enduring reverence for that canon of works.[176] Strauss was not only a product of that tradition, but may have even inherited the mantle of its archetypical *Kapellmeister*:

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[175] Huneker, *Overtones*, 63.

[176] Huneker quotes Strauss's advice to an aspiring composer: 'My good young man, go home and study the works of Bach, the symphonies of Haydn, of Mozart, of Beethoven, and when you have mastered these art works come to me again'. Huneker, *Overtones*, 20.

> It is easier to trace the artistic lineage of Richard Strauss to its fountain-head—Johann Sebastian Bach—than to stamp with a contemporary stencil its curious ramifications […] like Bach Strauss has experimented in the *disassociation* of harmonies, and, in company with his contemporary, the master-impressionist, Claude Monet, has divided his tones—set up, instead of the sober classic lines or the gorgeous color masses of the romantic painters, an entirely new scheme of orchestration, the basic principle of which is individualism of instruments, the pure anarchy—self-government—of the entire orchestral apparatus.[177]

Here, Huneker anticipates Schoenberg's 'Brahms the Progressive' by some forty years. In referencing Bach's dissociative harmonies, he makes a quiet revolutionary out of the most stalwart figure of German classicism—its very 'fountain-head'. Strauss's intense modernism was thus classically rooted, anticipated, validated. Indeed, as 'we reach Richard Strauss by way of Bach', we find that in Strauss, Bach's music finally 'achieves its grand climacteric'.[178] Strauss becomes for Huneker a sort of prophetic fulfilment:

> [Liszt, Wagner, Brahms,] All these men seemed to dare the impossible, according to their contemporaries, and now Strauss has shifted the string one peg higher; not only does he demand the fullest intensity of expression but he insists on the presence of pure idea, and when we consider the abstract nature of the first theme of Beethoven's fifth symphony, when we recall the passionate inflection of the opening measures of Tristan and Isolde, who shall dare criticise Strauss, who shall say to him, Thus far and no farther.[179]

Even under his comic pseudonym, Old Fogy, Huneker would give his audience a vision of Strauss the rightful successor:

> No longer the wheezings, gaspings, and short-breathed phrases of Liszt; no longer the evil sensuality, loose construction, formlessness, and drunken peasant dances of Tchaikovsky; but a blending of Wagner, Brahms, Liszt—and the classics. Oh, Strauss, Richard, knows his business! He is a skilled writer. He has his chamber-music moments, his lyric outbursts; his early songs are sometimes singable; it is his perverse, vile orgies of orchestral music that I speak of. No sane man has ever erected such a mad architectural scheme.[180]

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[177] Huneker, *Overtones*, 1.
[178] Huneker, *Overtones*, 6.
[179] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 145. Huneker consistently omits the indefinite article before 'pure idea'.
[180] James Huneker, *Old Fogy: His Musical Opinions and Grotesques* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser Co., 1913), 16.

Old Fogy might have perceived perverse, vile orgies in the tone poems, but his author did not. In fact, Huneker was privately baffled by the overt sexualisation of Strauss's scores, particularly *Salome*. Writing to his friend Edward E. Ziegler in 1906, he would exclaim, 'I swear our friends have more imagination than I. They read miracles of filth into the score. Truffle hunters all; searchers after the diseased carrion. I took the music as it came'.[181] Regardless, Huneker doubted *Salome* could even 'contain half of the real Strauss—the Strauss of "Also" and "Don Quixote" and "Heldenleben"'.[182] It was in the heroic tone poems, with their inscription of a robust, intensely individualistic masculinity, that Huneker found Strauss in his purest representation.

As we have seen, many critical evaluations of Strauss were underpinned by heady, masculinist metaphor. All of these critical *topoi*—psychologism, intellectualism, classicism, Teutonism, quasi-monarchical succession—were closely tied to the way that the 'modern man' expressed his masculinity. Huneker's highly gendered reception of Strauss walked an unusually fine line. As his letters to Krehbiel and Ziegler demonstrate, Huneker did not perceive any divergent or deviant sexuality in Strauss's works or comportment (in the way that he and his peers did in the case of Scriabin).[183] But that is not to say that the psycho-sexual was absent. On the contrary, themes of potency and virility were essential to Huneker's appraisals. It was in this light that the *Jungenhexenlied* took on a 'sturdy power' and 'sheer muscularity', making 'it beloved of manly male singers'.[184] Indeed, he went on to say, 'of mere sensuous or decorative music-making there is none' in the *oeuvre* of Strauss.[185] *Also sprach Zarathustra* also began to take on a distinctly sexual tone, with its 'tremendous chords

[181] Huneker to Ziegler, New York, 26 December 1906, in *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, 56–57.
[182] Ibid.
[183] It was in this context that the *New York Sun* would report how 'Serpentine themes' dragged 'their sinuous, slow and scaly folds along under a dank overgrowth of orchestration' in Scriabin's first symphony. 'Some Russian Novelties: Scriabine Hears His Own First Symphony', *New York Sun*, 1 March 1907, 9, col. 1. We will treat these themes at length in Chapter IV.
[184] Huneker, *Overtones*, 30.
[185] Ibid.

in their naked simplicity',[186] and its Nature theme, whose missing third obscured the 'tonal sex' of the chord, making it 'hermaphroditic, as is Nature itself'.[187] For Huneker, Strauss's works transcended base sexuality, instead becoming holy in a Wagnerian sense. Though the 'seven devils of sensuality [may live] in his mansion', Huneker would write, 'he has exorcised them by sheer force of a great spiritual nature—the man is a spiritualist, a seer in the broader meanings of these much-worn terms'.[188] Invariably, the line returned to Strauss's Wagnerian inheritance, but also to the identification of Strauss as the apotheosis, or musical accomplishment of what Wagner had set into motion:

> All modern music is full of sensuality, since Wagner first set the fevers of the flesh to music. In the music of Strauss the Germans have discovered the fever of the soul.[189]

To the *fin-de-siècle* critic, this robust artistic persona, laden with the rhetoric of 'Teutonic' heroism and masculine authority needed a rhetorical antithesis: assertiveness and authority juxtaposed with dependence. The American critics apparently found that association in Pauline Strauss de Ahna. The key to this specific artistic relationship, and to Strauss's relationship with his audience more generally, was his innate 'psychological' gift.

The Construction of Dependency in Pauline Strauss de Ahna

Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, Richard Strauss did not undertake his tour alone. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, many travelling virtuosi suffered punishing, year-long schedules that necessarily precluded the involvement of wives and children. Rubinstein and Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860–1941) travelled alone, and their letters betray both the physical and emotional exhaustion and severe loneliness that accompanied such

[186] Huneker, *Overtones*, 45
[187] Huneker, *Overtones*, 46.
[188] Huneker, *Overtones*, 50.
[189] Huneker, *Overtones*, 36.

ambitious tours.[190] Even as shorter, month-long engagements became normative, many composers travelled only with their manager and a valet (assuming they could afford one).[191] There were notable exceptions—Dvořák, Seidl, Elgar, Mahler—but most of these involved domestic tenures and sustained American residencies. Strauss stands out as exceptional. Not only did he undertake a gruelling concert schedule 'alongside' his wife, she was his principal musical collaborator. In almost every city, Strauss and de Ahna performed side by side, sometimes multiple days in a row, through illness and sleeplessness, in unfamiliar halls and, often, in front of truly vast audiences. Surely, this would be enough to cause stress in even the most stable marital relationship. But the 1904 tour could not have come at a less auspicious moment in the Strauss marriage; just the previous autumn, de Ahna had nearly divorced Strauss, fearing that her husband was carrying on an affair.[192] Though the incident was eventually clarified as a case of mistaken identity (de Ahna always maintained quiet doubts), the marriage had been seriously strained. When both Strausses travelled to America then, in constant daily company from 1 February 1904 to the start of May, they were only a matter of months removed from the most serious challenge in their relationship. From a professional standpoint, the American reception could not have helped. Newspaper criticism of the two musicians, almost always in conjunction, was divided into almost

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[190] 'Often despondent when away from home, Rubinstein also expressed concern about his family: "I have not had a letter from my wife for some time—who knows what is going on there—sickness, accidents, all kinds of thoughts of that kind go through my head when I fail to receive a letter on time—and add to that this sojourn here. You may well imagine in what rosy humor I am"'. R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 218.

[191] Saint-Saëns, for instance, travelled with his valet, Paul Sabatie. The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation Passenger Search, *La Provence*, 26 October 1906, frame 365, line number 27, passenger ID 800131010051.

[192] This well-worn story would eventually become the loose basis of Strauss's opera, *Intermezzo*, Op. 72 (1924). In 1903, the opera conductor Josef Stránský (1872–1936), tenor Emilio De Marchi (1861–1917), and American manager Edgar Strakosch were apparently approached at the Bristol Hotel, Berlin by a flirtatious patron named Mitze Mücke, requesting a ticket to one of their performances. In broken German, De Marchi waved the young woman off, assuring her that Stránský—whose name he perennially misspoke as Strausky—would send her the tickets. When none arrived, she went to the phone book, and, assuming she had been speaking to a *Kapellmeister* Strauss, *Joachimstalerstraße* Nr. 17, wrote the following: 'Darling love! Do get me the tickets. Your faithful Mitze. P.S. My address is Mitze Mücke, 5 *Lüneburgerstraße*'. Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1969), 237–38. In the British edition (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1971), this passage begins on page 262.

unqualified adulation of Strauss, and often damning dismissals of de Ahna. The disparity in reception must have been apparent, even to them. Though neither spoke English well, the journalistic appraisal was so consistent, and indeed, so unrelenting, that de Ahna could not have completed the two-month tour without gaining a basic understanding of how she was perceived by the American press.

By April 1904, Pauline Strauss de Ahna was forty-one and on the verge of retiring from public performance. Though—for the moment—she was still active on the concert stage, she had largely withdrawn from operatic roles and her relatively short-lived career at Bayreuth. The overwhelming consensus of American papers was that de Ahna was innately musical, sympathetic to the texts and expressive idiom of her husband's songs, but that her voice had largely gone. In the entirety of their two months in America, there is perhaps only one unqualified positive review of de Ahna. Titled 'Strauss' Talented Wife: The Rendition of Her Husband's Songs an Interesting Feature of the Composer's Coming Recital', this anonymously-authored column in the *Minneapolis Journal* is the only article which gives an extended biography of the singer, discussing her childhood, her early study with Emilie Herzog, and her roles as Pamina (*Zauberflöte*), Elizabeth (*Tannhäuser*), Elsa (*Lohengrin*), and Freihilde (*Guntram*). Though professional sacrifice for marriage was, if anything, still normative among female musicians at the *fin de siècle*, in the context of this solo review of de Ahna, its significance was highlighted. The article concluded:

> The crowning success of Mme. Strauss' success as an operatic prima donna, was in creating the part of Freihilde in Richard Strauss' opera, "Guntram." It was after this performance that her marriage to her famous husband took place, and with that event closed her career on the operatic stage. Deeply devoted as she is to her husband and his works, she has taken up the task of singing her husband's songs as an authentic interpreter of which she has won the greatest success thruout [*sic.*] many of the countries of Europe and later in England and America.[193]

[193] 'Strauss's Talented Wife', *Minneapolis Journal*, 31 March 1904, 5, col. 3.

Among the more balanced reviewers was William Lines Hubbard, whose concise, deferential article attempted to distance de Ahna, the woman, from specific criticism of her instrument. But even so, he did not entirely escape society page preoccupations with dress:

> After the "Zarathustra" Mme. Strauss appeared, escorted by both Mr. Thomas and Dr. Strauss. Mme. Strauss is one of the leaders of the dress reform movement in Germany, and her gown yesterday was in this style, an elaborate creation of creamy lace and silk, which was distinctly becoming to her. Her singing proved interesting and satisfactory from an interpretative viewpoint. The voice has lost its richness in the upper middle register and in the high tones, but is of no inconsiderable beauty in the lower half, and is used throughout with so much discretion and understanding that it seems adequate for all that is undertaken.[194]

For the most part, the only unqualifiedly positive reviews of de Ahna appeared in newspaper articles anticipating her arrival, written by critics who had not yet heard her. The *Washington Post* exaggeratingly referred to her as 'world renowned'.[195] The *Detroit Free Press* merely observed, 'Mme. Strauss de Ahna's work is spoken of in the highest terms of praise'.[196] Perhaps eager to reinforce a sense of civic pride in having been included on the concert tour, many smaller papers couched their criticism of de Ahna's voice in the admiration of her innate musicality. The *Pittsburgh Post* avoided the issue entirely by barely mentioning her performance.[197] The *Cincinnati Enquirer* relied on polite euphemism.[198] But amidst these deferential critiques of de Ahna's voice in the context of her artistry, were a handful of damning dissents. By far, the most unsparing criticism of de Ahna came from the *New-York Tribune*, reprinted almost in full, by Hubbard in Chicago.[199]

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194 William Lines Hubbard, 'Richard Strauss Leads Chicago Orchestra Concert', *Chicago Tribune*, 2 April 1904, 12, col. 5.

195 'Strauss Gave Recitals: Composer Presented with Freedom of Town at West Virginia University', *Washington Post*, 15 March 1904, 10, col. 3.

196 'Among the Musicians', *Detroit Free Press*, 6 March 1904, 15, cols. 2–3.

197 'Madame Strauss is an artistic singer, and the six songs she rendered were very beautiful'. 'Cleveland is Captured: Huge Audience Greets Strauss' Last Symphony Concert—He Congratulates Herbert', *Pittsburgh Post*, 11 March 1904, 4, col. 6.

198 'Her warm sympathetic interpretation of the Strauss songs was the best feature of her singing'. See 'Amusements', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1904, 2, col. 6.

199 Hubbard identifies the author of the *New-York Tribune* as Mrs. Krehbiel. There is no by-line in the original article and nothing to suggest that the author was Krehbiel's wife. It may be an error of the typesetter.

> The majority of our singers who venture before the public with Strauss songs have better voices and better artistic skill than Mme. Strauss de Ahna, and none of our really skilful accompanists would think he was doing his duty if he were to play in the unemotional, matter of fact manner, even indifferent, of the composer.
>
> Mme. Strauss de Ahna was once a German dramatic soprano of small caliber. There are traces left in her lower register of what was a pleasing quality and natural warmth. But the voice has gone the way of hundreds of German sopranos brought up in the strenuous fashion stimulated by the Wagnerian cult, and little has been left in the way of compensation. That little might have been edifying if employed unaffectedly in the bringing out of hidden and occult charms in her husband's songs (unassuming that mysteries hitherto undiscovered exist in them); but, unhappily, even her merit as an interpreter is obscured and made nugatory by inexcusable affronts to the decencies of the art of song. Such tone production as hers would not be pardoned in a novice, making no pretensions as an artist. Neither would any of our local singers have expected pardon had she distorted the contour of the melodies as Mme. Strauss did, or sung with such indistinct enunciation of the text.[200]

This sharp appraisal demonstrates as much about de Ahna's ability as it does musical-protectionist tendencies in American criticism. Austro-German conductors and composers, as trustees of the very canon American institutions enshrined, were often beyond reproach. But German performers, who, at their most basic were mere 'executors' of that repertoire, did not enjoy the same diplomatic immunity. They triumphed or failed in a free marketplace of increasingly virtuosic standards, jostling for recognition against equally talented Americans. Strauss's presence was an inherent validation of a city's cultural life, but so was the ability to pit his wife against the talent of 'any of our local singers'.

Across the broadsheets, de Ahna was otherwise the recipient of fairly generic compliments, often associated with her physical comportment and dress. Recurring phrases such as 'graceful', and 'with exquisite taste', smacked of society-page clichés, and the stock

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[200] Quoted in, William Hubbard, 'The Playgoer: Theatrical Comment of the Week: Mme. Strauss as a Singer', *Chicago Tribune*, 20 March 1904, 21, col. 2. Originally published as 'Music: Dr. and Mrs. Strauss', *New-York Tribune*, 9, col. 4.

attributes of wealthy hostesses.[201] Other words directly associated her relationship with 'the works themselves' to her connection with her husband, imbuing her performances with a spiritual—and critically, worshipful—mystique. Her interpretations were varyingly 'ardent'[202] and 'devout and conscientious'.[203] In these appraisals, critics subtly divested her of her own artistic agency, anchoring all of her successes in those of her husband. Even in suggestions to the contrary, de Ahna's subsidiary role was reaffirmed:

> Herr Strauss is frank in his declaration of the value of the singing of his wife to his own success, but the little lady is as strong in denying such value, of [on?] the fact of her husband's exercising control over her so as to make her do his bidding.[204]

Though the phraseology and smudged printing of this second clause obscure its meaning, it comes in the context of broader suggestions of de Ahna's fragility, all of which are laden with nineteenth-century connotations of female anxiety and 'hysteria'. The article goes on to observe that 'she has many times been stirred to deepest emotion by the hearty receptions given herself and her husband […] in one case she fainted on stage in the midst of an encore'.[205] Throughout these appraisals, de Ahna became less of an *interpreter*, and rather began to 'embody' her husband's works, as the *Times* would put it. To the *Washington Post*, she exhaled 'the very essence of the composer's inspiration', a phrase which suggested the transmission of compositional intent, but not an autonomous interpretation.[206] In embodying the compositional voice of her husband, it was often subtly suggested—and sometimes explicitly stated—that de Ahna exerted full control over neither her rendition,

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[201] 'Big Ovation to Dr. Richard Strauss', *Boston Post*, 8 March 1904, 8, cols. 6–7.
[202] 'An Immense Audience Hears Dr. Richard Strauss', *Pittsburgh Post*, 12 March 1904, 4, cols. 2–3.
[203] 'Richard Strauss Recital: Musical Washington Enjoys a Notable Treat at the National Theatre', *Washington Post*, 27 April 1904, 5, col. 2.
[204] 'Richard Strauss: Something About the Personality of the Man of the Hour in Music', *Washington Post*, 17 April 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 4.
[205] Ibid.
[206] 'Richard Strauss Recital: Musical Washington Enjoys a Notable Treat at the National Theatre', *Washington Post*, 27 April 1904, 5, col. 2.

nor her physical production of sound.[207] Taken individually, these criticisms may appear as afterthoughts, their pointed diction the product of writerly affectation, rather than an indication of pernicious, gendered prejudice. But these themes—passive embodiment, almost religious devotion to composer and husband, and both musical and physical reliance—come into sharp contrast against the overwhelmingly laudatory discussion of Strauss. In this context an extraordinary and bizarre feature in the *Minneapolis Journal* cannot be ignored:

SHE SINGS UNDER
HYPNOTIC CONTROL

DR. STRAUSS' STRANGE INFLUENCE UPON HIS WIFE'S SINGING.

It is Exercised Like that of Svengali Upon Trilby—Opportunity to Hear the Two to Be Had by Minneapolitans Next Monday Evening.

Hypnotic control, greater than Svengali's power over Trilby's singing because from deeper sources, is the secret of Frau Strauss-De Ahna's exquisite singing, for Dr. Richard Strauss, Germany's greatest living composer, exercises a marvellous power over his wife which utterly eclipses what was deemed a wild flight of Du Maurier's fancy.

While Dr. Strauss and his wife sway at will the thousands that crowd halls, and auditoriums to hear them, there are few in the secret, but that few watches with awe the great composer pouring his own soul thru his wife's voice, and the great soprano but a passive instrument in the master's hands.[208]

Dr. Strauss' marvelous power over his wife has been freely commented on. One who knows intimately the facts of the case says that Frau Strauss-de Ahna's success is due to the psychological influence exercised by her husband.

The first public intimation of this strange power came one day recently in Philadelphia, during the closing concert of the Philadelphia orchestra at the Academy of Music. Frau Strauss had sung her husband's song, "Wiegenlied," and had been greeted with tumultuous applause. As she started to repeat a verse she suddenly stopped, stood rigid and pressed on hand to her forehead.

[207] '[Her voice] is light and fragile and of not much potency of color, or depth of expression; it has a certain acid quality and is, indeed, no longer fresh, nor is it perfectly under her control; it is frequently unsteady'. 'Strauss Song Recital: Mme. Strauss-de Ahna and Her Husband Appear Together', *New York Times*, 2 March 1904, 9, col. 3.

[208] Though a confused phraseology, this transcription is consistent with the text.

> Dr. Strauss was conducting the accompaniment, and as soon as he noticed his wife's condition he hastened to her side. His right hand gripped her arm and for a moment he gazed steadily into her eyes. Several persons in the audience saw him make passes in front of her face. Frau Strauss' eyes constantly sought her husband's as tho [*sic*.] she were receiving back her strength, and in obedience to his will she recovered her composure and went on with her song with her eyes still resting on his.
>
> This dramatic incident disclosed an instance of psychological control most interesting.
>
> Dr. Strauss and his wife have recognized its existence for years, ever since, indeed, he took her as his pupil and married her ten years ago.
>
> Frau Strauss hinted at this mysterious influence when she first came to this country. When she made her debut in New York, the management wanted her to sing to orchestral accompaniment.
>
> "But Richard must always be the conductor," remonstrated Frau Strauss. "I cannot sing unless Richard plays or conducts. We belong together."
>
> Thus it happens that whenever she sings, her husband either plays the piano accompaniment or conducts the orchestra. So closely are Dr. Strauss and his wife bound together by strange ties of sympathy it is said that when one is ill the other is correspondingly ill, even tho [*sic*.] separated by many miles […][209]

How are we to interpret this remarkable and blatantly sexualised account? First, it makes crucial reference to the 1895 popular novel, *Trilby* by George du Maurier (1834–96), in which the tone-deaf working girl, Trilby, is transformed into an operatic diva through the hypnotism of the 'beady-eyed' Svengali.[210] By asserting that the Strauss connectivity comes 'from deeper sources', the author slightly distances Strauss from *Trilby's* negative representations of Jewishness. Likewise, in referencing de Ahna's 'exquisite singing', he softens the blow of the *Trilby* narrative, which would otherwise suggest de Ahna's natural state was one of tone-deafness. But most importantly, the author emphasizes Strauss's overpowering psychological influence on his wife, both as an artist, and as a corporeal

[209] 'She Sings Under Hypnotic Control: Dr. Strauss' Strange Influence Upon His Wife's Singing', *Minneapolis Journal*, 9 April 1904, 6, col. 4.

[210] '[…] a tall, bony individual of any age between thirty and forty-five, of Jewish aspect, well-featured but sinister. He was very shabby and dirty, and wore a red beret and a large velveteen cloak […]'. George du Maurier, *Trilby*, (New York: Harper's, 1922), 11.

being. The notion of an impassioned connectivity—both artistic and romantic—was not far-removed from some contemporary discussions of the relationship between Richard and Cosima Wagner, and it reinforced notions of an artistic Elect, operating on a higher, imperceptible emotional plane, inaccessible to all but the poetically-inclined.

While the incident may have actually occurred, the *Journal*'s retelling was no doubt wildly embellished for literary effect. Moreover, Strauss's purported actions—though made more permissibly intimate by virtue of marriage—were no different than those of any good conductor dealing with a lost soloist—a quick pause, a momentary evaluation, and a reassuring look. What is remarkable is the unique insistence on power, and the peculiar deification of conductor—and more importantly, husband—in the equation. Strauss pours 'his own soul thru his wife's voice', and de Ahna, a 'passive instrument', receives 'back her strength […] in obedience to his will'—another phrase laden with particularly religious, liturgical undertones. Here, the sacred was also commingled with the occult and the pseudo-psychological,[211] a vocabulary which was becoming increasingly in vogue in the age of 'Spiritualism'.[212] Linked to the occult is the author's preoccupation with the 'psychological', used here to express the apparently telepathic relationship between Strauss and de Ahna, and the latter's emotional, near-pathological reliance on her husband.

Conclusion

The 'impassioned connectivity' which American critics read into the Strauss marriage was just one part of a broader gendered narrative. In it, Strauss became an

[211] Even in the *New-York Tribune*'s harsh review, de Ahna was praised for bringing out 'occult charms'. Quoted in, William Hubbard, 'The Playgoer: Theatrical Comment of the Week: Mme. Strauss as a Singer', *Chicago Tribune*, 20 March 1904, 21, col. 2. Originally published as 'Music: Dr. and Mrs. Strauss', *New-York Tribune*, 9, col. 4.

[212] The craze even took on among the well-heeled elite in Boston's Back Bay, with eminent members of polite society attending, and even enthusiastically hosting séances. Every week *The Boston Post* published the titles of forthcoming Sunday sermons at the major protestant churches. On several occasions, lecture titles for the city's varied 'Spiritualist Societies' filled more columns than the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Unitarian churches combined.

archetype of modern, artistic masculinity. In describing him, critics used a complex and interconnected vocabulary, one which associated Strauss's physical vigour with his mental soundness and his compositional mastery. Of course, mastery over self and mastery over subject were inextricable from the works of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. Strauss's 'incomparable architectonics' and 'his majestic grip on the emotional' were expressions of that Nietzschean *Wille*.[213] Strauss's musical potency and his deliberate historicism also secured his place within the progressive, teleological evolution of German art. He was not just a product of Beethoven, Brahms, and Wagner, he was their 'heir'. As we have seen, by the turn of the twentieth century, American composers, conductors, performers, and critics were deeply enmeshed in the aesthetics and values of the Austro-German canon. The reasons for this were manifold. They included the strong representation of immigrants in American orchestras, the complex assimilation of Germans into the amorphous 'Whiteness' of the nation's 'Old Stock', as well as Anglo-American anxieties surrounding their own purported 'unmusicality'. Gradually, critics and music historians had imbued the German canon with 'universal' ideals. As the most modern expression of that canon, Strauss became a national celebrity, and his presence engendered immense civic pride. Though he was part of the teleology, he was not necessarily the *telos* itself. In fact, many American critics suggested that Strauss was an inflexion point. Surely, something would have to come *after* him. In this context, we can appraise the narrative of artistic *Bildung* that underpinned so much American writing in 1904. If Strauss represented the most hyper-extended development of German romanticism, then his tour played a dual role. On the one hand, his presence validated American institutions and affirmed America's legitimate inheritance of German art. On the other hand, his evaluation might help show American musicians the place from which they would depart.

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[213] Huneker, *Overtones*, 17.

CHAPTER III: CAMILLE SAINT-SAËNS

> Ours is so young, and so cosmopolite, a country, that our art shows the same brevity of lineage as our society. Immigration has played a large part in the musical life of the United States, as it has in the make-up of the population; and yet for all the multiplexity of his ancestry, the American citizen has been assimilated into a distinctive individuality that has all the traits of his different forbearers, and is yet not closely like any of them. So, American music, taking its scale and most of its forms from the old country, is yet developing an integrity that the future will make much of. As with the federation of the States, so will one great music ascend polyphonically,—e pluribus unum.[1]
>
> – Rupert Hughes, 1900

The Cosmopolitan and the Modern

For the American critic in 1906, no two words were more saturated with meaning or more fraught than these. Indeed, the discourse surrounding musical cosmopolitanism was omnipresent—a constant preoccupation of both the popular and academic press, and one whose consequences were not esoteric, but real. In a country of skyrocketing immigration with a musical establishment full of transplanted Europeans, the 'American' artist—an ontological puzzle in his own right—was constantly challenged to define the essential characteristics of his national art. But while folk revivalism and nationalism increasingly influenced modern European music, there were no easy analogues in the New Nation. Though many Americans thought of themselves as 'co-heirs, with those who [had remained]

[1] Rupert Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1900), 442–43.

in the British Isles, of the magnificent prose and poetry of England', or equally that of the German-speaking lands, they had no medieval epic of their own.[2] Proposals to anchor their national idiom in the music of American Indians or the Negro Spiritual were as eagerly propagated as they were vigorously rebuffed. Inasmuch as there was a consensus to be found, it was this: a distinctive American voice would only arise when all of the nation's varied, 'racial musics' were commingled, and synthesized by a vigorous, individualistic personality. The challenge before the American artist was in fact before the whole nation: to acknowledge a European debt, while still boldly affirming independence.

This was the intellectual landscape into which Camille Saint-Saëns disembarked in October 1906, and in him American critics could not have found a more perfect icon for all the admirations and anxieties of their age. Learned, worldly, multifaceted, Monsieur Saint-Saëns, *Membre de l'Institut et Officier de la Légion d'Honneur* represented all the best attributes of Old-World cultural establishment—intellectualism, classicism, and Enlightenment values. But Saint-Saëns was also a cautionary tale, delineating the very limits of what Daniel Malachuk has called 'nationalist cosmopolitanism'.[3] He was, to borrow Jann Pasler's phrase, a complete 'citizen of the world', but also—at least in the eyes of his critics—preternaturally disengaged and distant from the subjects of his musical material.[4] In this respect, Saint-Saëns began to embody the arch-*flâneur*, reflecting what many Americans saw as the fundamental inactivity and rootlessness of French intellectualism.

In grasping independence, Americans owed a debt to Lafayette. In articulating their young republic before the audience of the Old World, they had relied on de Tocqueville as interlocutor. The very emblem of American Liberty—a three-hundred-foot muse clad in

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[2] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 14.

[3] Daniel Malachuk, 'Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century', in *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*, ed. Diane Morgan and Gary Banham, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 139–62.

[4] Jann Pasler, 'Camille Saint-Saëns and Stoic Cosmopolitanism: Patriotic, Moral, Cultural, and Political' in 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', ed. Dana Gooley, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66, no. 2 (2013): 540.

copper and steel—had been designed, financed, and erected in New York Harbour by Frenchmen. But for all of their indebtedness to that 'sister republic', American intellectuals were eager to distinguish themselves from their French counterparts. By situating American ascendency within a frontier ethos, critics enshrined a kind of rugged masculinity whose characteristics were activity, potency, and virility, and they happily bent fairly ordinary characters—chief among them, Richard Strauss—into that heroic mould. But there was something fundamentally inactive about French art and French leisure; it was, as Henry James would write in *The Ambassadors*, 'more acute in manners, more sinister in morals'.[5] Saint-Saëns, then, perfectly encapsulated both American admiration for, and reservations about the French. Through his tour, Americans would pay homage to the intellectual, the canonical, and the classical, while still establishing the limits of their use. If one great American music were to 'ascend polyphonically' from divers nations, it would demand a robust individualism, and what Kwame Anthony Appiah has called 'rooted cosmopolitanism'.[6] It could not be the intellectual cosmopolitanism of the dispassionate observer, of the *flâneur*, of Camille Saint-Saëns.

Reflecting American Aspirations and Anxieties

Saint-Saëns's tour engendered some of the most complex and nuanced journalistic criticism of the period, in large part because he defied easy classification. To his American audiences, Saint-Saëns was more than the ambassador of French art, he was at once the figurehead of an alternative musical canon, while at the same time a partisan for Bach, Haydn, and Beethoven—thus doubly affirming the aesthetic values of concertgoers in the United States. In this respect, like almost every other European visitor at the *fin de siècle*,

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[5] Henry James, *The Ambassadors: A Novel* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1903), 394.
[6] Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'Cosmopolitan Patriots', in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 91–115.

Saint-Saëns was a looking glass: in critiquing him as both a composer and a performer, Americans reflected their own aesthetic hierarchies and values. In many respects, Saint-Saëns embodied a series of traits that resonated strongly with his hosts: he was multifaceted, cosmopolitan, classical, and conservative. But again, as with most of his peers, he did not earn unqualified praise from American audiences. Saint-Saëns may have affirmed a host of American values, but he carried them to excess, and thus ran the risk of slipping into dilettantism, rootlessness, anachronism, and stultification. In their discussions of Saint-Saëns, critics were implicitly mediating their cultural relationship with France at large, and grappling with the anxiety of European influence. What resulted was a challenging balancing act, totally unique to the Franco-American intellectual exchange.[7] As we have seen in Chapter II, many Americans saw themselves as the logical inheritors and successors of German art. As we will see in Chapter IV, they also saw themselves as fierce competitors with Russia. But the Franco-American relationship was less black and white, and it required critics to simultaneously pay homage and establish distance. The project was not to delegitimise French art entirely, but rather more subtly, to qualify it.

Some American commentators accomplished this by characterising the Gallic race as somehow inherently feminine, and thus lacking the expressly masculine vitality that the next stage of musical development would require. All the characteristics of an urbane Parisian *flâneur*—dispassionate observation, dandyism, excessive cosmopolitanism—could be conflated with femininity.[8] French cosmopolitanism in particular, a concept heavily-

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[7] For an example of the kind of French musicology available to American audiences in the early twentieth century, see Georges Jean-Aubry, *An Introduction to French Music*, trans. Percy A. Scholes (London: Cecil Palmer & Hayward, 1917). For a broader intellectual history of the period, see Lloyd Kramer, ed., *The French-American Connection: 200 Years of Cultural and Intellectual Interaction*, Institut Français de Washington (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). During the *fin de siècle*, Franco-American trading relations were also beginning to increase. For a sense of the commercial landscape in which Saint-Saëns existed, see Philip W. Whitcomb, *Seventy-five years in the Franco-American economy: A short history of the first American Chamber of Commerce abroad, established in Paris in 1894.* (Paris: The American Chamber of Commerce in France, 1970).

[8] Later in this chapter, we will discuss the way in which these characteristics were subtly appended to Saint-Saëns.

influenced by the Greek Stoics, differed substantially from its American analogue, with its highly individualistic and more self-consciously masculine character. Moreover, France's Mediterranean identity, especially its connection to the Ancient Greeks, also conjured themes of homoeroticism and suspect sexuality. While American critics would never publicly question Saint-Saëns's own sexuality—though it has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate since—their writing leaves subtle, associative hints.

Fin-de-siècle Americans were profoundly indebted to the French Enlightenment and the peculiar representation of classical antiquity that it produced. (Though, as Jason Geary has shown, nineteenth-century Germans were no different.)[9] But to many American critics, their interpretation of that inheritance differed substantially from its analogue in France: it was freer, more modern, more 'vital'. French art had accrued a set of closely related characteristics and *topoi* that sapped it of that very virility: classical cosmopolitanism [read: rootlessness], excessive intellectualism, triviality, and suspect masculinity. Saint-Saëns was inextricable from these themes. Venerable, yet not vital, even his age and his health became subtle metaphors for his art: he was an 'aged master',[10] an 'artist *emeritus*'.[11] The obsession with Saint-Saëns's age and constitution further demonstrates the depth of the critical association of 'Saint-Saëns the man' with something archetypically French: he was 'clever, worldly, learned—and a little superficial'.[12]

In this chapter, I will briefly introduce the circumstances of Saint-Saëns's engagement, and provide a schematic overview of the tour. Next, I will discuss the centrality of cosmopolitanism to the American public discourse at the *fin de siècle*, its peculiar

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[9] Jason Geary, *The Politics of Appropriation: German Romantic Music and the Ancient Greek Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[10] Glenn Dillard Gunn, 'Thomas Orchestra Concert', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 November 1906, 6, col. 4.

[11] Richard Aldrich, 'Camille Saint-Saens', in *Musical Discourse from The New York Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), 206.

[12] Daniel Gregory Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms: Studies of Some Modern Composers and Their Art* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1902), 99–100.

representation in music criticism, and the way in which that American conception was fundamentally at odds with French analogues. From there, I discuss the close association of Saint-Saëns with classicism, conservativism, and specifically Stoic cosmopolitanism. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the composer's purported homosexuality, as it relates to American interpretations of the essentially 'feminine' quality of French art. In so doing, I reference contemporary literature on what was then called 'sexual inversion', and its characterisation as 'the Greek vice'.[13]

Contexts, Contracts, Canons

Public and critical reception aside, there is perhaps no clearer manifestation of Saint-Saëns's cultural significance in the United States than the exceptionally generous terms of his tour. Saint-Saëns had been invited to America before, to attend the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, but declined, instead travelling to accept his honorary doctorate at Cambridge. Had he visited in 1893, he would have appeared in the context of two contemporaries, Tchaikovsky (1891) and Dvořák (1892–95). But his 1906 invitation by Walter Damrosch and the piano manufacturers, Wm. Knabe & Co., was neatly situated between the American debuts of two much younger men, Richard Strauss (1904) and Giacomo Puccini (1907), both representatives of the compositional vanguard. Saint-Saëns, the venerable 'Grand Old Man' of France, was in fact the odd man out, and though many American commentators still lauded him as 'the most versatile musician of our time', the critical consensus was that he was no longer at the forefront of musical change.[14] Indeed the

[13] Of course, pederasty and sexual relations between young men were described as the 'English Vice' as well, a notorious characteristic of life in the country's elite boarding schools. Interestingly, defenders of those relationships and moralists alike also described them in terms of models from classical antiquity. See Ian Gibson, *The English Vice: Beating, Sex, and Shame in Victorian England and After* (London: Duckworth, 1978).

[14] 'The Most Versatile Musician of Our Time', *Current Literature*, 42, no. 1 (1907): 67–68.

juxtaposition of these three men had broader ramifications for how Americans perceived the national traditions they represented. As Carolyn Guzski observes, this

> unprecedented cluster of the preeminent composers of Germany, France, and Italy reflected the cosmopolitan atmosphere that had developed in the East Coast cultural centers, but the reality of German hegemony in New York symphonic circles and growing Italian dominance at the opera presented a unique artistic challenge.[15]

So why Saint-Saëns? As we will see, the composer reified a series of conservative and canonical values that the American musical establishment held dear. From a financial perspective, Saint-Saëns offered concert organisers both name-recognition and musical variety. For Walter Damrosch, music director of the New York Symphony Orchestra, the 'necessity of maintaining a competitive edge against the unassailable German repertoire dominance of the New York Philharmonic required supremacy in the French realm'.[16] Damrosch had opened the season with *Une Nuit à Lisbonne*, Op. 63, and regularly programmed other works by Saint-Saëns. His father, Leopold Damrosch had even been a friendly acquaintance of the composer in Weimar, and subsequently undertook a number of American premieres. In short, the lines of communication were already open when Bernard Ulrich of Knabe wrote to Damrosch with a formal proposal for partnership.[17]

As was then standard practice with major piano firms, resident concert managers were essentially free agents,[18] and on two programmes Ulrich would actually 'privately share expenses and profit' with Damrosch.[19] But given his own personal investment, Ulrich's

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[15] Carolyn Guzski, 'Saint-Saëns in New York', in *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World*, ed. Jann Pasler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 194.

[16] Guzski, 'Saint-Saëns in New York', 195. Moreover, in 1903, the orchestra had been completely administratively reorganised.

[17] Bernard Ulrich to Walter Damrosch, 6 July 1906, Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Walter Damrosch Papers, Series 3, Box 8, S-S.

[18] Steinway & Sons maintained similar corporate structures. D. W. Fostle observes of Paderewski's 1893 tour, 'In the strictest legal sense, there was no contract between Steinway and Paderewski. The agreement was betwixt *Charles Tretbar* and the pianist and was merely guaranteed financially by the corporation'. D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga: An American Dynasty* (New York; London: Scribner, 1995), 375.

[19] Guzski, 'Saint-Saëns in New York', 196. Citing Walter Damrosch to Bernard Ulrich, 29 September 1906, Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Walter Damrosch Papers, Series 5, Box 13,

name was curiously absent from correspondence with Saint-Saëns.[20] Rather, negotiations stemmed from Damrosch and Knabe directly. On the French side, details of the contract were finalised by the writer and impresario, Gabriel Astruc (1864–1938), who would subsequently bring Serge Diaghilev (1872–1929) and the Ballets Russes to Paris in 1909. Four versions of the contract survive in the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, dating from July 1906.[21] (For the most part, the careful annotations appear to be in Astruc's hand, though there are occasional emendations that may be the composer's own).[22] Saint-Saëns would receive 50,000 francs, half paid upon his arrival in New York, and the remainder at his departure. Knabe guaranteed all of the tour's expenses, including first class passage for two travellers, first class rail compartments, hotels, and general expenses of up to $500 per month, disbursed weekly. One final source of compensation was emphasized in later drafts, evidently to avoid any confusion:

> 11. It is now understood that at the end of the tour it will be deducted from the receipts [sum] ***total,*** [specifically those] ***made up of the gross receipts of the concerts as well as the sums paid to Messers. Knabe on behalf of Mr. Saint-Saëns***, ~~gross~~ all the money spent on organizing and advertising the tour by Messers. Knabe & Co, plus the monthly fee of 550 dollars. The difference will be paid in full to Mr. Camille Saint-Saëns as additional compensation.[23]

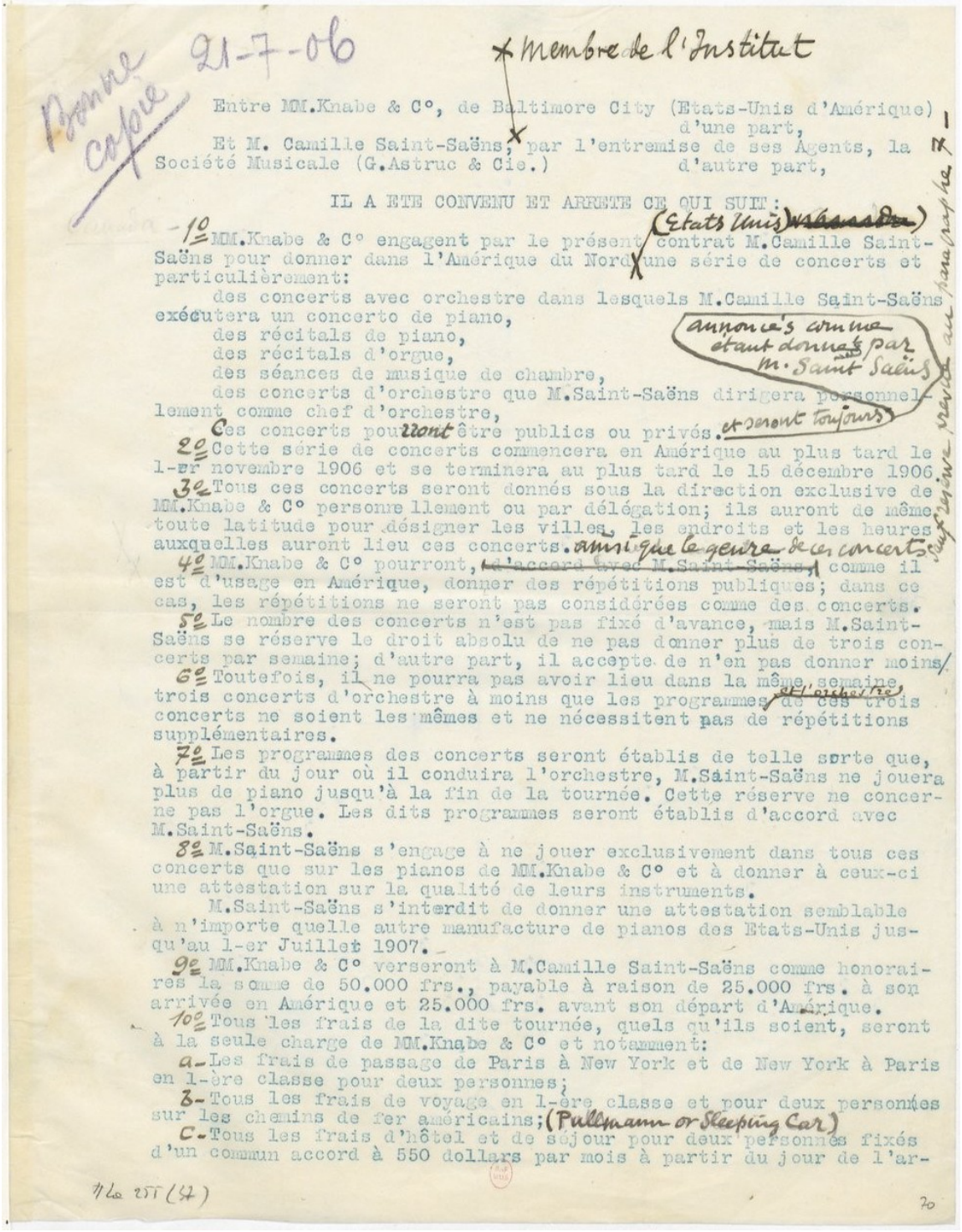
1904–09. This was arranged as a compromise to accommodate Ulrich's unusually high fee request for Saint-Saëns: $1,200 per appearance.

[20] 'I am reading in the *Nautical Courier* that I am going to go on tour under the direction of Mr. Bernard Ulrich. What does that mean? I have never heard any name but that of Mr. Knabe'. Camille Saint-Saëns to Gabriel Astruc, 25 September 1906. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-255 (40) p. 75. Lettres de Camille Saint-Saëns à Gabriel Astruc, mai-novembre 1906 (manuscrit autographe). Translation mine, with Dr Michael Ambrose Carter Smith (hereafter, MACS).

[21] Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-255 (31 à 42): Lettres de Camille Saint-Saëns à Gabriel Astruc, mai-novembre 1906 (manuscrit autographe). In chronological order: 1. NLA-255 (31) p. 54; 2. NLA-255 (34) p. 64, annotated 'Text du 3 Juil. 06'; 3. NLA-255 (37) p. 70, heavily annotated, 'Bonne Copie 27-7-06'; 5. NLA-255 (31) p. 56, final version (incorrectly numbered by BNF), unannotated.

[22] A ready comparison can be made against a letter by Astruc dated 8 July 1908, which appears in the same folder. The clear, wide-nib, almost square lettering differs substantially from Saint-Saëns's own hand with its graceful, thin-lined, notably horizontal cursive. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-255 (35).

[23] '11. Il est dès à présent entendu qu'à la fin de la tournée, il sera déduit des recettes *globales, constituées part le montant des recettes brutes des concerts ainsi que par les cachets payés à MM. Knabe pour le compte de Monsieur Saint-Saëns,* ~~brutes~~ toutes les sommes dépensées pour l'organisation et la publicité de la tournée par MM. Knabe & Co, plus la redevance mensuelle de 550 dollars. La différence sera intégralement versée à M. Camille Saint-Saëns à titre de rémunération supplémentaire'. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique NLA-255



Bonne copie 21-7-06

* membre de l'Institut

Entre MM.Knabe & C°, de Baltimore City (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) d'une part,
Et M. Camille Saint-Saëns, par l'entremise de ses Agents, la Société Musicale (G.Astruc & Cie.) d'autre part,

IL A ETE CONVENU ET ARRETE CE QUI SUIT:

1° MM.Knabe & C° engagent par le présent contrat M.Camille Saint-Saëns pour donner dans l'Amérique du Nord (Etats Unis) une série de concerts et particulièrement:
des concerts avec orchestre dans lesquels M.Camille Saint-Saëns exécutera un concerto de piano,
des récitals de piano,
des récitals d'orgue,
des séances de musique de chambre,
des concerts d'orchestre que M.Saint-Saëns dirigera personnellement comme chef d'orchestre,
annoncés comme étant donnés par M. Saint Saëns
Ces concerts pourront être publics ou privés. et seront toujours

2° Cette série de concerts commencera en Amérique au plus tard le 1-er novembre 1906 et se terminera au plus tard le 15 décembre 1906.

3° Tous ces concerts seront donnés sous la direction exclusive de MM.Knabe & C° personnellement ou par délégation; ils auront de même toute latitude pour désigner les villes, les endroits et les heures auxquelles auront lieu ces concerts. ainsi que le genre de ces concerts

4° MM.Knabe & C° pourront, ~~d'accord avec M.Saint-Saëns,~~ comme il est d'usage en Amérique, donner des répétitions publiques; dans ce cas, les répétitions ne seront pas considérées comme des concerts.

5° Le nombre des concerts n'est pas fixé d'avance, mais M.Saint-Saëns se réserve le droit absolu de ne pas donner plus de trois concerts par semaine; d'autre part, il accepte de n'en pas donner moins.

6° Toutefois, il ne pourra pas avoir lieu dans la même semaine trois concerts d'orchestre à moins que les programmes de ces trois concerts ne soient les mêmes et ne nécessitent pas de répétitions supplémentaires. et d'orchestre

7° Les programmes des concerts seront établis de telle sorte que, à partir du jour où il conduira l'orchestre, M.Saint-Saëns ne jouera plus de piano jusqu'à la fin de la tournée. Cette réserve ne concerne pas l'orgue. Les dits programmes seront établis d'accord avec M.Saint-Saëns.

8° M.Saint-Saëns s'engage à ne jouer exclusivement dans tous ces concerts que sur les pianos de MM.Knabe & C° et à donner à ceux-ci une attestation sur la qualité de leurs instruments.
M.Saint-Saëns s'interdit de donner une attestation semblable à n'importe quelle autre manufacture de pianos des Etats-Unis jusqu'au 1-er Juillet 1907.

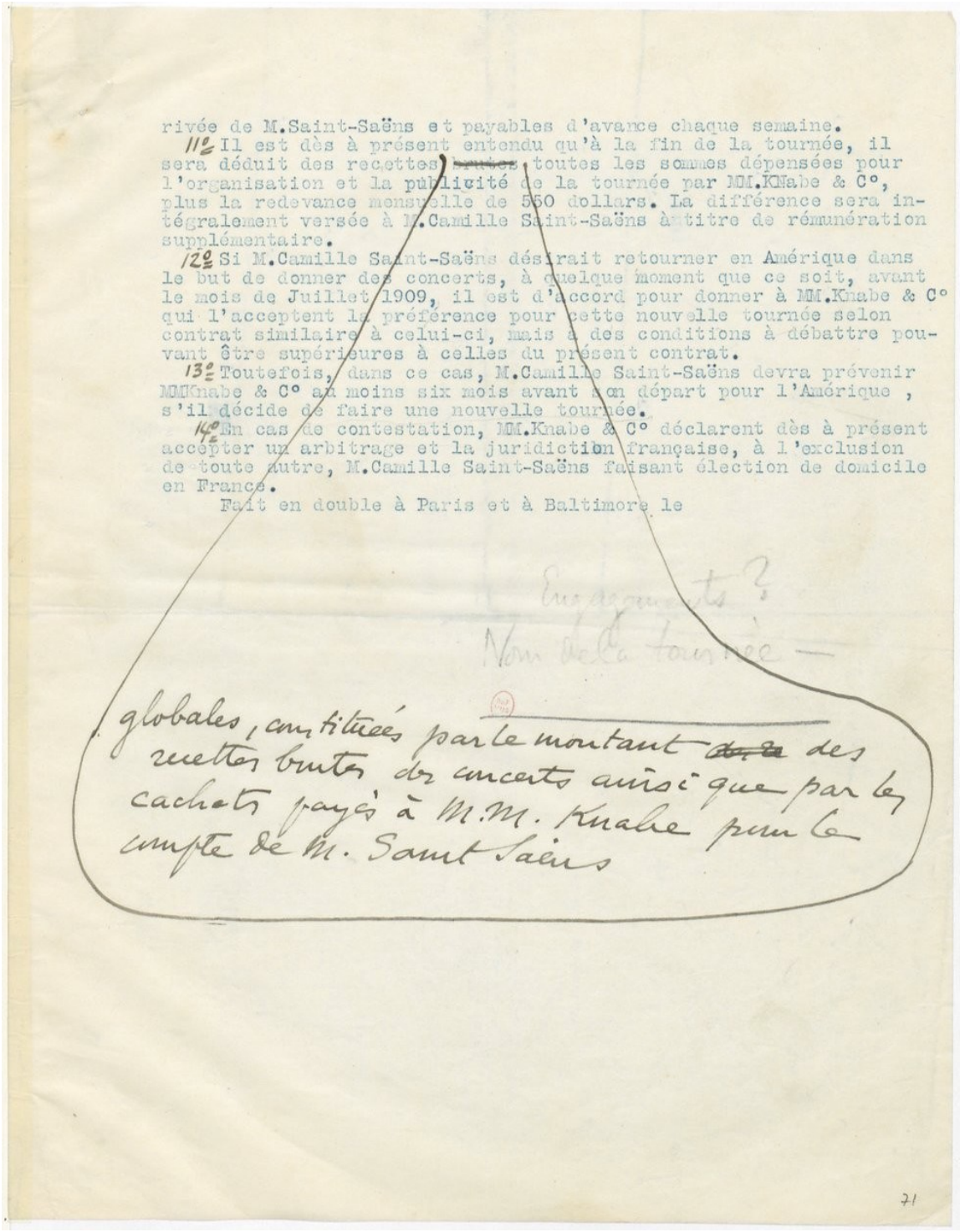
9° MM.Knabe & C° verseront à M.Camille Saint-Saëns comme honoraires la somme de 50.000 frs., payable à raison de 25.000 frs. à son arrivée en Amérique et 25.000 frs. avant son départ d'Amérique.

10° Tous les frais de la dite tournée, quels qu'ils soient, seront à la seule charge de MM.Knabe & C° et notamment:
a- Les frais de passage de Paris à New York et de New York à Paris en 1-ère classe pour deux personnes;
b- Tous les frais de voyage en 1-ère classe et pour deux personnes sur les chemins de fer américains; (Pullmann or Sleeping Car)
c- Tous les frais d'hôtel et de séjour pour deux personnes fixés d'un commun accord à 550 dollars par mois à partir du jour de l'ar-

Nla 255 (37) 70

Figure 3.1: Contract between Camille Saint-Saëns and William Knabe & Co., 21 August 1906, obverse. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-255 (31 à 42): Lettres de Camille Saint-Saëns à Gabriel Astruc, mai-novembre 1906 (manuscrit autographe), (37) p. 70.

(37) p. 70, heavily annotated, 'Bonne Copie 27-7-06'. Translation mine. I have maintained an awkward, literal translation for the purpose of showing the pencilled annotation, represented here by the ***bold italics***.



rivée de M.Saint-Saëns et payables d'avance chaque semaine.

11° Il est dès à présent entendu qu'à la fin de la tournée, il sera déduit des recettes brutes toutes les sommes dépensées pour l'organisation et la publicité de la tournée par MM.Knabe & C°, plus la redevance mensuelle de 550 dollars. La différence sera intégralement versée à M.Camille Saint-Saëns à titre de rémunération supplémentaire.

12° Si M.Camille Saint-Saëns désirait retourner en Amérique dans le but de donner des concerts, à quelque moment que ce soit, avant le mois de Juillet 1909, il est d'accord pour donner à MM.Knabe & C° qui l'acceptent la préférence pour cette nouvelle tournée selon contrat similaire à celui-ci, mais à des conditions à débattre pouvant être supérieures à celles du présent contrat.

13° Toutefois, dans ce cas, M.Camille Saint-Saëns devra prévenir MM.Knabe & C° au moins six mois avant son départ pour l'Amérique, s'il décide de faire une nouvelle tournée.

14° En cas de contestation, MM.Knabe & C° déclarent dès à présent accepter un arbitrage et la juridiction française, à l'exclusion de toute autre, M.Camille Saint-Saëns faisant élection de domicile en France.

Fait en double à Paris et à Baltimore le

Engagements ?
Non dela tournée —

globales, constituées par le montant ~~des~~ des recettes brutes des concerts ainsi que par les cachets payés à M.M. Knabe pour le compte de M. Saint Saëns

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Figure 3.2: Contract between Camille Saint-Saëns and William Knabe & Co., 21 August 1906, reverse. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-255 (31 à 42): Lettres de Camille Saint-Saëns à Gabriel Astruc, mai-novembre 1906 (manuscrit autographe), (37) p. 70.

Assuming full halls, this provision meant that all of Knabe's remaining profits (after the cost of venues, advertisements, and other expenditures), would revert to Saint-Saëns at the conclusion of the tour. In addition to these generous terms, later drafts would clarify the maximum professional requirements of Saint-Saëns, reiterate the need for expenses to cover two travellers, and mandate the hiring of private Pullman or sleeping car compartments with double berths. There are some small discrepancies here: Originally, Saint-Saëns was intended to travel to America with his colleague, the Dutch cellist, Joseph Hollman (1852–1926),[24] and as late 14 October 1906, they were performing together in London.[25] However no references to Hollman appear during Saint-Saëns's tour proper, and his name is absent from all of the surviving programmes. It appears that Saint-Saëns's travel companion must have been his valet at the time, the twenty-seven-year-old Paul Sabatie, who is also listed on the ship's manifest for *La Provence*.[26]

Larger questions exist in the financial record. What, for instance, was the formal arrangement between Knabe and the other symphony orchestras with whom Saint-Saëns collaborated? Unlike in solo or chamber concerts, where the company acted as the sole organiser, symphonic concerts must have entailed a completely separate set of contractual negotiations, with Knabe taking a set fee on behalf of Saint-Saëns instead of a proportion of gross concert revenue.[27] Finally, did the revenues generated by Saint-Saëns's published testimonials and his [near-]exclusive use of Knabe pianos while on tour legitimise the exceptional expense of bringing him to the United States? To this last question, the answer was almost assuredly yes. In 1906, Saint-Saëns's salary of 50,000 Francs was valued at about

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[24] 'The Drama–Players, Playhouses, Gossip of the Stage', *Los Angeles Times*, 7 October 1906, sec. 6, pg. 1, col. 7.
[25] 'Music Notes', *New York Times*, 14 October 1906, 9, col. 4.
[26] The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation Passenger Search, *La Provence*, 26 October 1906, frame 365, line number 27, passenger ID 800131010051. His profession is listed as 'secretary'. Brian Rees twice lists Sabatie as Saint-Saëns's valet. Brian Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999), 33–35.
[27] At least in the New York context, Guzski has been unable to find any performance receipts. Guzski, 'Saint-Saëns in New York', 196.

$10,000, to which was added the cost of all of his travel and accommodation, his two $500 monthly expenses, and any remaining profit.[28] In 1906, a skilled stonemason could expect to earn just shy of fifty cents an hour, and a railway conductor made about four dollars a day,[29] but in two months, Saint-Saëns would earn between five and ten times the average annual salary of most skilled laborers, teachers and clerks. In this context, his $10,000 fee takes on monumental proportions. That same year, however, a new Knabe grand piano retailed at close to $1,500, with most respectable parlour instruments between $300 and $600.[30]



Figure 3.3: Wm. Knabe & Co. advertisement, *Washington Post*, 7 December 1906, 5, cols. 5–7.

[28] In 1906, the currency exchange rate generally held at around 5.00 Francs to 1.00 US Dollar. See 'French Savings', *Wall Street Journal*, 28 August 1906, morning ed., 6, col. 5.; or 'Foreign Exchange', *Wall Street Journal*, 12 June 1906, morning ed., 8, col. 1., etc.

[29] United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928*, Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 604 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1934), 193, 434. I am indebted to Prof. Christopher McKenna of Brasenose College, Oxford for his help in interpreting the financial contexts in which these tours occurred.

[30] Contemporary newspapers abound with full- or half-page advertisements for piano sales. Three prime examples include: *Washington Evening Star*, 7 February 1906, 13.; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 August 1906, 9.; *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 13 December 1906, 9.

If Saint-Saëns only succeeded in swaying a dozen wealthy New Yorkers to purchase a new Knabe for their living room, his patrons would have turned a profit.[31]

Saint-Saëns, of course, was not the only celebrity performer underwritten by the Knabe brothers. In fact, at the start of 1906, William Knabe had engaged the eighteen-year-old Arthur Rubinstein to undertake his first American tour.[32] That contract, also negotiated through Astruc, was of an entirely different order: Rubinstein was offered a three-month, forty-concert tour, with guaranteed transportation costs, but no allowance for accommodation or living expenses. Of his $4,000 total fee, a remarkable $1,600 went directly to Astruc. (Though the remaining $2,400 was still equivalent to two years of the allowance he received from Astruc in Europe.) He was given a small advance and was packed off to New York, but as Harvey Sachs relates, trouble began almost immediately:

> The inexpert Rubinstein lost all the money he had brought along to other shipboard companions, who beat him at poker, and when Bernard Ulrich, the tour manager, met him at the dock on January 2, 1906, the pianist introduced himself by asking for a ten-dollar advance, so that he could tip the ship's staff.[33]

Eminently impressionable, Rubinstein also allowed his new friend, the young French count Armand de Gontaut-Biron, to talk him into taking a room at the Waldorf Astoria for more

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[31] Unfortunately, the Knabe ledgers may no longer survive. There are a few dozen scattered documents at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, and the Peabody Library archives, but no comprehensive financial records or letters relating to the 1906 tour. After a series of mergers and acquisitions over the course of the twentieth century, Knabe finally went defunct in 1982, and whatever internal records might have remained did not transfer to the current owners of the trademark (the Samick Music Corporation of Gallatin, TN). Some of the Knabe archives appear to have transferred to The National Museum of Play (formerly The Strong National Museum of Play) in Rochester, New York, as part of the Aeolian American Piano Corporation Collection. In 2016, that collection was in turn deaccessioned and divided. Trade catalogues and patents were transferred to Stanford University's Archive of Recorded Sound. All other materials are currently in storage until a mid-2019 transfer to the Rochester Museum and Science Center. I am thankful to the Strong's Library and Archives Director, Beth Lathrop for her assistance in this regard. There is one further clue: the California piano technician and conservator, Bill Shull, identifies a former Aeolian employee, Paul Monachino, as holding the Knabe ledgers in his private collection, but I cannot find any contact for him or his estate.

[32] Knabe had heard about Rubinstein's performances at the Paderewski villa in 1904. See Harvey Sachs, *Arthur Rubinstein: A Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1995; Reprint, London: Phoenix, 1997), 82–92. Rubinstein was born on 28 January 1887. He turned nineteen shortly after arriving in America.

[33] Sachs, *Arthur Rubinstein*, 84.

than twenty dollars per night. What he could actually afford—and what Ulrich had booked—was a four-dollar room at the Netherland Hotel.[34] Rubinstein racked up 'whopping bills' during his American tour, all of which the Knabe brothers graciously paid upon his departure.[35] But in spite of having charmed—or at least bemused—his patrons, he was not invited back. What Rubinstein's tour had done, however, was presage that of Saint-Saëns. The principal managers, Astruc and Ulrich, were the same. So too, was the general geographic scope of the itinerary. Rubinstein had even made his American debut on 8 January 1906, playing Saint-Saëns's second piano concerto with the Philadelphia Orchestra.[36] The primary difference lay in compensation: Rubinstein was paid less than a third of Saint-Saëns's fee for more than three times the work. Saint-Saëns's tour may have been costly and far less extensive, but it promised Knabe a degree of celebrity, publicity and—most importantly—reliability. For the aging composer, however, the arrangement was not so easy; what was intended as a highly lucrative and modestly scheduled tour, eventually became a considerable physical burden.

Illness Outbound

Saint-Saëns departed Le Havre on the SS *Provence* on Sunday 21 October 1906, evidently already ill.[37] A severe cold developed into tonsillitis, then likely diphtheria, and the composer spent the better part of the journey confined to the sick bay of the ship's hospital.[38] By the 25th, his illness was serious enough that the physician of the *Provence* had telegraphed the mainland, and C. A. Ellis, manager of the Boston Symphony released the information to the press. Still weak at the time of his New York landing, Saint-Saëns

[34] Sachs, *Arthur Rubinstein*, 84.
[35] Sachs, *Arthur Rubinstein*, 92.
[36] Sachs, *Arthur Rubinstein*, 84.
[37] C. I. B., 'World Affairs Viewed by Observers Abroad', *New-York Tribune*, 21 October 1906, 4, col. 2.
[38] 'M. Saint-Saens Not Seriously Sick', *New-York Tribune*, 27 October 1906, 7, col. 4.

descended the gangway on the steady arm of the ship's purser.[39] Accounts vary as to the significance of Saint-Saëns's illness. Both Ulrich and Ellis had a vested interest in downplaying its severity to the press, but the biographical consensus is that the disease proved nearly fatal. Upon arriving, Saint-Saëns recuperated at the Hotel Gotham, a sprawling neo-classical edifice at 5th Avenue and 55th Street, where he was attended to by Dr Henry Holbrook Curtis (1856–1920), a leading ENT physician, and the vocal therapist for the Metropolitan Opera.[40] Saint-Saëns's improvement was remarkable, however, and he cancelled just a single engagement, his Boston debut on 30 October 1906.

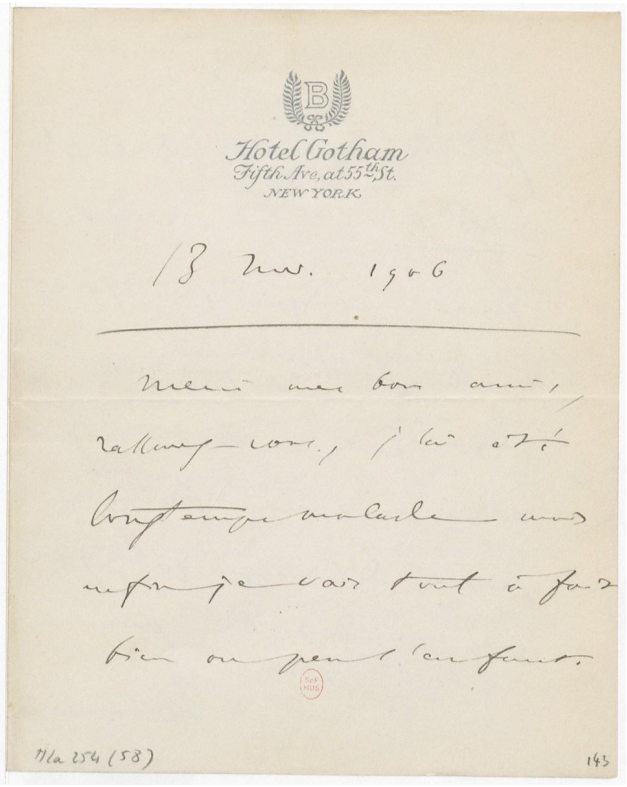


Figure 3.4: Camille Saint-Saëns to Philippe Bellenot, 13 November 1906, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-254 (58).

[39] 'Saint-Saens is Better: Had Tonsillitis on the Voyage, but Was Able to Walk Ashore', *New York Times*, 27 October 1906, 9, col. 4.

[40] Yale-educated and trained in Paris and Vienna, Curtis was a *Membre Correspondant* of the *Société Française*, and the author of four books in his specialism. His engagement was yet another sign of Saint-Saëns's extraordinary treatment not just as a musician, but as foreign dignitary. See 'Saint-Saens Improves: His Throat So Much Better He Will Be Able to Play on Saturday', *New York Times*, 30 October 1906, 9, col. 4.; For more on Curtis, see H. Holbrook Curtis, *Voice Building and Tone Placing: Showing a New Method of Relieving Injured Vocal Cords by Tone Exercises* (New York; London: D. Appleton and Co., 1896).

The following weekend, he was on the concert platform at Carnegie Hall, presenting three works, *Africa*, Op. 89, the *Allegro appassionato*, Op. 70, and *Wedding Cake*, Op. 76. Though 'twenty days of illness with diphtheria' had taken their toll, Saint-Saëns reported to Philippe Bellenot that he played as well as he could with his 'old paws' [see Fig. 3.4].[41] Saint-Saëns was fêted with considerable fanfare, and as he walked out to the stage, 'the entire audience, 3,000 in number, rose en masse at his entrance, […] the greatest enthusiasm prevailed'.[42] Enthusiasm for Saint-Saëns's appearance was limited though, by a somewhat tepid reception of his works. *Wedding Cake*, a brief *Caprice-Valse*, with Cabaret-like syncopations, hemiolas, and off-beat rhythmic accentuations, is usefully characterised by the composer's own marking at the codetta, *Capricciosamente*. To the *New York Times*, it was 'a most unconscionable trifle'.[43] Faring little better was *Africa*, a 'purely a virtuoso piece, brilliantly and elegantly made, but slender in its substance'—in it, the listener was 'dragged […] breathlessly on through one coruscation to another'.[44] With statements like these, the *Times* and other papers would gradually associate much of Saint-Saëns's *oeuvre* with triviality. Initially however, disappointment may have stemmed less from the works themselves, than the relative ordinariness of Saint-Saens's debut. Rather than hearing the famous second piano concerto, with its Bach-inflected opening toccata, listeners were treated to three miniatures. Ultimately, critical displeasure with the repertoire ran concurrent with a general cultural self-satisfaction. The opening concert was a tremendous spectacle, and at least to some observers, it highlighted the taste of New York's *cognoscenti*. Interestingly, it was in the regional papers that this peculiar tension was most clearly played out. The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* reported:

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[41] Camille Saint-Saëns to Philippe Bellenot, 13 November 1906, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-254 (58). Translation mine, with MACS.
[42] 'Musical Mention', *Washington Evening Star*, 11 November 1906, sec. 2, pg. 6, col. 3.
[43] 'Dr. Saint-Saens's First Appearance', *New York Times*, 4 November 1906, 9, col. 3.
[44] Ibid.

> Evidently in the opinion of most of the audience at the concert of the New York Symphony orchestra in Carnegie Hall Saturday night Camille Saint-Saens might have said with truth, "I am the concert." Relatively few were in their seats when Mr. Damrosch began George Schumann's "Springtime of Love" overture, and when Mr. Saint-Saens departed many of his hearers departed also.
>
> Nevertheless, it cannot be affirmed that the distinguished French composer was impressively presented. His entrance was ceremonious enough. At a signal from Mr. Damrosch the band stood up, 100 strong, and sounded a thunderous fanfare. From this forest of men Mr. Saint-Saens emerged to bow formally his acknowledgments […] The selection from the composer-pianist's music that followed the resounding reception seemed hardly worthy of his fame […] Of course, there were recalls in great number for the guest of the evening and at one point a huge floral structure surmounted by a French flag was handed over the footlights. With the final disappearance of Mr. Saint-Saens interest in the concert diminished. The comment of the musicians present was tinged with a note of regret that so serious minded a musician as Mr. Saint-Saens should content himself with such inconsequential music as that which he played.[45]

In spite of critical reservations, these early performances were commercial successes, and by Monday morning, the New York Symphony Orchestra had confirmed two additional concerts for later in November.[46] After nearly two weeks in New York, Saint-Saëns travelled to Chicago, where he gave three concerts with the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, conducted by Frederick A. Stock (1872–1942).[47] Still, though well into the course of his tour, the composer's physical weariness was apparent to the critics.[48] As we shall see, the journalistic

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[45] 'New York Music Letter', *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 11 November 1906, 24, col. 2.

[46] 'More Saint-Saens Concerts', *New York Times*, 5 November 1906, 7, col. 3. The *Times* quotes orchestra management as 'naïvely' announcing that their 'decision to give these two extra concerts in the composer's honor was reached after the barometer in the box office of Carnegie Hall had registered such manifest desire on the part of the New York public to see and hear "the grand old man of France"'.

[47] The initial programme was similar to that in New York, and it may have been that just two weeks out from his illness, Saint-Saens was unwilling to tackle his heftier repertoire. The programme consisted of the Coronation March, Op. 117, *Africa*, Op. 89, *Wedding Cake*, Op. 76, *La Jeunesse d'Hercule*, Op. 50, *Rhapsodie d'Auvergne*, Op. 73, and *Le Rouet d'Omphale*, Op. 31. Also included were selections from *La damnation de Faust*, Op. 24. Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

[48] 'His G minor concerto is technically more difficult, as it is musically more interesting, than the African fantasie played Thursday, and it made some demands to which the aged master seemed physically unequal'. Glenn Gunn, 'Thomas Orchestra Concert', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 November 1906, 6, col. 4.

fixation on Saint-Saëns's health, as well as the physical manifestations of his advanced age, was closely associated with conceptions of his music as somehow inherently anachronistic.

Upon returning to New York, Saint-Saëns gave what most critics agreed was a musically and technically more substantial programme, beginning with four excerpts from the opera, *Henry VIII* (the *Entrée des Clans*, *Idylle Écossaise*, *Danse de la Gipsy*, and [Irish] *Gigue et Final*),[49] followed by the Piano Concerto No. 2 in G Minor, Op. 22. Saint-Saëns remained at the keyboard for the Serenade in E-Flat Major, Op. 15, in which he was joined by two principals and Walter Damrosch at the organ. After finishing his *Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste* by Gluck, he himself took the organ bench for the Symphony No. 3 in C Minor, Op. 78. While his repertoire was not uniformly taxing, the programme represented a considerable diversity of styles and techniques. Saint-Saëns was on the stage for nearly eighty minutes, on two instruments, modulating from the thunderous Bach-inflected fugues of the concerto, to the gentle, saccharine lullaby of his Quartet-Serenade. The *Times* called it 'a considerably more dignified and important showing of Dr. Saint-Saëns's activity, both as a composer and as a pianist, than the previous one', though in the concerto, he no longer had 'the power to produce a tone upon the piano to cope with that of the orchestra'.[50] But for his misgivings about orchestral balance, Richard Aldrich admitted that

> [u]nder the circumstances it was a remarkable performance. It was remarkable in the clearness and cogency with which [Saint-Saëns] expounded the themes of the first movement, even though he did not reveal fully the grandeur of the opening improvisation in the manner of Bach, for there is a power in restraint, and the sense of just proportion which he has and which not all the virtuoso interpreters of it have been able to realize.[51]

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[49] Most likely played from the *Ballet-Divertissement*, movements 1, 2, 4, and 6.

[50] [Richard Aldrich], 'Dr. Saint-Saens Again Appears in Concert: Shows to More Advantage in His Second Programme', *New York Times*, 16 November 1906, 9, col. 3.

[51] Ibid.

Aldrich's appraisal exemplifies those characteristics which American critics admired in Saint-Saëns, particularly his Bach-like intellectual and musical clarity. His main criticism, however, was that Saint-Saëns had failed to bring his audience anything new:

> It is a significant fact, and one that we hope Dr. Saint-Saëns did not overlook, that everything on the programme making weight in his reputation as a composer has long been familiar to New York concert-goers […] New York has not had to wait for the distinguished Frenchman's coming to become well versed in his music. And the greeting to him in person has been none the less heartily given because he comes as the composer of what has been so long known here and not as one making a new propaganda for his art […][52]

Newspapermen and concert organisers were eager to champion the musical literacy of their audiences, and in asserting local familiarity with repertoire, they affirmed the refinement of local patrons and ensembles. Aldrich, however, departed from the well-worn phraseology. Where other critics used this assertion as a compliment—both to locals and visiting celebrities—Aldrich turned it into an admonishment. Indeed, Saint-Saëns's tour programmes largely comprised music that was already firmly in the repertoire of most American orchestras, and in the case of the New York Symphony Orchestra, music that had already been regularly brought out that season.[53] By Sunday 18 November, the critics seemed to weary of the all-Saint-Saëns programmes. Now at his eighth concert in three weeks (his fourth in New York), the Dean of French composers had been amply represented in the city's musical scene, and his most recent performance—eight pieces and nearly a hundred minutes of music—introduced nothing new to the Carnegie Hall audience. The correspondent to the Pittsburgh Post did not mince words:

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[52] Ibid.

[53] While in residence at the Pittsburgh Exposition, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony performed works by Saint-Saëns on five separate programmes. At Carnegie Hall, they had appeared on at least a half-dozen programmes every year since 1891, with a marked increase starting in 1904. In the thirty years from 1876 to 1906, Saint-Saëns was represented in the programmes of either the New York Symphony or Philharmonic almost every season, with only four exceptions (1877–78, 1882–83, 1883–84, and 1889–90). The Damrosch brothers (particularly Walter) avidly propagated his music, with roughly sixty separate performances from January 1900 through Saint-Saëns's 1906 tour.

> The welcome given this composer at these concerts seems fully as much for the man as for the musician, for those competent to judge have candidly stated that the programs have been tiresome and one can readily see why. Saint-Saens' music is very acceptable in small doses, but too much of it at a time becomes wearisome because it lacks the fire of genius, the breadth of the inspired writer.[54]

But this dissatisfaction with Saint-Saëns's concert repertory was balanced by the near-ubiquitous enthusiasm for his most famous work for the stage, *Samson et Dalila*. Much like in England, most Americans were familiar with the biblical opera as an oratorio. (Indeed, the mutability of the work from stage to concert platform was an important consideration for Saint-Saëns, who made considerable use of large, contrapuntal choruses.) Before his arrival, papers were already speculating about possible productions of the work. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* casually observed that Saint-Saëns would 'probably conduct his "Samson and Delilah" at the Metropolitan Opera House',[55] an impressive assertion, considering the company was already in rehearsal for thirteen separate works in November and December, alone.[56] But both audiences and critics were generally enthusiastic about this 'masterpiece […] known in concert form to every nationality'.[57]

On 21 November, Saint-Saëns visited Oscar Hammerstein (1846–1919) at his newly-built Manhattan Opera House at 311 West 34th Street to discuss plans for possible productions of *Hélène* and *Samson et Dalila* in the coming year.[58] Evidently wary of their sudden competition, the Metropolitan Opera hardly missed a beat. The following day, their general manager, Heinrich Conried (1855–1909) confirmed the forthcoming season,

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[54] 'Musical Comments and Current Events', *Pittsburgh Post*, 18 November 1906, 'WantAd' sec., pg. 7, col. 2.

[55] 'Fine Music Programmes Scheduled for Brooklyn', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 13 October 1906, pict. sec., pg. 4, col. 5.

[56] *La Damnation de Faust* (Berlioz), *Lakmé* (Delibes), *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Donizetti), *Martha* (Flotow), *Fedora* (Giordano), *Roméo et Juliette* and *Faust* (Gounod), *Hänsel und Gretel* (Humperdinck), *La Bohème* (Puccini), *La Traviata* (Verdi), *Lohengrin*, *Siegfried*, and *Tannhäuser* (Wagner).

[57] 'In the World of Art and Music: Saint-Saens's Coming', *New York Times*, 21 October 1906, sec. 4, pg. 6, cols. 3–4.

[58] '"Helene" May Be Heard', *New York Times*, 22 November 1906, 9, col. 2.; 'Saint-Saens Sees Hammerstein: French Composer Wants "Helene" to Be Produced Here', *New-York Tribune*, 22 November 1906, 6, col. 5.

engaging Saint-Saëns to conduct one of the Saturday evening performances.[59] Though this would never come to fruition, Saint-Saëns would still close his 1906 tour on the Met stage. That Friday in Philadelphia, Saint-Saëns participated in an afternoon matinée concert and attended a concert performance of *Samson et Dalila* that evening (though the papers made clear he did not participate).[60] It was there in Philadelphia that a *Washington Times* correspondent got the first long-form interview with Saint-Saëns, who opined on both the future of American music, and his own concert career.



MUSIC OF AMERICANS CHARMS SAINT-SAENS

Great Artist Declares There Is Little Difference as Compared With Europe.

PHILADELHIA, Nov. 24.—Search the world over and it is doubtful if you will find a man with such a remarkable combination of temperament, genius, musical ability and general versatility as Camille Saint-Saens, who, for nearly two generations, has been the foremost figure in music in France, and who appeared yesterday afternoon with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and whose operat, "Samson and Delilah," was sung last night by the Choral Society.

Saint-Saens does not like to be interviewed, but in the Academy of Music he chatted most amiably on things in general. It may have been that he was feeling unusually good after his rehearsal with the Philadelphia Orchestra, it may have been the charming weather or a good breakfast; at any rate he talked on many and varied things.

In appearance Saint-Saens is a chubby, happy looking fellow, with a pair of blue eyes that twinkle merrily at you from the kindliest of faces. He is simplicity itself, absolutely unaffected, without any mannerisms, a straightforward, fun-loving and charming man.

Received $10,000 for a Mass.

In the world of music Saint-Saens is known for rapidity of composition and exquisite workmanship. Apropos of this he told of an incident. A French millionaire died and left Saint-Saens $10,000 with the understanding that he would compose a requiem mass within one year after the death of the millionaire. The little composer forgot all about the $10,000 until the latter part of the year when a friend reminded him of it. That very afternoon Saint-Saens took a train for a small town in Switzerland and nine days later he returned to Paris with his now famous requiem mass.

Praises American Music.

"As for the music in America, I find very little difference between music here and music in Europe. Your music is every bit as good as that in Germany, France and the other countries; your orchestras and your audiences—Ah, I can say nothing but praise for them both.

"What I do not understand is why you Americans come over to Europe to study music. You find Americans everywhere over there—but why do they come when you have so much musical atmosphere over here, and such fine schools, conservatories and teachers. I do not think it necessary to send a young man or woman abroad to study—let them study here. The result will be just as good. 'A tree or a flower,' you know, 'really flourishes best in its native soil.'

His Farewell Tour.

"My visit to America has been very pleasant," he continued as he worked the fingers of his left hand back and forth to limber them up. "I did not want to wind up my career without a visit here and I decided that this tour would be my farewell one. When I complete it I shall return to Paris and retire from public life."

Despite the fact that Saint-Saens receives an immense amount of royalties from his various works he is, from an American point of view, far from being a wealthy man. He spends very little money on himself while his gifts to poor and unfortunate relatives and musicians are lavishly large.

SAINT-SAENS.

Figure 3.5: 'Music of Americans Charms Saint-Saens', *Washington Times*, 24 November 1906, 3, cols. 2–3.

[59] 'Puccini's New Opera Big Hit', 1906, *Asbury Park* (New Jersey) *Press*, 23 November 1906, 11, col. 1.

[60] 'Music of Americans Charms Saint-Saens: Great Artist Declares There Is Little Difference as Compared With Europe', *Washington Times*, 24 November 1906, 3, cols. 2–3.

Brimming with pride, the *Times* relayed, 'Music of Americans Charms Saint-Saens: Great Artist Declares There Is Little Difference as Compared with Europe'. 'As for the music in America', Saint-Saëns observed,

> […] I find very little difference between music here and in Europe. Your music is every bit as good as that in Germany, France and the other countries; your orchestras and your audiences–Ah, I can say nothing but praise for them both.
>
> "What I do not understand is why you Americans come over to Europe to study music. You find Americans everywhere over there–but why do they come when you have so much musical atmosphere over here, and such fine schools, conservatories and teachers. I do not think it necessary to send a young man or woman abroad to study—let them study here. The result will be just as good. 'A tree or a flower,' you know 'really flourishes best in its native soil.'[61]

Coming from a lifelong pedagogue who was fiercely loyal to his favoured pupils, Saint-Saëns's exhortation to young American composers seemed to stem from a genuine interest in mentorship of the new generation of musicians. Though he had a reputation for searing wit in the French press, Saint-Saëns was remarkably circumspect while a guest among the Americans. Goaded by the *New York Times* to comment on the work of 'd'Indy, Franck, Debussy, Dukas, Chausson, and others,' he was asked,

> "Do you approve of their experiments in new paths, new kinds of harmony, new developments of melody, and do you not consider them quite opposed to the school of clearness and symmetry that you represent?"
> Mr. Saint-Saëns shrugged his shoulders and raised his hands.
>
> "I am not here to criticise others," he said, "I am here to interpret my own works, and must let others interpret theirs, if they wish. I particularly do not wish to criticise the younger men. I am perfectly willing that they should do their work."[62]

But Saint-Saëns's rallying cry for a domestic American music education may have also stemmed from a subtle cultural competition with the German-speaking lands. In 1906, the

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[61] Ibid.

[62] 'Dr. Camille Saint-Saens Discusses Modern Music', *New York Times*, 25 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, cols. 6–7.

lion's share of American students in Europe made their way to Germany and Austria, particularly Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich. Though he was outwardly collegial to his German peers, and even defended Wagner's music dramas against the most ardent Parisian critics, in old age he had become increasingly conservative and nationalistic. Consequently, a strong German-American musical relationship was at odds with what Saint-Saëns saw as a special Franco-American connection.[63] 'The Americans have one quality which touched me greatly', he would write upon his return home, 'they are not ungrateful: they have not forgotten the part played by France in their independence. Everywhere one sees statues, busts, portraits, souvenirs and relics of La Fayette'.[64] Saint-Saëns was perhaps less generally puzzled by American study abroad than he was specifically by American study in Germany. Indeed, his encouragement of a domestic American music education must be qualified by his own pedagogical projects in France: in the last year of his life, Saint-Saëns served on the inaugural faculty of the Conservatoire américain de Fontainebleau, an institution which would shift the dominant centre of American musical study from Germany to France all the way until the Second World War.

Though he had been the recipient of fanfares and toasts since his arrival, it was in Philadelphia that Saint-Saëns assumed the informal mantle of cultural emissary, and his receptions began to take on a national tone. After his debut there on 23 November, Saint-Saëns received a 'wreath of tricolor ribbons' from the French Club of Philadelphia,[65] and was invited as the honoured guest at the performance of *Samson et Dalila*, conducted at the Academy of Music by Henry Gordon Thunder (1865–1958).[66] Saint-Saëns was pleased with

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[63] As Saint-Saëns's biographers have observed, his increasing antipathy to German music, and his blunt nationalism in the late 1910s were strongly influenced by the horror of the First World War.

[64] Camille Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America', in *Outspoken Essays on Music*, trans. Fred Rothwell, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1922), 144.

[65] 'Music Here and Elsewhere', *Trenton* (New Jersey) *Evening Times*, 24 November 1906, 6, cols. 6–7.

[66] Thunder was a well-regarded American organist who had been featured at the Pan-American Exposition of 1901 and was director of the brief-lived Thunder Orchestra (1897–1900). The Thunder Orchestra maintained many of the players from the Germania Orchestra (1858–97) and was amalgamated into the new Philadelphia Orchestra in 1900.

what he considered a 'very fine performance', particularly with the Dalila who, 'both in voice and in talent was perfection itself', and with the final *Bacchanale* wherein 'the orchestra reached the summit of enthusiasm and brilliancy'.[67] The *Inquirer* was more restrained:

> Its score, with its richness of color, its wealth of melody and its instrumental exuberance, is full of dramatic passion and emotional eloquence, and it expresses with a like sincerity of feeling and sureness of touch the sorrow of the enslaved Hebrews […] It is not music of the very highest class, but it is always impressive and illuminative, and there are moments when it rises to something like real grandeur.[68]

From there Saint-Saëns travelled north, making his postponed debut with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Carl Muck, playing the Second Piano Concerto and Third Symphony. A day later, he was back in New York for his first solo piano recital at Carnegie Hall on 27 November, a mammoth programme approaching two hours of music, and including works by Bach, Rameau, Haydn, Beethoven, and Chopin. Billed misleadingly as his 'Farewell appearance as a Pianist', this concert was followed by four further solo recitals.[69]

On 3 December, Saint-Saëns crossed the East River for the Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, presenting a programme that was almost entirely distinct from his Carnegie performance the week prior. Originally scheduled as an organ recital under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute, the instrument was substituted as Saint-Saëns was apparently 'too fatigued and ill after his ocean voyage to undergo the strain of an organ recital'.[70] The real reason was apparently technical.[71] The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* mused

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[67] Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America', 143–44.
[68] 'Saint-Saens at Academy of Music', *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 November 1906, 2, col. 4.
[69] 'Last Saint-Saëns Concert', *New-York Tribune*, 21 November 1906, 7, col. 5.
[70] 'Won't Play Plymouth Organ. A Piano Recital Substituted for Organ Concert Planned for Saint-Saens', *New York Times*, 28 November 1906, 9, col. 2.
[71] At that time, the Plymouth organ was a new, 1904 Ernest M. Skinner (Op. 120). Skinner's task had been to rebuild and enlarge the E. and G. G. Hook of Boston (Op. 360), which, at the time of its completion in 1865, was already the largest organ in America. The result was substantial: a new electro-pneumatic with some 50 stops and 51 ranks. New York American Guild of Organists: http://www.nycago.org/Organs/Bkln/html/PlymouthChurch.html

with some satisfaction that while Guilmant 'dares anything in the way of an organ that Americans can make, this new guest is baffled by the complexities of the instruments in our Brooklyn churches, and has betaken himself to the more safe and certain box of wires'.[72] But Guilmant had not finished his tour entirely unscathed; in one performance at the New York Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, the entire instrument cut out mid-piece.[73] Saint-Saëns may have been dissuaded by this horror story alone, though it is entirely possible that he 'found especial difficulty in mastering the fan-shaped pedals' and the instrument's 'distinctive plan'.[74] Indeed, as the *Times* reported, 'many European organists have found it impossible to use our instruments', though Saint-Saëns evidently had little difficulty with the Roosevelt organ at Carnegie Hall.[75] In fact, Saint-Saëns had often been at the forefront of technical development in the instrument. Having overseen work on two tremendous Cavaillé-Coll instruments at L'église Saint-Merri and la Madeleine, it is possible that Brooklyn's new Skinner was simply not to his taste.[76] Regardless, after some work with Scott Wheeler, the resident organist, Saint-Saëns was 'understood to have mastered the essential points in the difference of construction and to have gone on his way rejoicing'.[77]

From Brooklyn, Saint-Saëns travelled to Washington and Baltimore, where he was a guest of his patrons, the Knabe brothers. His Boston Symphony performance at Washington's New National Theatre was attended by President Roosevelt, and his solo

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[72] 'Saint-Saens Recital Heard by a Large Audience at Plymouth Church Last Night', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 4 December 1906, 11, col. 5.

[73] 'People Talked About: American Organ Puzzles Saint-Saens', *Perry* (Kansas) *Mirror*, 27 December 1906, 3, col. 6.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Won't Play Plymouth Organ. A Piano Recital Substituted for Organ Concert Planned for Saint-Saens', *New York Times*, 28 November 1906, 9, col. 2.

[76] 'In 1906 Saint-Saëns was commissioned by the Aeolian Organ Company of New York to compose an original work for their mechanical self-playing pipe organs. The result was the *Fantaisie pour Orgue-Aeolian*—his most ambitious organ work'. Rollin Smith, *Saint-Saëns and the Organ* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 149–50.

[77] 'People Talked About: American Organ Puzzles Saint-Saens', *Perry* (Kansas) *Mirror*, 27 December 1906, 3, col. 6.

recital at the Columbia Theatre attended by the First Lady.[78] Next, Saint-Saëns journeyed to Buffalo, Detroit, and Cincinnati, where he was fêted by American civic leaders, French and Belgian emissaries, the Alliance Française, and various ladies' clubs. In Cincinnati he even was treated to dinner by Lucien Wulsin, director of the Baldwin Piano Company—one of Knabe's emerging competitors. The final honours, however, would come from the Lotos Club in New York. It was there that Herman Klein again took centre stage, lauding the composer in French:

> Your visit to this country has been long and patiently waited for. Its success has been demonstrated by the attendance at your concerts. Your reception by the press has been distinguished both for its unanimity and warmth. But even more astonishing has been the reception by the general public who know comparatively nothing of the works of art that constitute the record of your genius.
>
> The visit to America of a composer of your supreme talent and universal renown ought to produce a very important effect upon music and art generally, and the production of French music in this country particularly.[79]

A cross-section of the city's civic, cultural, and musical establishment, the massive banquet included the New York Philharmonic's Richard Arnold, the Metropolitan Museum director Sir Casper Purdon Clarke, Frank and Walter Damrosch, the French Consul General Alcide Elbray, the author Hermann Klein, the violinist Franz Kneisel, Henry Krehbiel, *New York Sun* managing editor Chester Sanders Lord, the tenor William McKinley, the baritone Maurice Renaud, and the medical doctor W. W. Walker.[80]

In most senses, the dinner—with its elaborate commemorative programme, extensive orations, toasts, and musical offerings—was the *de facto* close of Saint-Saëns's tour. There was one final engagement, however: a Christmas Day recital on the stage of the

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[78] 'President Roosevelt's Tribute to Camille Saint-Saens', *Buffalo Morning News*, 8 December 1906, 5, col. 2.; 'Society in Washington: Mrs. Roosevelt Hears Saint-Saens', *Baltimore Sun*, 11 December 1906, 6, col. 6.

[79] 'Dinner for Saint-Saens: Farewell to the French Composer by the Lotos Club', *New York Times*, Sunday 23 December 1906, 2, col. 3.

[80] Ibid.

Metropolitan Opera. The programme was light-hearted, and aside from the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, entirely French, including works by Adam, Massenet, Périlhou, and Saint-Saëns. The concert was punctuated by civic honours, in which a 'procession of ushers passed two enormous wreaths and two large baskets decorated with tricolours and American flags to the stage'.[81] But as the *New York Times* reported 'there were very few in the theatre. In fact, the rows of empty benches suggested a cool reception for the aged composer', in spite of the general enthusiasm among those present.[82] The *Times* ended by conflating Saint-Saëns with a sane, honest music-making that was at odds with commercialism and virtuosity:

> The dignity which has been one of the features of the Saint-Saëns tour was maintained during this concert, and the French composer can leave America knowing that he has resorted to none of the cheap tricks often used to advertise foreign celebrities.[83]

The remaining days of his journey were spent in New York. Saint-Saëns departed on the SS *Provence*, arriving in Le Havre on Thursday, 3 January 1907. In short, Saint-Saëns was presented to Americans as more than an eminent composer and accomplished virtuoso. He was a foreign dignitary and a cultural emissary. Public and official receptions were lavish and highly formalised, and smaller cultural centres used Saint-Saëns's presence to tout their own artistic relevance and ascendancy. Moreover, Saint-Saëns's published remarks on American music were explicitly validating. His clarity and pianistic restraint offered a powerful antidote to the overwrought virtuosity of Arthur Rubinstein and other *enfants terribles*, and his enthusiasm for the classical masters aligned neatly with a new consolidation of canon in American institutions. But there was another side to this coin, about which critics could not offer unqualified praise. Saint-Saëns's classicism and conservatism also represented for some a sort of artistic calcification. This in turn was made personally evident by a composer now

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[81] 'Saint-Saens Conducts: Small but Enthusiastic Audience Greets the Composer', *New York Times*, 26 December 1906, 7, col. 3.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

'physically unequal' to the demands of his earlier works.[84] There was one more theme in the criticism, which associated Saint-Saëns's musical language with a kind of dilettantism or rootlessness. These were characteristics of the *boulevardier* and the *flâneur*, and as we shall see, they intersected with a significant public discourse on forms of American cosmopolitanism.

Defining American Cosmopolitanism

By 1900, musical cosmopolitanism had become a constant point of discussion for Gilded Age Americans. It was imbued with moral import and equally bound up in politics, religion, science, and commerce. Cosmopolitanism could connote anything from the trivial to the profound, but in their most serious uses of the word, critics and musicians framed it as a vital facet of robust, Christian, American manhood. Still, as Dana Gooley observes in his colloquy on 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', the term is by its very nature 'difficult to pin down' and fraught with historiographical challenges.[85] The most fundamental of these is simply to define the sociocultural boundaries of the nineteenth century, a period in which conceptions of cosmopolitanism deviated significantly from the Kantian formulations of the mid-eighteenth, but before they progressed to universalist and overtly political uses in the mid-twentieth.[86] In this regard, it is most useful to conceive of these various tours—particularly that of Saint-Saëns—as truly of the *fin de siècle*, situated in the intellectual climate of the end of the long nineteenth century, and not in the modern twentieth.[87] The other challenge is to reckon with the geographic peculiarity of the word. While Ryan Minor asserts that 'cosmopolitanism simply does not surface in nineteenth-

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[84] Glenn Gunn, 'Thomas Orchestra Concert', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 November 1906, 6, col. 4.

[85] Dana Gooley, 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 524.

[86] Mid-twentieth-century uses of the phrase related more generally to the birth of multinational organisations—particularly the United Nations—after the Second World War.

[87] In fact, Gooley and his colleagues do just this, closing their inquiry with the start of the First World War, however, their constant reference to 'the nineteenth century' can sometimes be misleading when central examples occur after 1900.

century discourse with anything like the regularity or urgency of the surrounding centuries' in Europe, he is quick to acknowledge that the American context 'may offer more hospitable terrain'.[88] (Indeed, Katherine Preston's contribution to the aforementioned colloquy demonstrates as much in her discussion of the travelling opera companies of the 1870s.) But I argue further that American intellectual life at the *fin de siècle* was not just hospitable to discussions of cosmopolitanism, it was absolutely defined by them.

Commerce and Politics

Newspaper society pages give a sense of the ubiquity of cosmopolitanism as a Gilded Age *topos*. While the word ordinarily connoted racial or national diversity, it was also an occasional stand-in for the fashionable, modish, and chic. Fascinated by the immense growth of Chicago as a national centre, for instance, many middle-Americans marvelled at how a 'breezy, western town' was suddenly 'budding into cosmopolitanism'[89]—its grand Michigan Avenue 'a really cosmopolitan thoroughfare in the sense that wealth and fashion, make cosmopolitanism'.[90] To readers in small banking towns and county seats, 'cosmopolitanism' was less a philosophy than an attribute of Marshall Field's Department Store. As one paper would observe,

> The gent's furnishing goods store is being replaced by the men's toggery; the dressmaker by the modiste. It is a sign of the growing cosmopolitanism of the city; a sign of the passing of the village into the metropolis.[91]

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[88] Ryan Minor, 'Beyond Heroism: Music, Ethics, and Everyday Cosmopolitanism', in 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', ed. Dana Gooley, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 530.

[89] 'Our Chicago Letter', *Benton Harbor* (Michigan) *Evening News*, 30 November 1903, 7, col. 2.

[90] 'Cosmopolitan Chicago', *Benton Harbor* (Michigan) *Evening News*, 30 November 1903, 7, col. 3. This wire service piece was printed in dozens of papers across the middle of the country and was reprinted in 30 local papers in Kansas alone.

[91] 'Stores of Chicago: Methods of Merchandising in Western Metropolis: Coming Cosmopolitanism: It is Shown in the Increase of Small Shops—The Big Stores are Growing Bigger—Serving the Public', *Great Bend* (Kansas) *Rustler*, 17 May 1904, 3, col. 1.

Cosmopolitanism was, first and foremost, a metropolitan characteristic, and an attribute of the great American city. New York and Chicago were its prime exemplars, and the narrative of metropolis-as-crucible—a melting-pot in which the best elements of 'foreign blood' and culture were assimilated and refined—was so attractive it became the stuff of political stump speeches. The Illinois gubernatorial candidate Charles Samuel Deneen (1863–1940), was cheered when he trumpeted Chicago's 'truly kaleidoscopic' variety of nationalities, as the city's most modern and essentially American triumph:

> This great variety of races is gradually molded into a type of manhood typically American. The increase in facility of intercourse between the most distant parts of the world has made cosmopolitanism of peculiar value. In every place the world is felt and that type of citizen who is most easily molded to its form and pressure manifestly must succeed best in the present environment, which daily is eliminating narrow and local influence.[92]

His message must have resonated with Chicagoans, because in 1904 he beat a fellow Republican and the incumbent governor for his own party's nomination.[93] Deneen espoused a cosmopolitanism that was active, populist, and masculine, and popular enthusiasm for that rhetoric no doubt contributed to his two terms as Governor. Meanwhile, politically disenfranchised African Americans were seizing onto the same notions as a 'battle cry' against the 'narrow prejudices and stagnation' of provincialism, framing Jim Crow laws not only as a moral affront, but also as an impediment to American greatness.[94] The *Colored American* associated the term with a kind of noble generosity:

> Cosmopolitanism in a nation bespeaks breadth, because so many varied and dissimilar interests require broad treatment to insure stability of the government. Its faculty for reaching out and blending into a composite whole all branches of the

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[92] 'Deneen Cheered at Banquet: Candidate Says Cosmopolitanism of Chicago Has a Value to Citizens of the City', *Chicago Tribune*, 10 October 1903, 7, col. 2

[93] Though President Theodore Roosevelt was in fact opposed to Deneen, it is no surprise that one Chicago newspaperman privately endorsed him to the President as 'a candidate who is your sort of man'. Doubtless, backroom political negotiations also played a role in his election. Joel A. Tarr, 'President Theodore Roosevelt and Illinois Politics, 1901–1904', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 58, no. 3 (1965): 261.

[94] 'Cosmopolitanism Vs. Provincialism', *Colored American*, 17 May 1902, 8, col. 2.

> human family make it an essential property in the building of a world power […] No government has grown to eminence in the concert of nations that has not learned to weld to its main stem all colors and conditions of men.[95]

The authors of the *Colored American* were not alone in this appraisal, and they drew on the rhetoric of several eminent black orators, championing a kind of cosmopolitanism that was assertive, democratic, and above all, pragmatic. For the activist, Charles W. Anderson, the writing was already on the wall:

> In short, we are so thoroughly cosmopolitan in citizenship that the real, simon-pure American is about as extinct as the dodo, and American names on Broadway signboards are about as scarce as oysters in an old-fashioned Methodist church fair stew. We are now demanding cosmopolitanism in our schools, colleges and churches. We demand a cosmopolitan Republicanism, a cosmopolitan democracy, and a cosmopolitan citizens-unionship. We demand that the spirit of the cosmopolite shall enter into all our financial, beneficial and social enterprises.[96]

Anderson's cosmopolitanism rejected complacency and gentility, what George Santayana would dismiss as the 'slightly becalmed' element of the American mind.[97] Rather, it was fundamentally active, pragmatic, and commercial, entailing demands as opposed to dispassionate observations. In framing cosmopolitanism not just as a philosophical virtue in its own right, but as a practical means towards social and financial self-betterment, American critics parted ways with traditional European formulations in which cosmopolitanism was a classical, platonic ideal, its purview primarily aesthetic and only secondarily political.

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[95] Ibid.

[96] 'Finds New Ingredient: Cosmopolitanism Levels All Social Barriers: Mr. Charles W. Anderson Brings Forward New Ideas and New Testimony Looking to American Advancement—Noted Orator in Good Company. A Tribute to Booker T. Washington's Premiership', *Colored American*, 12 April 1902, 1, col. 1. Interestingly, the original includes many British English spellings (e.g., enterprises).

[97] Santayana, George, 'The Genteel Tradition', in *Winds of Doctrine: Studies in Contemporary Opinion* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 188.

Religion and Philosophy

Perhaps the greatest divergence, however, was the direct American association of cosmopolitanism with religious, especially Christian, moralism. If European cosmopolitanism was fundamentally a secular child of the Enlightenment, in America it took on a religious fervour and immediacy. In these formulations, rabbis, preachers, and philosophers reconciled cosmopolitanism and patriotism, identifying both pluralism and a sort of 'national generosity' as inextricable from the American experiment. For instance, as Eastern European Jews increasingly fled Russian pogroms, their American advocates used the rhetoric of religious cosmopolitanism to push against exclusionary immigration practices. The essential cosmopolitanism of Judaism was, they argued, that which best lent it to peculiarly democratic American ideas. The Boston Rabbi Samuel Hirschberg would preach that

> [t]he Jew, as far as nationality goes, shares a common identity, and in equal degree, with all his fellow residents of this or any other land; his religion has naught to do with his citizenship, unless it be to make that citizenship the better, the truer and more devoted to Judaism in the largest universal sense, truly, rightfully spells cosmopolitanism.[98]

Another Rabbi, Charles Fleischer, conflated religion, patriotism, and cosmopolitanism in so pronounced a manner that by 1911 he would leave Boston's Temple Adath Israel proclaiming, 'I am henceforth beyond […] sectarianism'.[99] At his ecumenical 'Sunday Commons', Fleischer would hold lectures on faith, reason, and social action, and eventually suggest that democracy itself was 'potentially a universal spiritual principle, aye, a religion', with its own saints and sacred texts:[100]

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[98] 'Hirschberg Speaks: Conference Sermon at Detroit on Subject of "Judaism, Americanism, Cosmopolitanism"', *Boston Globe*, 5 July 1903, 7, col. 4; Also published in 'Citizenship and the Jew: Rabbi Hirschberg at Central Conference Says His Religion Means Cosmopolitanism', *New York Times*, 5 July 1903, 4, col. 1.

[99] Michael Cohen, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 7, (Detroit; New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Thomson Gale, 2007), s. v. 'Fleischer, Charles (1871–1942)'. Unfortunately, the ellipses appear in Cohen's published text, and I have been unable to find the original source.

[100] Ibid.

> Our patriotism should be a fervent, yet a sane passion, devoted to America, but sympathetic with all humanity […] Such patriotism and cosmopolitanism are simply a recognition of the human unit, which is also fundamental to our conception of democracy. To all of these, man is the basic element. On that basis patriotism, cosmopolitanism and democracy are companionable and agreeable ideals. And the greatest of these is democracy, because its true embodiment would at once establish the religion of universal brotherhood.[101]

Like Hirschberg, Fleischer envisioned an active cosmopolitanism anchored in American democratic exceptionalism, the aim of which was nothing less than the unification of the family of all mankind.[102] While America was the product of cosmopolitan tendencies and influences, its democratic project was in turn a cosmopolitan, indeed global, achievement. Not only did he enshrine American representative democracy as the modern, legal embodiment of the First Covenant, Fleischer literally equated 'Moses and Washington, the former the prophecy, the latter the fulfilment thereof […] world characters, whose aspirations and achievements ever give fresh meaning to the couplet: "Lives of great men all remind us; we can make our lives sublime"'.[103]

Christian ministers were equally engaged in defining cosmopolitanism as a characteristic of upstanding morality. In a 1905 national lecture tour, the Rev'd Charles Cuthbert Hall (1852–1908) held up the innate 'cosmopolitanism of Christ' against the

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[101] "'My Country, Right or Wrong.' Rabbi Charles Fleischer Says That is Not True Patriotism—"Our Country Dares Not to be Wrong.'", *Boston Globe*, 8 January 1900, 3, col. 1.

[102] For a sense of the antisemitism against which Hirschberg and Fleischer were battling, consider the following ominous opinion from the *New-York Tribune*: 'The Jews of to-day are lacking many of the advantages necessary for their national regeneration. Their very cosmopolitanism stands in the way of their nationalism. […] The ever potent issue of "To be or not to be," it would seem, resolves itself for Jewish nationalism into the alternative of either a narrow uncompromising and self-absorbed spirit, indifferent to other and larger world interests, the assumption of an attitude of selfish national egotism on the one hand, or, on the other, the final and irrevocable adoption of a policy shaped by the iron logic of its history, a broad all harmonizing ideal of cosmopolitanism, ready even to suffer national annihilation if necessary for a world's redemption'. 'The Zionistic Movement: Cosmopolitanism or Nationalism?', *New-York Tribune*, 25 August 1901, sec. 2, pg. 2, col. 5.

[103] 'Moses and Washington: Rev Charles Fleischer Declares That the Former Was the Prophecy, and the Latter the Fulfillment Thereof', *Boston Globe*, 24 February 1896, 2, col. 1. In spite, or perhaps because, of Fleischer's wild unorthodoxy and penchant for controversy, he became a staple of both the Bostonian and national press, and this peculiar mixture of cosmopolitanism, American exceptionalism, and biblical prophecy filled the pages.

fallible provincialism of 'the church in its corporate life'.[104] In 1904 and 1905, the Rev'd Dr Wilbur Fletcher Sheridan (1863–1920), a Methodist minister and author, similarly toured the country, preaching on the 'Uses and Abuses of Cosmopolitanism'. Like many of his colleagues, his 'ideal cosmopolitan' smacked of a robust, Rooseveltian manhood:

> A Cosmopolitan is a man of many lands. He may not, indeed, have travelled beyond the confines of his native State, but he has drunk in the spirit of all nations. He is broad in his sympathies. His outlook is metropolitan, not "back-woodsy." He is in touch in his thinking with the whole world […] The cosmopolitan leaves behind him not only the crudities and awkwardnesses of the country and the narrow limitations of the village outlook, but he leaves behind him the antipathies—the straitened sympathies—of a narrow and uniformed environment and comes into the larger, kindlier atmosphere of a sympathetic interest in all men. John Wesley was a true cosmopolitan […][105]

With peculiarly Methodist flair, this ode to cosmopolitanism was mixed with invectives against both the theatre and drink as snares of the devil. Sheridan also established a dichotomy between the 'true cosmopolitan', a man 'of broad, generous ideas, free from local, provincial and [interestingly for 1905] racial prejudices', and the 'false' cosmopolitan, one whose excessive worldliness, modishness, vanity, dandyism—or alcoholism—not only did disservice to his family and community, but imperilled the very nature of rugged republican manhood:[106]

> Many young men who have come to into our great cities have achieved a real cosmopolitanism—still more have achieved a false cosmopolitanism. In casting off the petty traditions and social limitations of the home or community in which they were reared they have too often cast off the Ten Commandments with them. In smoothing off the rough corners of one's talk there is such a thing as taking on the lies

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[104] '1905 Cole Lectures: Series by Dr. Chas. Cuthbert Hall Are Begun: Given at West End Church: "The Church and the Christianization of the World," Subject of a Masterly Address by the Well-Known New York Theologian', *Nashville* (Tennessee) *American*, 1 May 1905, 5, col. 5.

[105] 'Discusses: Uses and Abuses of Cosmopolitanism: Dr. Sheridan's Discourse: To Large Congregation at Trinity M. E. Church: Speaks of Stage Influence: Free Use of Wines Abroad Furnishes Americans An Excuse For Drinking', *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal*, 8 February 1904, 5, cols. 1–2.

[106] 'Speaks of City Perils: "False Cosmopolitanism" Subject Of Rev. Dr. Sheridan: Last Sermon of the Series: Ten Commandments Too Often Discarded, The Preacher Says—Baltimore a Well-Governed City', *Baltimore Sun*, 11 December 1905, 10, col. 8.

> and hypocrisies of the devil. In casting off the cowhide boots of the rustic there is such a thing as casting off the honest work and the straight conduct that went with them. In learning the polite bows of society there is such a thing as learning to bend before everything that has tinsel or gold. In slipping off 'mother's apron string' there is such a thing as attempting to slip off the eternal laws of right and wrong by which the Infinite holds the moral universe in leash.
>
> The motto of the false cosmopolitan is 'When you are in Rome do as Romans do.' The man who adopts that motto will die as the fool dieth. There is but one motto for a true man, 'When you are in Rome do right.' […][107]

Sheridan's cosmopolitanism was fundamentally populist in conception, 'rooted', to return to Kwame Anthony Appiah's word, in the land, in family, community, and Christian morality. The true cosmopolitan was not ashamed to be a little rough-hewn; he did not eschew his old cowhide boots, nor did he lust after society's tinsel and gold. Here, Sheridan betrays a latent anti-intellectualism, and a suspicion of the fashionable [read: effeminate] as not just distasteful, but potentially ungodly. Central to this was the nature of cosmopolitanism as an attribute of 'true manhood'. But these concepts were hardly abstract. Rather, they were actively being tested by international conflict and expansionism. Beginning in 1898, the principal point of contention was the Spanish-American War and America's increasing bellicosity.[108] Fascinatingly, both critics and proponents of the conflict mobilized the same rhetorical themes. American war-hawks recast imperialism as a variety of cosmopolitanism, while anti-war activists touted a stoic magnanimity as the antidote to imperial excess.

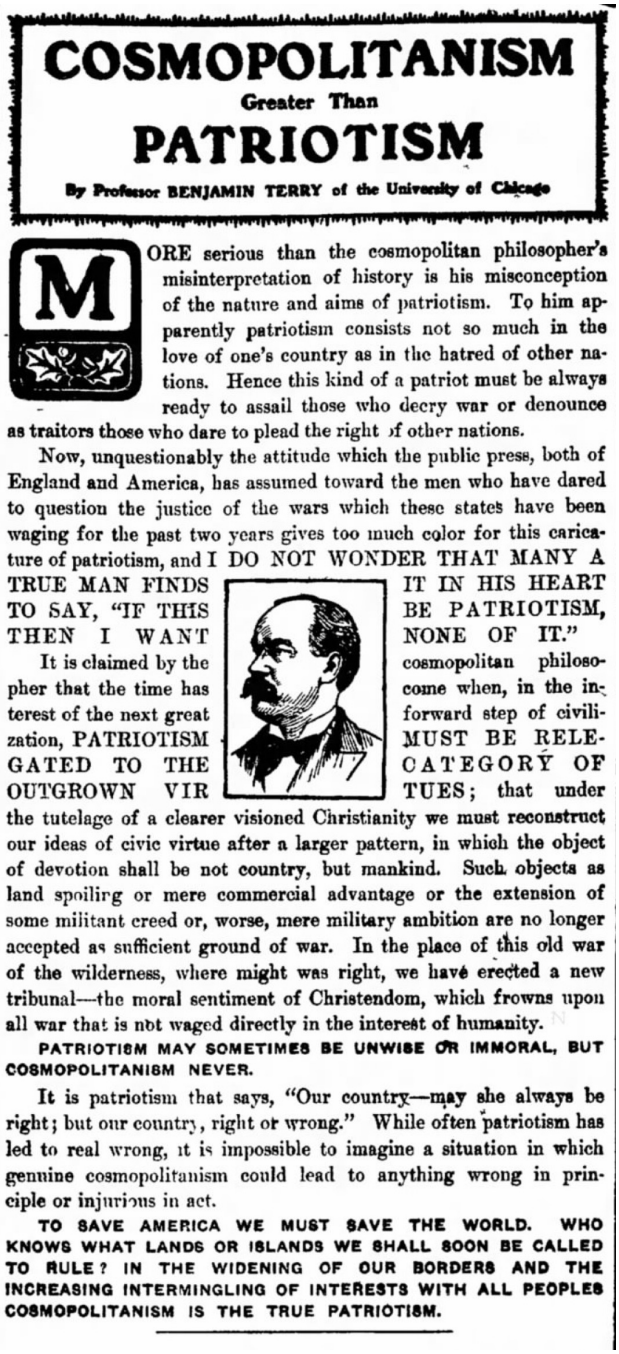
Because the discourse surrounding cosmopolitanism had become intertwined with the Spanish-American War, the word took on a disproportionate social and political import, and its discussion extended nationally, far beyond America's 'intellectual centres'. One article in particular, neatly illustrates the extent of cosmopolitan discussion, entitled

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[107] Ibid.

[108] This was the context in which the noted American anarchist, Moses Harman (1830–1910) would write, '…Imperialism is the inevitable link between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism, as Capitalism is between Individualism and Socialism', *Lucifer, The Light-Bearer*, 3rd ser., 4, no. 35 (1900): 275 (3).

'Cosmopolitanism Greater Than Patriotism', by the University of Chicago professor, Benjamin Terry. Identically printed in broadsheets across the nation, Terry's manifesto was seen by readers in towns as diverse as Decatur, Illinois; Anniston, Alabama; Parsons, Kansas; Sandusky, Ohio; Danville, Kentucky; and Bristol, Vermont, to name a few.



COSMOPOLITANISM

Greater Than

PATRIOTISM

By Professor BENJAMIN TERRY of the University of Chicago

MORE serious than the cosmopolitan philosopher's misinterpretation of history is his misconception of the nature and aims of patriotism. To him apparently patriotism consists not so much in the love of one's country as in the hatred of other nations. Hence this kind of a patriot must be always ready to assail those who decry war or denounce as traitors those who dare to plead the right of other nations.

Now, unquestionably the attitude which the public press, both of England and America, has assumed toward the men who have dared to question the justice of the wars which these states have been waging for the past two years gives too much color for this caricature of patriotism, and I DO NOT WONDER THAT MANY A TRUE MAN FINDS IT IN HIS HEART TO SAY, "IF THIS BE PATRIOTISM, THEN I WANT NONE OF IT."

PATRIOTISM MAY SOMETIMES BE UNWISE OR IMMORAL, BUT COSMOPOLITANISM NEVER.

It is patriotism that says, "Our country—may she always be right; but our country, right or wrong." While often patriotism has led to real wrong, it is impossible to imagine a situation in which genuine cosmopolitanism could lead to anything wrong in principle or injurious in act.

TO SAVE AMERICA WE MUST SAVE THE WORLD. WHO KNOWS WHAT LANDS OR ISLANDS WE SHALL SOON BE CALLED TO RULE? IN THE WIDENING OF OUR BORDERS AND THE INCREASING INTERMINGLING OF INTERESTS WITH ALL PEOPLES COSMOPOLITANISM IS THE TRUE PATRIOTISM.

Figure 3.6: Benjamin Terry, 'Cosmopolitanism Greater Than Patriotism', *Decatur* (Illinois) *Daily Review*, 30 November 1901, 4.

Terry's criticism of the war was wide-reaching, and relied on a 'clearer visioned Christianity' and a 'civic virtue [built] after a larger pattern':

> To save America we must save the world. Who knows what lands or islands we shall soon be called to rule? In the widening of our borders and the increasing intermingling of interests with all peoples cosmopolitanism is the true patriotism.[109]

Terry's manifesto invokes the magnanimity of the 'TRUE MAN' [emphasis original], replete with fourteen lines in all capitals, and an engraving of the author in profile—a near-heroic, stern-faced character, with a bristling moustache and starched collar. In these few inches of newsprint, Terry encapsulates the very essence of the American rhetoric surrounding cosmopolitanism, namely that it is rooted, masculine, moral, Christian, and—above all—active. As we shall see, no conception of the term could be further removed from that embodied by Camille Saint-Saëns.

Cosmopolitanism in the Concert Hall

In the music dispatches, critics enshrined the very same manner of robust cosmopolitanism, employing the construct in four key debates: 1. what role would race play in the foundation of an American idiom? 2. to what extent was cosmopolitanism inextricable from American art, and indeed, American democracy? 3. what was the role of the *individual* in a cosmopolitan project? and most critically, 4. where did Europe 'stand [in relation] to America, in the domain of music'?[110] In contrast to the political and religious discourse on cosmopolitanism, discussions among music critics tended to dispense with the

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[109] Benjamin Terry, 'Cosmopolitanism Greater Than Patriotism', *Decatur* (Illinois) *Daily Review*, 30 November 1901, 4. The genesis of this widely circulated manifesto seems to have been a public lecture on 'Cosmopolitanism and Patriotism' by Terry and the Rev'd E. F. Merriman at a 'session of the Baptist Congress for the discussion of Current Questions, held in the Central Baptist Church in West Forty-second street'. See 'Two Kinds of Patriotism', *Janesville* (Wisconsin) *Daily Gazette*, 20 November 1901, 4, cols. 1–2.

[110] To borrow a phrase from Louis C. Elson, *European Reminiscences, Musical and Otherwise: Being the Recollections of the Vacation Tours of a Musician in Various Countries* (Chicago: Manual Publishing Company, 1891), 251.

overt Christian moralism. But otherwise, the critical frameworks were largely the same. Biological and evolutionary metaphors abounded, and authors varyingly framed the development of American art as an historical dialectic, as the melting of 'foreign elements' in a kind of artistic crucible, or the commingling of 'foreign blood'.[111] Much like their political or clerical colleagues, American music critics (particularly the eminent New Yorkers) emphasized that whatever cosmopolitan model the art might take, its success lay in the pronounced individuality of its practitioners.

Rupert Hughes and James Huneker were among the most prolific commentators on the role of race in the formation of an American musical idiom. Hughes took a sociological approach to American identity, focussing on the nation's racial heterogeneity as its most essentially 'American' characteristic. His appraisal was sanguine and pragmatic:

> Nations are only clusters of individuals and subject to the same rules […] It was inconceivable that America should produce an autochthonous art. The race is one great mixture of more or less digested foreign elements; it is not possible to draw a declaration of artistic, as of political, independence, and thenceforward be truly free. Centuries of differentiated environment (in all the senses of the word environment) are needed to produce a new language or a new art; and it was inevitable that American music should for long be only a more or less successful employment of European methods.[112]

However dispassionately presented, Hughes's observation struck at the root of American cultural anxiety: the nation's youth and its profound indebtedness to its European inheritance. Hughes makes special mention of 'the Teutonic nature of our orchestras', framing foreign contributions in pedagogical terms: American art had been so 'strongly influenced and enlivened and *corrected* by the presence of men who were born abroad that

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[111] These two phrases come from Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 13; and James Huneker, *New Cosmopolis: A Book of Images: Intimate New York. Certain European Cities Before the War: Vienna, Prague, Little Holland, Belgian Etchings, Madrid, Dublin, Marienbad, Atlantic City and Newport* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 54.

[112] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 13.

some recognition of their importance should somewhere be found'.[113] However, as he proudly notes,

> [m]any of them have become naturalized and have brought with them so much enthusiasm for our institutions that they are actually more American than many of the Americans; than those, particularly, who, having had a little study abroad, have gone quite mad upon the superstition of "atmosphere," and have brought home nothing but foreign mannerisms and discontent.[114]

This illustrates one of the essential paradoxes of American cosmopolitanism: Hughes found cultural validation in those foreign musicians who threw themselves into the American project, but he was threatened when Americans did the same abroad. Modish young men on return from their German *Wanderjahr* were an annoyance, but perpetual expatriates who left America permanently like Henry James were at times a severe blow.[115] Thus Hughes, like the fiery Rev'd Wilbur Sheridan, did not repudiate cosmopolitanism, but rather rooted it in firm, American soil. Huneker, himself a 'cosmopolitan by self-election', also saw the American metropolis in distinctly racial terms, tracing its Anglo-Saxon lineage through the Germans of 1848 and into the overwhelming diversity of the *fin de siècle*.[116] His *New Cosmopolis* is a series of reminiscences of New York and various European capitals, and while it betrays no small degree of racial animus and nostalgia, it is largely a robust defence of multiculturalism.[117] In describing the gradual eclipse of 'the lantern-jawed Yankee', a

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[113] Emphasis mine.

[114] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 443–44.

[115] As one of the preeminent American authors of his generation, Henry James's decades-long residence in Europe was a source of some discomfort back home. Hughes writes similarly of three American composers who had long resided in Europe: 'For the sake of formally acknowledging this debt, I will not endeavor to discuss here the careers of George Templeton Strong, Arthur Bird, or O. B. Boise, all three of whom were born in this country, but have elected to live in Berlin. Their distinction in that city at least palely reflects some credit upon the country that gave them birth'. Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 445–46.

[116] Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, viii.

[117] 'Where', he asks 'are the small old-fashioned beer saloons of yesteryear with the sanded floor, the pinochle players, and the ripe, pure beverage? Indeed, the German element on the East Side is in the minority. At least it seems so, for your eardrums are pelted by Bohemian, Yiddish, Hun, Italian, Russian, and other tongues. Many speak German, some sort of German, but the original Germans, the Urdeutsch who came to America more than half a century ago, are dead or decaying; their sons and daughters and grandchildren have moved into more fashionable districts and shudder if you mention the name Goethe'. Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, 7.

character 'fighting, though he hardly realizes it, against the master of the Slav and the Italian', Huneker asks:

> But who cares? We are as yet too young a nation, still in too inchoate a state to worry about the infusion of more foreign blood. If it is healthy, it is welcome. From the giant amalgam something powerful must emerge even if a sense of continuity is still lacking. But in no American city is the cosmopolitan orchestration so rich, so reverberant and complex.[118]

Though Huneker skirts the question, 'what is *un*healthy blood?' he goes on to describe, in great detail, how America's future artistic genius will be the product of intellectual—and literal—intermarriage. Describing a subway car on the East Side of Manhattan, he raves,

> Here is the rich material for the great American novel. But where is the novelist? Let me suggest that only an American of Celtic brilliancy, Teutonic profundity, English intellectuality, French art, and the idealism of the Slavic Hebrew could compass the theme. In Europe there is room for race prejudice, but not in America. Here it is self-stultifying, self-contradicting, and utterly abhorrent to democratic principles. We freed the black race, we must free ourselves of all race prejudice. We need the Jewish blood as spiritual leaven; the race is art-loving and will prove a barrier to the rapidly growing wave of fanatical puritanism.[119]

The cosmopolitanism of Huneker's America is nothing short of emancipatory, a grand philosophical project in which the noblest attributes of a host of nations are melded into a peculiarly American element, robust, brilliant, and free. Huneker's paean leads us into two further associations, the inextricability of cosmopolitanism from the American demos, and its individuality. His subway car scene echoes the equally lofty rhetoric of Hughes, for whom 'the true hope for a national spirit in American music'

> [lay] not in the arbitrary seizure of some musical dialect, but in the development of just such a quality as gives us an individuality among the nations of the world in respect to our character as a people; and that is a Cosmopolitanism made up of elements from all the world, and yet in its unified qualities, unlike any one element. Thus our music should,

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[118] Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, 54.
[119] Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, 70.

> and undoubtedly will, be the gathering into the spirit of the voices of all the nations, and the use of all their expressions in an assimilated, a personal, a spontaneous manner […] As our governmental theories are the outgrowth of the experiments and experiences of all previous history, why should not our music, voicing as it must the passions of a cosmopolitan people, use cosmopolitan expressions? The main thing is the individuality of each artist. To be a citizen of the world, provided one is yet spontaneous and sincere and original, is the best thing. The whole is greater than any of its parts. Along these lines of individualized cosmopolitanism the American school is working out its identity.[120]

Hughes's manifesto encapsulates all the main rhetorical themes articulated by his non-musical contemporaries. Like Wilbur Sheridan, his ideal cosmopolitanism abhors inauthenticity, proscribing the 'arbitrary seizure' of foreign materials. Like Charles Fleischer, he views socio-cultural cosmopolitanism as a direct recapitulation of American political structures and ideals. His evaluation of cosmopolitanism as a fundamentally melioristic orientation echoes the writings of both Benjamin Terry, and the de-segregationists of the *Colored American*. Hughes magnifies the solitary artist within the teeming humanity of the city, and he closely associates America's racial and ethnic diversity with the project of American democracy. Fifteen years later, Huneker would come to the aid of that very same American individualism, prescribing

> huge doses of Ralph Waldo Emerson […] to offset the deadening of lofty ideals; above all, to stifle the pernicious belief in majorities, in quantity instead of quality, in the mob in place of the man. There are no types; there is only the individual.[121]

Huneker, Hughes, and Elson were thus firmly in step with their political, professorial, and clerical contemporaries. Their prescriptions for the future of an independent American art involved an individualistic, yet assimilative cosmopolitanism, one in which the varied aesthetic traditions of a 'concert of nations' were commingled and synthesized. Central to

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[120] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 24.
[121] Huneker, *New Cosmopolis*, 111.

this construction was an 'authentic' individualism, in which composers developed a musical idiom that was rightfully theirs. In practice, there were noticeable exceptions: Anglo-American Indianists, such as Edward MacDowell, were largely excused for the use of Native American material because it was subsumed into a broader American inheritance (though these musical borrowings were not without controversy).[122] As one of America's preeminent tone poets, MacDowell occupied an important position in the nation's musical culture, and critics had a vested interest in promoting his *oeuvre*, even if it involved bending their aesthetic rules.[123] But on the whole, American critics idealized an individualistic, but 'rooted' cosmopolitanism that did not easily align with overt exoticism. Saint-Saëns's 'ethnographic works'—including the *Suite algérienne*, Op. 60, *Africa*, Op. 89, and the Piano Concerto No. 5 'Egyptian', Op. 103, all of which were performed during the course of his American tour—garnered contingent praise as a result.

The American critical apparatus was not a monolith, and in discussions of race there were significant points of contention—most noticeably between Krehbiel and Huneker.[124] But on the whole, authors identified the diversity of *European* races as essential to the creation of an identifiable American idiom. The dialectical synthesis and progressive

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[122] 'The Indian has more pretensions [than the African American] musically as E. A. MacDowell has shown in his Suite for Orchestra. This statement does not impeach the charm of the African music made by Harry Burleigh; I only wish to emphasise my disbelief in the fine-spun theories of certain folk-lorists. MacDowell is our most truly native composer, as an Alsatian-born is now our most potent American composer. His name is Charles Martin Loeffler, and he shared the first desk of the violins in the Boston Symphony Orchestra with Franz Kneisel, a noble artist'. James Huneker, *Steeplejack*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 68.

[123] The highly essentialist enthusiasm for the musical material of American Indians, who by 1900 were a practically invisible—and thus essentially 'mythic'—community for many East Coast urban Americans, stood in stark contrast to the racist dismissals of African American music.

[124] Krehbiel believed strongly that the Negro Spiritual would become a cornerstone of a national compositional idiom, and he undertook a concerted study of the form in *Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1914). Huneker was not so inclined: '[Dvořák's] early music was the best; he was an imitator of Schubert and Wagner, and never used quotation marks. But the American theory of native music never appealed to me. He did, and dexterously, use some negro, or alleged negro, tunes in his "New World Symphony," and in one of his string quartets; but if we are to have true American music, it will not stem from "darky" roots, especially as the most original music of that kind thus far written is by Stephen Foster, a white man. The influence of Dvorak's American music has been evil; ragtime is the popular pabulum now […] I need hardly add that the negro is not the original race of our country. And ragtime is only rhythmic motion, not music'. Huneker, *Steeplejack*, vol. 2, 67–68.

evolution of foreign elements would be America's unique artistic contribution, and in that respect a cosmopolitan public was inextricable from the creation of national art. In turn, individualism would energise this new school of composition, preventing it from simply being a pastiche of international styles. American critics thus established their art as both the conglomeration of varied European traditions and the ultimate successor of them all. This manifesto had significant practical ramifications for American music. It influenced the rates at which Americans sought out European study, the places they went, the repertory that domestic orchestras programmed, the Europeans they engaged as guests, the way Americans conceived of diaspora, and the final result of all these influences—the form and characteristics of an 'authentic' American idiom. The celebrity concert tour uniquely focussed all of these critical debates and represented the examples and materials on which a 'Cosmopolitan' might work. Strauss and Scriabin, or course, were modernists, inheritors of an artistic canon as opposed to that canon's metaphorical embodiment; not so with Camille Saint-Saëns, the 'Dean' of French music, and a stalwart representative of classicism, continuity, and the canon.

Saint-Saëns: Conservative, Classical, Cosmopolitan

As we have seen, American conceptions of cosmopolitanism differed considerably from those in Europe. In addition to its connection to both Christian moralism and overt democratic exceptionalism, the American model favoured a rugged, individualistic masculinity. Most significantly, Americans understood cosmopolitanism as a progressive philosophy with a distinctly modern orientation. Saint-Saëns's European cosmopolitanism was of a different order: it was conservative in orientation, and deliberately anchored in classical antiquity and philosophical Stoicism. Saint-Saëns's academicism was attractive to American institutions and audiences because it reaffirmed their canonical repertoires and aesthetic values. For Walter Damrosch, who increasingly championed French works as a

way of distinguishing the New York Symphony Orchestra from the Philharmonic Society, Saint-Saëns was a validating presence.[125] For the Knabe piano company he was an august salesman (and a welcome relief from the antics of the young Arthur Rubinstein that same year). Ultimately, however, American critics marginalised his *oeuvre*—however gently and deferentially—as a way of reaffirming their Austro-German lineage and cautioning against the excesses of French cosmopolitanism. In short, Saint-Saëns reified American aesthetic values, but rather problematically; he did not represent the nation's musical future.

Saint-Saëns the Cosmopolitan Flâneur

From the outset, the American press fashioned for itself the image of an avuncular Saint-Saëns, implicitly associating the composer's age—as well as his moments of physical frailty—with the purported conservatism of his works. In praising his diverse intellectual interests, they also subtly downplayed the seriousness of his musical products. At times, the resulting picture was one of a well-travelled intellectual, as opposed to a formidable concert soloist and conductor. Though he was the most significant musical visitor in the 1906–07 season, Saint-Saëns's pending arrival did not inspire the same histrionics and literary fireworks that Strauss had engendered in the American press. One of the Boston dispatches reported that Saint-Saëns, though intending to 'conduct his own compositions', was coming 'mainly to gratify his taste for travel'.[126] The purported casualness of his American tour and the comparatively light concert load (only twenty initially scheduled performances), whether intentionally or not, served to moderate expectations of the composer's American debut. Indeed, in some reports, Saint-Saëns appeared primarily as a travelling man of letters, and only secondarily as 'of one of the greatest living composers' of his era.[127] But Saint-Saëns's

[125] Guzski, 'Saint-Saëns in New York', 195.
[126] 'Saint Saens Coming Over', *Los Angeles Times*, 1 October 1906, 17, col. 6.
[127] 'Detroit a Favored City' *Detroit Free Press*, 18 November 1906, 6, col. 3.

worldliness, his amateur scientific enthusiasms, and his adventurous tastes still appealed to American audiences; his intellectual interests were remarkably aligned with modern American cultural trends. Nascent American imperial projects,[128] an increasing popular interest in archaeology and anthropology,[129] and broad enthusiasm for technological advancement reflected a public discourse that was equally animated by modern innovation and by sensational foreign exoticism.[130] In this excited climate of political and technological advancement, it is no surprise that interviewers eagerly reported Saint-Saëns's enthusiasm for electrified lifts, or that biographers emphasized his acquaintance with the Middle East, North Africa, and those 'rambling propensities' that 'imbued him with a love for local color'.[131] Saint-Saëns was the archetypical gentleman adventurer, 'suave, diplomatic, well-groomed', but American commentators did not find this facade universally convincing. To the critic and composer, Daniel Gregory Mason, Saint-Saëns was 'clever, worldly, learned—and a little superficial',[132] his adventurousness a little too polite to align him with rugged American analogues:

> […] whether he is seeking a piquant rhythm or a curious turn of harmony, or sketching his impression of Spain or Egypt, Saint-Saens is always the onlooker, the man of the world, never the mystic who contemplates in his own heart the forces that underlie the universe.[133]

Mason's broader critique was that Saint-Saëns's Apollonian, 'inordinate cleverness',[134] was an inhibiting factor in both his compositional ability and reception: 'Lack of emotion, then,

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[128] Hawaii (1893), Puerto Rico, Guam, Samoa, and the Philippines (1898).

[129] For instance, American audiences, like those in England and Germany, became increasingly fascinated by Egyptology at the turn of the twentieth century. Not only were American museums accessioning these artefacts, but many Americans were actively participating in the excavations themselves. One such man was the American lawyer, Theodore M. Davis (1838–1915), who was heavily involved in the Valley of the Kings project from 1900 to 1914. From 1902 to 1905, he was a major benefactor of the Egyptian Antiquities Service and the new Museum of Egyptian Antiquities.

[130] *Popular Mechanics*, for instance, began publication in 1902.

[131] 'Musical Comment, M. Saint-Saëns and His Fifth Concerto–Negro Melodies', *New-York Tribune*, 19 November 1906, 6, col. 6.

[132] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 99–100.

[133] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 112.

[134] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 109.

is the serious defect of this master'.[135] Saint-Saëns's cosmopolitanism was inextricable from what Americans perceived as a set of Enlightenment values, characterised by broad classical learning and a diversity of interests. To the *Pittsburgh Post*, Saint-Saëns was a 'cultivated, polished man whose interests have not by any means been confined wholly to music'. Indeed, they reported, the composer was so 'deeply interested in astronomy [that he had] built an observatory in the Canary islands'.[136] To the *Oakland Tribune*, his 'personality [and] his many-sided culture', were indicative of a specifically 'Gallic spirit', demonstrating a conflation of enlightened cosmopolitanism with a vision of France that was imaginatively consistent with the American memory of Lafayette and de Tocqueville.[137] Mason had drawn the comparison a few years prior, calling Saint-Saëns,

> to a remarkable degree, the complete Frenchman. He has all the intellectual vivacity, all the nervous force, the quick wit and worldly polish, even the physical swarthiness and the dry keenness of visage, that we associate with his countrymen.[138]

Here philosophy and physiognomy align: the rarefied, intellectual, Saint-Saëns—arch-Apollonian—may have had the physical swarthiness of his Latin cousins, but it was marked by a 'dry keenness of visage' that was unmistakably Parisian. These physical distinctions were not lost on other observers. Jennie Irene Mix, another critic for the *Pittsburgh Post* commented on the contrast between 'Leoncavallo, the fiery Italian whose mustache out-bristles the kaiser's, and the suave, diplomatic, well-groomed Saint Saens'.[139] Consistently however, American observers hardened that well-groomed visage into a piece of metaphorical statuary. Like a bronze bust, polish and a certain coldness became common attributes of Saint-Saëns. Aldrich re-echoed these characteristics as essentially French:

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[135] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 114.
[136] 'Musical Comments and Current Events', *Pittsburgh Post*, 18 November 1906, 'WantAd' sec., pg. 7, col. 2.
[137] 'French Artist', *Oakland* (California) *Tribune*, 17 November 1906, 10, col. 7.
[138] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 102–03.
[139] Jennie Irene Mix, 'News of the Musical World', *Pittsburgh Post*, 7 October 1906, 12, col. 3. Spelling and capitalisation original.

> Saint-Saens was truly representative of the Gallic spirit, not only in his many-sided culture, the brilliancy and grace and effectiveness with which his intellect was brought to play upon whatever interested it; also, it may be said, in a certain sort of logical dryness, of academic formality that marked him.[140]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, British critics expressed a similar ambivalence. The writing of Arthur Hervey—most of which was also distributed or co-published in the United States—demonstrates a qualified enthusiasm for that 'spirit of eclecticism which prevails over the music of Saint-Saëns' and which, though it 'helps to give it its character, is responsible for certain weaknesses in the composer's dramatic methods'.[141] To Hervey, Saint-Saëns was 'an eclectic in the highest sense of the word', attempting 'every style and form, disseminating his works right and left with seemingly reckless prodigality'.[142] Again this innate cosmopolitanism, characterised by a diversity of musical style and influence, was identified as inherently Gallic: 'Saint-Saëns is a typical Frenchman, particularly, one might add, a Parisian. He is pre-eminently witty, and has what his countrymen would term *une nature primesautière*' (an impulsive nature).[143] In his own comments, Saint-Saëns proffered a seemingly contradictory approach to musical cosmopolitanism. When asked to comment on America's domestic school, Saint-Saëns began with the extraordinary pronouncement:

> Let me say at the outset that I am unconscious of geographical, political, or even racial divisions, in music. Berlin, from whence I have just come, is the same to me, professionally, as New York. In arranging my programmes, and in playing or conducting them, I forget whether I am in Chicago or London, in Boston or Vienna, in my native Paris or Egyptian Cairo.[144]

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[140] Aldrich, *Musical Discourse*, 207.

[141] Arthur Hervey, *French Music in the XIXth Century* (London: Grant Richards; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1903), 191.

[142] Arthur Hervey, *Masters of French Music* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co, 1894), 107–08.

[143] Hervey, *French Music in the XIXth Century*, 182.

[144] 'The Future of Music in America, By Charles Camille Saint-Saens, Great French Musician', *Crowley* (Louisiana) *Daily Signal*, 25 December 1906, 7, col. 3.

Though he continued to articulate the standard, romantic notion of musical nationalism, namely that 'a tree, or a flower, really flourishes only in its native soil', he qualified the 'differences of temperament' between Europeans and Americans as 'mainly superficial'.[145] Elsewhere however, Saint-Saëns held strongly to notions of racial difference:

> The idea that the expression of ideas in music is to leap over national and racial lines, and that in time we are to have a world standard which will make the music of Russia like that of America or the music of Germany like that of France is, I think, a mistaken one. Temperament rules in the musical art as in other arts. Racial temperaments will produce racial music […][146]

Apparently, the principal weakness of Saint-Saëns's cosmopolitanism was superficiality. Huneker found in the composer 'a genial cleverness and a mastery of the decorative and more superficial side of music—all this allied to a charming fancy and great musicianship'. But Saint-Saëns's stories only dealt with 'the external aspects of his subject […] the psychology [was] absent'.[147] As we have seen, to Mason, Saint-Saëns's emotional distance resulted in a certain inauthenticity, that of the 'onlooker, the man of the world', rather than the self-reflective mystic.[148] Where many American critics characterised the music of Brahms, for instance, as a tonal edifice, the dominant metaphor with Saint-Saëns was that of statuary. Burnished, polished, 'highly finished', Saint-Saëns's creations were life*like* but life*less*. In Mason's description, Saint-Saëns himself begins to morph from sculptor into sculpture. Was he an only half-successful Pygmalion or Daedalus, or was he the figure itself, ultimately mute—his voice yet to be enlivened by quicksilver?[149]

> In the classic works he manipulates, in the exotic pieces he depicts; nowhere does he speak. But to speak, to voice deep

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145 Ibid.

146 'Dr. Camille Saint-Saens Discusses Modern Music', *New York Times*, 25 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, cols. 6–7.

147 James Huneker, *Mezzotints in Modern Music: Brahms, Tschaïkowsky, Chopin, Richard Strauss, Liszt and Wagner* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 142.

148 Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 112–14.

149 In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the sculptor Pygmalion falls in love with one of his artistic creations, and Aphrodite indulges his prayer that the statue be brought to life. One of Pygmalion's Greek mythological analogues was Daedalus, who brought his own sculptures to life with quicksilver.

> feeling directly, though with the restraint necessary to plastic beauty, is the aim and the justification of music.[150]

In his schematic entry on Saint-Saëns, Edward Harrison Barker neatly encapsulates these varied critical *topoi*:

> That he is a master of musical science, consummately skilled in all things appertaining to technique, must be granted without any hesitation; but if the object of music be to stir and express the deep human passions as well as the more delicate and cultivated emotions, M. Camille Saint-Saëns lacks something essential to the fulfilment of the ideal. He reflects the dilettanist [*sic*.] movement in music. The predominating influence upon him, after Berlioz, has been that of Wagner, but he has never approached the elevation of the great German.[151]

Barker's final quip is an essential one. It re-inscribes a hierarchy which lurks behind almost all discussions of French composers and their music in the American press, namely that the Gallic canon necessarily exists on a rung below—or perhaps in an entirely adjacent structure to—that of the Germans.

Saint-Saëns the Classicist

Americans were well-acquainted with Saint-Saëns's interest in ancient Greece and Rome and linked his cosmopolitan orientation to the classical traditions of both antiquity and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Of course, quite deliberately, nineteenth-century Americans had also claimed the inheritance of both of these 'classical periods', and so elements of Saint-Saëns's classicism and conservatism appealed greatly to United States audiences. At the same time, critics could cast Saint-Saëns as central to the Old Guard, no longer actively furthering the cultural dialogue.

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[150] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 114–15.

[151] Edward Harrison Barker, *France of the French* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 193–94. (In the 1918 edition, this is 200–01). Barker does, indeed, write dilettanist. He presumably means dilettantist.

Glenn Dillard Gunn, for instance, planted Saint-Saëns firmly in the middle of the previous century. Not only did Saint-Saëns's virtuosic pianism win 'for him a place with Liszt, [Anton] Rubinstein, and von Bulow in the first rank of world pianists', but he noted, that accolade itself 'was voluntarily accorded him' by those very men.[152] The personal alignment of Saint-Saëns with Rubinstein and von Bülow, both of whom had toured America in the 1870s, necessarily conjured memories of a musical culture considerably narrower and more conservative than that of 1906. Throughout the broadsheets, the epithets appended to Saint-Saëns firmly established him as an elder statesman of music. To the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, he was the 'grand old man of musical art in France';[153] to the *Detroit Free Press*, 'dean of French musicians';[154] to the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 'a picturesque figure in the musical world', the 'most eminent representative of the older school of French composition';[155] and to the *New-York Tribune*, simply an 'aged composer'.[156] But the fixation on Saint-Saëns's age was not entirely unwarranted. Born in 1835, Camille Saint-Saëns was seventy-one when he arrived in the United States in the winter of 1906 (though often misidentified as seventy-two), and he was decidedly worse for the wear of the passage. Reports of the composer's illness dominated American coverage of his arrival, a manifestation of fragility that was difficult to overcome in the early press, and once the tour had begun in earnest, there were varying interpretations of Saint-Saëns's physical capability at the keyboard. In spite of generally laudatory reviews of the composer's interpretations, discussions of his physical limitations were ubiquitous. The *New York Times* would offer a

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[152] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

[153] 'Fine Music Programmes Scheduled for Brooklyn', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 13 October 1906, pict. sec., pg. 4, col. 5.

[154] 'World Famous Artists Who Will Be Heard in Detroit this Season', *Detroit Free Press*, 14 October 1906, sec. 2, pg. 17, col. 3.

[155] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

[156] 'M. Saint-Saens Not Seriously Sick', *New-York Tribune*, 27 October 1906, 7, col. 4.

flash of sympathy, but elsewhere there was mostly contingent praise.[157] The *Washington Evening Star* acknowledged the composer's 'great artistic feeling and skill as an executant', but also—with a turn of phrase that was awkwardly morbid—that 'the listener went away satisfied that he had heard the best that was in a man who had passed the allotted period of life and still retained in such a remarkable degree the technical skill of youth'.[158] The earliest *New York Times* review set the tone for much journalistic reception, flatly asserting that 'it would be unfair to compare his performance with that of a young man in the plenitude of his strength, for Dr. Saint-Saëns is 72 years old [*sic*.], and has no longer the power to produce a tone upon the piano to cope with that of the orchestra'.[159] (Though to Gunn, it was 'perfectly obvious' to be a matter 'of choice, and not from the physical limitations of advanced age'.)[160] In any case, most American critics pivoted, heralding Saint-Saëns's subdued, academic pianism as an antidote to musical showmanship, excessive emotionalism, and hollow virtuosity. Dunn was chief among them, lamenting that

> these days we are not content unless some child of fifteen summers is able to attract our attention by blustering on the piano: in fact, we are up to our arms on the side of the youthful prodigy. Now, if there is one artist in the world who should be able to destroy this most pernicious modern idea, his name is Saint-Saens.[161]

In the light of Arthur Rubinstein's recent tour, Saint-Saëns's cool, refined pianism, his 'power in restraint' and 'sense of just proportion', represented a welcome change.[162] But even relatively sympathetic critics betrayed some hesitation about this 'austere' classicism:

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[157] 'Camille Saint-Saens may retire from the concert stage when this season is over, but it will not be imperatively necessary. One who meets him can easily see that he is still vigorous in mind and body despite his 71 years. He still has the mental fire that has shown in his music for many years, and he still can walk out three or four miles of an afternoon and come back full of strength'. 'Dr. Camille Saint-Saens Discusses Modern Music', *New York Times*, 25 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, cols. 6–7.

[158] The Saint-Saens Recital', *Washington Evening Star*, 11 December 1906, 6, col. 1.

[159] 'Dr. Saint-Saens Again Appears in Concert: Shows to More Advantage in His Second Programme', *New York Times*, 16 November 1906, 9, col. 3.

[160] Glenn Gunn, 'Saint-Saens with Orchestra', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 9 November 1906, 6, cols. 5–7.

[161] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

[162] 'Dr. Saint-Saens Again Appears in Concert: Shows to More Advantage in His Second Programme', *New York Times*, 16 November 1906, 9, col. 3.

> [Saint-Saëns] preaches elegance and refinement in art with a power that is the more convincing because one feels that he expresses therein an intellectual, not a sentimental, preference […] But tonally his treatment of the instrument is somewhat cold. In short, his playing, like his music, appeals to the mind rather than to the heart. He dazzles and exhilarates, but does not move the emotions deeply.[163]

A preoccupation with Saint-Saëns's compositional conservatism underlay much American criticism. Mason was one of the earlier exponents of a narrative in which Saint-Saëns became the bulwark against rising modernism:

> In general temper he is classical without being pedantic; that is to say, he has no superstitious awe for rules, but a profound reverence for law. The licenses of modern technique and the mental vagueness of which they are the reflection find in him a formidable foe.[164]

But consistently, critics struggled with the merits of an *oeuvre* whose defining characteristic was aesthetic anachronism. Mason heard his symphonic works as

> severely, at times almost aridly, classical in conception and execution. They are "absolute music" of the most unequivocal sort. They depend for their effect on clear form, well-calculated symmetry, traditional though interesting melodic and harmonic treatment; their themes are of the family of Haydn and Mozart; their structure is that perfected by Beethoven; their orchestration is skillful but unobtrusive, a transparent medium rather than a rich material garment.[165]

Writing of the Symphony in A Major, the *New York Times* reported,

> It seems to-day like something left behind in the current of time; it has something of the conciseness and purely objective point of view of the eighteenth century composers in its lack of emotional and personal quality and in the rather precise contrapuntal treatment of a considerable part of it.[166]

Consequently, subdued classicism became the calling card of a composer who had 'always stood for beauty and charity and simplicity in an age threatened by brutal virtuosity and

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163 Glenn Gunn, 'Saint-Saens with Orchestra', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 9 November 1906, 6, cols. 5–7.
164 Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 107.
165 Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 110.
166 'Dr. Saint-Saens Plays Again', *New York Times* 19 November 1906, 9, col. 2.

vagueness of expression'.[167] Saint-Saëns was not only lauded as a counterbalance to excesses of the young guard, but also as a marker of the end of the Romantic generation. Both the *Washington Herald* and the conductor Walter Damrosch reserved Methuselean epithets for the composer, a man who had 'arrived at the Biblical age of threescore and ten'.[168] To the *New-York Tribune*, the composer was in the 'evening twilight of his life',[169] an appraisal strengthened by tour publicity which emphasized these American concerts as Saint-Saëns's concert farewell and his retirement from public life.[170] New York reviewers in particular, emphasized what they considered Saint-Saëns's classic objectivity, inaugurating a narrative in American reception that persists to the present day. As recently as 1998, the organist and author Michael Murray has reprised an old dichotomy, pitting Saint-Saëns's cosmopolitan intellectualism against Franck's troubled—verging on pathological—interiority: Saint-Saëns

> felt so passionate an attachment to what he deemed the classic virtues that he looks back toward the eighteenth century in a way that Franck, for all his love of Bach, Beethoven, and Schubert, does not […] His conception of the classical never ceased to govern his thought. With every note he put on paper, he may be seen to strive for that balance and clarity of form, that objectivity and elegance of expression, and that repose and stability of manner which he found in Gluck, Rameau, and Mozart.[171]

Murray finds in Saint-Saëns exactly that which so charmed Gunn in 1906—the composer's supreme reverence for 'that exquisite classic art'.[172] In this respect, reception of Saint-Saëns loosely aligns with American evaluations of Brahms and Strauss, for whom the Baroque and

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[167] 'Musical Mention', *Washington Evening Star*, 9 December 1906, sec. 2, pg. 8, col. 3. The *Evening Star* did discern some youthfulness in Saint-Saëns, however: 'In his own work the youthful quality is as apparent now, at the age of seventy-one, as it was forty years ago, when his "Noces de Promethe" carried off the exposition prize and he himself was proclaimed by Berlioz one of the greatest musicians of his epoch'.

[168] 'Honor M. Saint-Saens: Dinner at Lotos Club: French Composer Heartily Greeted–Hopes to Return', *New-York Tribune*, 23 December 1906, 7, col. 3.; 'Saint-Saens Recital', *Washington Herald*, 11 December 1906, 7, cols. 5–6.

[169] 'M. Saint-Saëns and His Music', *New-York Tribune*, 16 November 1906, 7, cols. 1–2.

[170] 'Music of Americans Charms Saint-Saens: Great Artist Declares There Is Little Difference as Compared With Europe', *Washington Times*, 24 November 1906, 3, cols. 2–3.

[171] Michael Murray, 'Camille Saint-Saens' in *French Masters of the Organ*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998), 42.

[172] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

Classical masters were never far-removed. The obligatory addition of Rameau and Gluck to Bach, Haydn, and Mozart, marked Saint-Saëns as characteristically Gallic, while still reserving appropriate reverence for the First Viennese School. Critics not only applied the historicist lens to Saint-Saëns's *oeuvre*, but also to his performance career. Walter Damrosch's farewell toast to Saint-Saëns in December 1906 highlighted his amicable connection to a then lost generation of composers and virtuosi:

> I fancy he is the last one of a great period in art to visit this country. Just think of who his friends have been! They seem like a page of a book of long ago. Look at Wagner, Liszt, Berlioz, Bizet, Von Bülow and hosts of others. He represents the last of what we may consider the classic school, where the exponents and followers were taught to follow certain lines, and have done so, only enlarging and working on them.[173]

Not all the critics perceived this connection as one of artistic vitality. To Aldrich, Saint-Saëns's deliberate classicism was evidence of a barren, desiccated artistic talent. Writing after the composer's death, he would call Saint-Saëns

> one of the few remaining links connecting the present with a past in music that some insist upon thinking is the more glorious. Saint-Saens himself was very certain of it. He set his face resolutely against most of the latest developments of musical art. He said comparatively little about them, but his scorn and dislike of them are sufficiently recorded.[174]

During the 1906 tour itself, Aldrich was generally sympathetic, but over time he would harden his gaze. Reflecting upon Saint-Saëns's 1915 visit, Aldrich would call the eighty-year-old composer 'little more than a picturesque figure with an aureole; an artist *emeritus*'.[175]

But these characterisations of Saint-Saëns as aridly classical, and a mere custodian of music's 'more glorious' past, do not hold up under scrutiny. In reality, Saint-Saëns's repertory was not appreciably more classical in bent than those of other touring composer-

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[173] 'Honor M. Saint-Saens: Dinner at Lotos Club: French Composer Heartily Greeted–Hopes to Return', *New-York Tribune*, 23 December 1906, 7, col. 3.
[174] Aldrich, *Musical Discourse*, 202.
[175] Aldrich, *Musical Discourse*, 206; emphasis original.

pianists. If anything, it was fairly diverse and largely analogous to the repertoires of Paderewski and Arthur Rubinstein.[176] Certainly, it was far more expansive than the recital repertoires of Strauss (1904) and Scriabin (1906–07), both of whom exclusively performed their own works. (Of course, full-time touring piano virtuosos had much more extensive repertoires generally, and—as was the case with Anton Rubinstein in 1872—would still periodically exhaust their material.) In his solo recital at Carnegie Hall on Tuesday 27 November 1906, Saint-Saëns undertook a considerable, balanced list of works.[177] In addition to four of his Valses, Opp. 88, 104, 110, and 120, Saint-Saëns performed three of his own transcriptions, one of the second movement of Haydn's 'Surprise' Symphony No. 94, and the others of the principal quartet from his opera *Henry VIII* and fragments from *Samson et Dalila*.[178] Also interesting are the selections by other composers: from Bach, the *Italienisches Konzert*, BWV 971 and an unspecified Prelude and Gigue, 'Les Tourbillons' and 'Les Cyclopes' from Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin avec une méthode*, Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 12, Op. 26, and Chopin's *Barcarolle*, Op. 60.

On Monday 3 December 1906, Saint-Saëns's own *oeuvre* took an even less prominent place.[179] Fragments from Act I of *Samson et Dalila* (presumably the same played at Carnegie Hall), and two movements from the *Suite algérienne*, Op. 60 ('*Rêverie du soir* (*à Blidah*)', and the '*Marche militaire française*') are the only examples of the composer's own work. Instead, the programme is dominated by two full Beethoven piano sonatas, No. 17 in D Minor, 'The

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[176] Consider two representative programmes in 1905 and 1906: Saturday 25 March 1905: Carnegie Hall: Ignacy Jan Paderewski, piano: Schumann: Fantasy, Op. 17; Toccata, Op. 7; Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 14, Op. 27, No. 2, 'Moonlight'; Brahms: Variations on a Theme by Paganini, Op. 35; Chopin: Ballade, Op. 23; Etude, Op. 10, No. 12; Etude, Op. 10, No. 7; Etude, Op. 10, No. 3; Mazurka, Op. 33, No. 4; Nocturne, Op. 62, No. 1; Scherzo, Op. 39. Carnegie Hall Digital Archives | Friday, 12 January 1906: Lyric Theatre, Baltimore: Arthur Rubinstein, piano; Johanna Gadski, soprano: Bach/Tausig: Toccata and Fugue; Schumann: 'Widmung'; B. Franz: 'Für Musik'; Brahms: 'Slumber Song'; Schubert: 'Erlkönig'; Schumann: Carnaval, Op. 9; songs by Richard Strauss, Taubert, Foote, LaForge, Wekerlin; Chopin: Etude, Impromptu, Polonaise; Wagner: 'Traume', 'Schlummerlied', and 'Liebestod', from *Tristan und Isolde*. 'Rubinstein Heard at Lyric: Young Polish Pianist Gives Concert With Mme. Gadski', *Baltimore Sun*, 13 January 1906, 14, col. 6.

[177] 'Last Saint-Saëns Concert', *New-York Tribune*, 21 November 1906, 7, col. 5.

[178] *New York Sun*, 27 November 1906, 16, col. 6.

[179] 'Music for the Coming Week', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1 December 1906, pict. sec., pg. 4, col. 1.

Tempest', and No. 18 in E-Flat Major, 'The Hunt', as well as the Adagio from No. 16 in G Major. Additionally, Saint-Saëns played four movements of the Schumann *Waldszenen*, Op. 82, two small pieces by Chopin, as well as Liszt's *Au bord d'une source* and *Tarantelle*.

Unlike Strauss however, who would significantly alter the permutations of his [own] repertoire over the course of the tour, Saint-Saëns largely kept to a single, standing programme premiered at Carnegie Hall and then repeated (with minor alterations), at the Baltimore Lyric Opera House,[180] and then the Buffalo Convention Hall.[181] A slightly modified second programme, premiered at Washington's Columbia Theatre and further altered for Detroit's Light Guard Armory, made use of local concert soloists and added the Rondo Capriccioso in A Minor, Op. 28, and the *Rhapsodie vergne*, Op. 73.[182] Orchestral pairings were similarly subdued. In most cases, one of Saint-Saëns's piano concertos was paired with a few other miniatures and his own Symphony No. 3. Exceptions included Beethoven's Symphonies No. 3 and 5, Berlioz's *Carnaval romain*, Op. 9, Franck's Symphony in D Minor, and the Overture to Weber's *Oberon*.[183]

Still, programmatically and stylistically, Saint-Saëns largely affirmed American preconceptions of his classicism and conservatism. By all accounts, his playing style was subtle, subdued, and academic, and as a Frenchman, his attention to eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century German repertory was doubly validating of American musical tastes. But the breadth and difficulty of his repertoire also demonstrated the remarkable technical facility and endurance of a composer who, in his early seventies, had just recovered from a near life-threatening illness. Consequently, critical preoccupation with the composer's age,

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[180] 'Saint-Saens to Play', *Baltimore Sun*, 25 November 1906, 6, col. 6.

[181] *Buffalo Commercial*, 1 December 1906, 4, col. 5.

[182] *Washington Evening Star*, 22 November 1906, 16, col. 6.; 'Among the Musicians: Braves Cold for America: M. Saint-Saens Will Play in Detroit December 12', *Detroit Free Press*, 25 November 1906, 7, col. 1.

[183] 'In the World of Music: Saint-Saens and the New York Symphony', *New York Times*, 28 October 1906, sec. 4, pg. 6, cols. 3–4.; 'News of the Musical Season: Saint-Saens and the Philadelphia Orchestra', *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 6, col. 4–5.; C. A. Ellis, *Programme of the Second Matinee*, 4 December 1906, (Boston: Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1906), 5.

'diminished faculties', and frailty seems more to do with subtle prejudice than the actual historical record. Though it was largely an invention of the American press, Strauss's vigorous, youthful masculinity was inextricable from a public perception of his *oeuvre* as the 'music of the future'. Public fixation on Saint-Saëns's age and health had the opposite effect, marking his output as the 'music of the past'.

Saint-Saëns's cosmopolitanism, conservatism, classicism, age, health, and even physicality were thus inherently interconnected in the eyes of American critics. In an intellectual climate dominated by racial pseudo-science and physiognomy, it was entirely consistent to conflate external characteristics with intellectual orientations, and in turn, with the aesthetic values of national traditions. As we have seen, Saint-Saëns represented a cosmopolitanism that was archetypically French, but also grounded in the ideals of classical antiquity. All of these varied critical *topoi* conspired to strip Saint-Saëns—and by extension French music more generally—of a degree of artistic virility. This sexualised critical vocabulary was not unique to Saint-Saëns and appeared in the receptions of both Strauss and Scriabin, as well as other touring composers and virtuosos. But here it intersects complicatedly with a more personal issue, one that has been explored particularly in the realm of queer musicology. Jann Pasler, Mitchell Morris, and Kevin Kopelson have all written extensively on the composer's purported homosexuality, as have the biographers Stephen Studd and Brian Rees.[184] Interestingly, the American context offers very little to suggest what a nineteenth-century observer would have called the composer's 'inversion'. Rather, American critics barely hint at themes of 'sexual deviancy'. If Aldrich, Elson, Hughes, Huneker, and Krehbiel knew—or believed—Camille Saint-Saëns to be gay, they were either unperturbed, or deliberately invested in protecting his reputation.

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[184] Stephen Studd, *Saint-Saëns: a Critical Biography* (London: Cygnus Arts; Madison & Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), 252–56.; Brian Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999), 369–73.

Euphemism, Sexuality, and the 'Greek Vice'

Beginning with Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) and Albert von Schrenck-Notzing's *Über Suggestiontherapie bei konträrer Sexualempfindung* (1891), the German medical establishment undertook a concerted study of human sexual practice and variation at the *fin de siècle*, the products of which were promptly translated into English.[185] Strikingly interdisciplinary in their approach, these works represent a peculiar mixture of clinical psychology, phrenology, and proto-sociology, in which the variety of human sexual activity is placed in relief against theories of both organic and cultural evolution. The vagaries of individual sexuality take on historical, even contemporary political, import and we find anonymous patient studies such as 'Case 2, Mr. X' wedged between Darwin, Hegel, Schopenhauer, William Acton, and Martin Luther.[186] Moreover, these works owe much to the German philological tradition, and so *Genesis*, *Leviticus*, and the Pauline epistles weave seamlessly through clinical discussion—a clear moral injunction against Aristophanes, Pindar, and 'the Greek vice'. That vice, pederasty, was deemed a prime example of the inherent moral 'degeneracy' of the Mediterranean cultures, and of southern races more generally. Its historical spread into northern European cultures was thus an incursion, a contamination of pure Teutonic stock with sybaritic, subaltern values. As if to widen the gulf between these racial types, many German authors conflated the moral otherness of southern races with their visible, physical difference. After all, as Schrenck-Notzing observes, in cases of perversion and deviance 'it cannot be denied that there is a certain

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[185] Notzing also references the following related physicians and their studies: Julien Christian, 'Onanisme' in *Dictionnaire des sciences medicales*, 2d ser., 15 (1881).; Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926), *Psychiatrie; ein Lehrbuch für Studierende und Ärzte*.; Auguste-Henri Forel (1848–1931), 'Einige Worte über die reglementierte Prostitution in Kiew und über sexuelle Hygiene', Separatabdruck aus dem *Correspondenzblatt für Schweizer Aerzte* (1889).; Alfred Vogel (1829–1890), *Lehrbuch der Kinderkrankheiten* (1873).; Leopold Löwenfeld (1847–1923), *Die nervösen Störungen sexuellen Ursprungs* (1891).; Julius Uffelmann (1837–1894) *Handbuch der öffentlichen und privaten Hygiene des Kindes* (1881). Notzing, *Über Suggestiontherapie*, 7.

[186] William Acton was a conservative British physician, author of *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs, in Childhood, Youth, Adult Age, and Advanced Life, Considered in the Physiological, Social, and Moral Relations* (1857). Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Special Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Legal Study*, 7th ed., trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1894), 1–22, 41.

correspondence between the physical phenomena and the psycho-pathological symptoms'.[187] Perhaps counterintuitively, the lexica of the 'psychosexual' medical treatise and the concert review were not so dissimilar. Krehbiel provides a striking example:

> To the Northern mind there has always seemed to be something vicious in the influence of Southern art and manners. It seems to feel instinctively that its vigor is preserved by periodical rebellion against Roman things, and it points as a reason and a warning example to the physical and moral degeneracy of those Goths and Franks who lost their rugged virtues by too long dalliance with Roman Colonists.[188]

Themes of physiognomy, deviancy, and contamination all lurk in the shadows of this comment, framed not in the context of some contemporary aesthetic or cultural movement in the Latin world, but in the fundamental moral degeneracy of classical antiquity. While many psychologists postulated homosexuality was likely a congenital, inherited trait, they also identified certain cultures as predisposed to deviancy—organism as microcosm of the environment. Predictably, the Gallic races—Krehbiel's conquered Franks—occupied a nebulous place in that framework: an essentially Northern society 'contaminated' by its Southern dalliance. But to what extent was Krehbiel's implicit characterisation of French art as essentially feminine just a philosophical *topos*? In what respect did it relate to actual French musicians? The conflation of the Francophone with the feminine was a present, albeit inconsistent, narrative in American criticism. Take, for instance, the illogicality of its touchstone: Chopin, a man whom many Americans saw as essentially Franco-Polish:

> […] Chopin was the absolute slave of his emotions, and his music sometimes shows this; there is a *morbidezza*, a lack of combativeness, very different from the spirit of Beethoven. Field unjustly called him "a talent for the sick-room!"—but he might rather be called the feminine (not effeminate) in music.[189]

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[187] Albert von Schrenck-Notzing, *Therapeutic Suggestion in Psychopathia Sexualis (Pathological Manifestations of the Sexual Sense), with Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1895), 161.

[188] Henry Krehbiel, *Studies in the Wagnerian Drama* (New York: Harper & Brother's 1891), 16–17.

[189] Louis Elson, *Great Composers and Their Work* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1898), 158.

Here Louis C. Elson makes an important distinction, however; the identification of a composer with 'the feminine' was still wholly apart from personal accusations of sexual 'deviancy' or 'inversion'. 'The feminine' was an aesthetic ideal, in contrast to femininity, which rarely appears in reference to male composers; effeminacy was beyond the pale. The Anglo-American reception of Berlioz demonstrates a similar critical tension. As Fred Everett Maus writes in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, critics have long associated Berlioz's music with a disconcerting, verging on pathologic sensuality. In his fever-dream explanation of the *Symphonie Fantastique*, 'the first-person pronoun disappears from Berlioz's descriptions of his bodily responses, reappearing only briefly to mark the separation of his subjectivity from his senses'.[190] In an era dominated by increasing scientism, wherein Man triumphed over both his surroundings and his own self, to 'give leave of one's senses' was to abdicate manhood. The useful direction of manly faculties had both personal and cultural implications. Even today, Maus argues, musicologists such as D. Kern Holoman write 'as though the problem of succeeding Beethoven is essentially a problem about masculinity or potency'.[191] But Berlioz was not entirely successful, and as Marcia J. Citron observes, critics saw him as a 'Gallic Other, metaphorically feminine'.[192] Berlioz reception demonstrates a peculiar nineteenth-century paradox: namely that masculine potency was bounded by propriety, and when virility became expressed in terms of the sensual—or worse, the explicitly sexual—it tipped into the realm of the feminine.

To American critics at the turn of the twentieth century, the French were especially susceptible to this aesthetic trap, and actual Frenchmen such as Berlioz, as well as adopted

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[190] Fred Everett Maus, 'Virile Music by Hector Berlioz', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 124.

[191] Maus, 'Virile Music', 115.

[192] Marcia J. Citron, 'Gendered Reception of Brahms: Masculinity, Nationalism and Musical Politics', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 154.

Frenchmen such as Chopin and Franck, demonstrated a troubling emotionalism that was at odds with a robust, German intellectual virility. In short, the characteristics of both French culture and French composers conspired against their artistic vitality. French art was made suspect by its dilettantism, cosmopolitanism, and exoticism, and even by what Maus sees as the connection between liturgical Catholicism and erotic subtext.[193] But all these themes are uneasily reconciled with the experience of Camille Saint-Saëns.

Certainly, no one would ascribe 'rugged virtues' to Saint-Saëns—indeed, critics invariably described him as a suave and overly rarefied—but allegations of femininity, let alone thinly-veiled accusations of homosexuality, are almost entirely absent from the contemporary literature. In one article, amusingly entitled 'Dr. Camille Saint-Saens Discusses Modern Music: His Attitude Toward Wagner—Racial Temperaments Produce Racial Music—Americans Good Listeners—Interested In American Women', the *New York Times* observed that the composer was 'sensitive as a child. He avoids meeting new people; he avoids showing his feelings to a world that may not understand'.[194] To Gunn, Saint-Saëns had 'a sensuous quality which, if less refined than Mendelssohn's suave and fluent sentimentality, [was] more sincere and human'.[195] But beyond occasional references to sensitivity or sensuality, there were very few articles which deliberately ascribed to the composer 'unmanly' characteristics. The only striking association of Saint-Saëns with a specifically 'feminine' behaviour was a passing phrase by the *Washington Post*, describing how—after bowing to French and American legates in the government box—the composer lightly 'perched himself upon the piano stool, as gay and elastic as a girl of sixteen'.[196] Far

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[193] Maus, 'Virile Music', 127.
[194] 'Dr. Camille Saint-Saens Discusses Modern Music', *New York Times*, 25 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, cols. 6–7.
[195] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.
[196] 'Music and Musicians', *Washington Post*, 16 December 1906, sec. 2, pg. 4, col. 1–2.

from being 'morbidly feminine', decadent or deviant, Saint-Saëns appeared comfortably conservative. Gunn himself characterised the composer's nature as

> polished, intelligent, peculiarly elegant, cynically fastidious; so studied in dress, manner, speech, that you suspect an utter absence of emotion, and you would forgive solecisms, carelessness, or eccentricity in dress, bursts of native coarseness, if there were only one direct and overwhelming appeal, if there were a revelation of elemental qualities.[197]

Writing in the recent edited volume, *Masculinity in Opera: Gender, History, and New Musicology*, Kevin Kopelson has re-evaluated claims about Saint-Saëns's purported homosexuality, supplementing old reports with an investigation of homosocial themes in the operas and tone poems. Kopelson notes the composer's well-documented attraction to handsome male musicians in his circle, not least Liszt, Anton Rubinstein, and Fauré,[198] and even argues that his failed proposals to the composer Augusta Holmès may have really stemmed from an attraction to her lover, the 'outstandingly handsome' Catulle Mendès.[199] Moreover, Saint-Saëns is said to have reported to Pierre Aguétant

> that he found male bodies more 'aesthetically' pleasing than female ones […] Saint-Saëns may, in fact, have been what Proust—among others—would call an 'invert.' He lisped. He liked doing drag at parties and then—as a falsettist—imitating the soprano Marie Miolan-Carvalho as 'Marguerite' in the opera Faust.[200]

To these biographical reports, Kopelson adds a new evaluation of Saint-Saëns's *oeuvre*, citing the composer's apparent preoccupation with sensual, muscular male protagonists: '[a]part from *Samson et Dalila*, which of course concerns the Hebrew Hercules, his opera *Dêjanire* (1911) concerns Hercules himself. His symphonic poem *Le Rouet d'Omphale* (1871)—drawn

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[197] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.

[198] There were notable artists to whom he was attracted as well. Saint-Saëns was evidently inconsolable at the premature death of Henri Regnault (1843–71) and would not leave his room for three days upon hearing the news. Kevin Kopelson, 'Saint-Saëns's Samson', in *Masculinity in Opera: Gender, History, and New Musicology*, (New York; London, Routledge, 2013), 107, 112.

[199] Kopelson, 'Saint-Saëns's Samson', 107–108. Mendès and Holmès later cohabitated and had three children.

[200] Ibid.

from Victor Hugo—has Hercules in drag'.[201] But the evidence is far from incontrovertible. Whether or not, like Tchaikovsky, Saint-Saëns felt pressured into it by the conservative social mores of the Third Republic, he did eventually marry.[202] However, his union to Marie-Laure Truffot was fraught with difficulty, and after the tragic deaths of their two infant sons, the relationship was unsalvageable. While the marriage was never formally dissolved, Saint-Saëns left in 1881 and remained estranged from his wife for the rest of his life. They would not occupy the same room until his funeral in 1921.

Then, as now, the American dailies had an insatiable appetite for marital gossip. Strauss's relationship with de Ahna dominated American press coverage, and the romantic unavailability of two married virtuosos—Rubinstein and Seidl—added considerably to their popular appeal. Seidl's funeral at the Metropolitan Opera drew an immense, overwhelmingly female crowd, and if we are to believe reports of sobbing and fainting in the aisles, the mourners were entirely unperturbed by the presence of the conductor's widow.[203] Scriabin's tour, as we will see, was abruptly cut short to avert scandal.[204] Though they almost never appeared in published biographies, musicians' wives were a regular staple of the daily press. One might expect then that Truffot would have made a passing appearance in the coverage of Saint-Saëns, but she was entirely absent. In a survey of more than two-hundred articles and listings between October 1906 and May 1907, there is not a single reference to the composer's marriage, wife, or late sons. In fact, Saint-Saëns was portrayed exclusively as a confirmed old bachelor. His only published association with women was a quip about the

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[201] Kopelson, 'Saint-Saëns's Samson', 107.

[202] Some contemporary Anglophone writers saw the Russian proscriptions against homosexuality as exceptionally severe: 'In Russia the law against homosexual practices appears to be very severe, involving banishment to Siberia and deprivation of civil rights, but it can scarcely be rigorously executed'. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 1. Sexual Inversion (London: The University Press, Watford, 1897), 151.

[203] Joseph Horowitz, '"Sermons in Tones": Sacralization as a Theme in American Classical Music', *American Music*, 16, no. 3 (1998): 316–17. Horowitz describes this incident at length in his book, *Wagner Nights* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 11–17.

[204] After Vasily Safonov confirmed that Tatiana de Schloezer was not Scriabin's legal wife, the pair rushed to avert the fate of Maxim Gorki and his mistress, who were ejected from every respectable hotel in New York.

exceptional prettiness of his nurse (which the papers repeated eagerly).[205] Interestingly, Saint-Saëns's Ellis Island entry record listed his marital status as 'w' for widowed in 1906, and 's' for single in 1915, though his wife was still living.[206]

Why then, are references to Saint-Saëns's marriage entirely absent from the press? Surely some critics were aware of this marital history, at least those who had a friendly connection to Hermann Klein or Henry James (who apparently attended one of Saint-Saëns's pantomimes-in-drag).[207] It seems unlikely that the broadsheets would intentionally suppress scandal for its own sake; all the major papers had covered William Steinway's painful divorce in spite of his social pre-eminence.[208] Perhaps a clue lies in the similar coverage of Tchaikovsky in 1891, in which there are virtually no references to his abortive marriage of 1876. It was not until nearly a decade after the composer's death that Mason would call Tchaikovsky's marriage the product of 'quixotic chivalry': '[h]e married her from sympathy without loving her. Of course such a step could lead to nothing but misery; but however unwise, it was at least generous and honorable'.[209]

Recalling his American residency in 1890, Bertrand Russell offered a withering appraisal of New England naïveté, describing random passers-by who, upon meeting an Englishman, would inquire as to what Oscar Wilde had actually done.[210] But this evaluation—especially from the pen of a man in his early twenties—seems overly facile. The writings of Havelock Ellis demonstrate the remarkable latitude and tolerance which some Anglophone authors had for homosexuality by 1900. America's eminent critics were well-

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[205] Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America', 139, 146–47.

[206] The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation Passenger Search, *La Provence*, 26 October 1906, frame 365, line number 28, passenger ID 800131010052; *Rochambeau*, 12 May 1915, frame 30, line number 28, passenger ID 100356080285.

[207] Kopelson, 'Saint-Saëns's Samson', 107–08.

[208] D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga: An American Dynasty* (New York; London: Scribner, 1995), 197.

[209] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 160.

[210] Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 1, 1872–1914 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1961), 133. In some American editions, pp. 196–97. 'America in those days was a curiously innocent country. Numbers of men asked me to explain what it was that Oscar Wilde had done'.

travelled, at least nominally liberal, and they made their livings observing the world around them. It is hard to imagine Aldrich, Krehbiel, and—most especially—Huneker, would have been oblivious to the rumours surrounding Saint-Saëns. Moreover, many of these men were personal acquaintances of either Hermann or James, both of whom had uncommon insight into the composer's life. If Saint-Saëns did in fact declare '*Je suis un pédéraste*', as has been often reported, it is reasonable to assume that at least part of the American critical apparatus was aware.[211] Consequently, their complete silence on the matter demonstrates the strength of American deference to the composer's reputation and canonicity. To have fomented scandal would have been inhumane, but it would also have been bad for business, potentially imperilling the reputation of a man whose art and philosophy largely affirmed the aesthetic values of the American establishment. The conflation of both the Francophone and Grecophone with 'the feminine' was enough. Nothing was gained in casting personal aspersions. In critiquing Saint-Saëns's 'stoic cosmopolitanism', American critics could affirm those elements of his art that were expedient, while gently, deferentially relegating the composer to an adjacent canon.

Conclusion

For American critics, it was Saint-Saëns's liminality that made him so interesting. He was a 'citizen of the world' and yet also a 'complete Frenchman'. He was a thoroughgoing conservative but also a quiet advocate for the new generation of composers. He was an archetype of the French school, but his programmes were filled with works by Bach, Haydn, and Beethoven. Even Saint-Saëns's published remarks on musical nationalism and foreign study were seemingly contradictory. Finally, he inhabited a somewhat uneasy position in the gendered artistic discourses of the *fin de siècle*. Saint-Saëns's conservatism and personal

[211] Mitchell Morris, 'Saint-Saëns in (Semi-)Private', in *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World*, ed. Jann Pasler, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 2–11.

rectitude became associated with his age and his physicality. This lack of youthful potency or virility intersected with broader narratives about the inherent effeminacy of French art. Of course, excessive conservatism could become a metaphorical impotence in its own right. So too with excessive cosmopolitanism—an archetypically French 'failing', inherited perhaps from their Greek forbearers. When viewed in the context of Saint-Saëns's purported homosexuality, the American criticism becomes especially interesting. Aldrich, Henderson, Huneker, and Krehbiel had to walk a very fine line. They may have conflated French art with the feminine, but they had to avoid directly appending these characteristics to Saint-Saëns himself. The connections were associative, they were rarely direct. Defending Saint-Saëns, at least to an extent, was important to the American musical establishment. As an archetype of musical conservatism and cosmopolitanism, and one of the 'greatest musicians of his epoch', Saint-Saëns's presence was validating for American institutions, but it was also instructive.[212] Saint-Saëns's cosmopolitanism was emblematic of the Old World. It was fundamentally a product of the Enlightenment, and as such, a little too cerebral and becalmed. Its American analogue would need to be of a different nature—it would need to be robust, masculine, and grounded. The American Cosmopolitan could not be a *flâneur*.

[212] 'Musical Mention', *Washington Evening Star*, 9 December 1906, sec. 2, pg. 8, col. 3.

CHAPTER IV: ALEXANDER SCRIABIN

> What deadly secret did this meagre, dreamy, harmless-looking Russian possess? […] When he reached Moscow, rioting began in the streets. Leaving, he went with his dark-skinned Eastern musicians to the provinces. And the government trembled. Peasants threw aside spade, forgot vodka and rushed to his free concerts, given in canvas-covered booths; and the impetus communicated to this huge, weltering mass of slaving humanity, broke wave-like upon the remotest borders of the empire. The church became alarmed. The Anti-Christ had been predicted for centuries […] Was Illowski the one at whose nod principalities and powers of the earth should tremble and fall? Was he the prince of darkness himself? […]
>
> "I don't know what he has written recently […] but if the newspapers are to be believed, he is crazy. Music all color, no rhythm, no themes, and then his preaching of Nietzsche—it's all wrong, all wrong, my boy. Art was made for joy. When it is anything else, it's a dangerous explosive. Chemically separate certain natural elements and they rush together with a thunder-clap. That's what Illowski has done. It isn't art. It's science—the science of dangerous sounds" […] "The means? Why, dear boy, he just hypnotizes people, and promises them bank accounts and angel-wings. That's how he does the trick."[1]
>
> – James Huneker, in 'The Piper of Dreams', 1902

In James Huneker's fantastical short story, 'The Piper of Dreams', it is a symphony that finally brings about the end of the world. Huneker's antagonist, Pavel Illowski, is an anarchic 'Malo-Russ', a dangerous lothario, a virtuoso pianist, and a composer, whose

[1] James Gibbons Huneker, 'The Piper of Dreams', in *Melomaniacs* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 31–62.

massive scores go far beyond 'Tschaïkowsky and Strauss in his attempts to make music say something'.[2] Illowski is an iconoclast, for whom

> [a] new art must be evolved, not a synthesis of the old arts dreamed by Wagner, but an art consisting of music alone: an art for the twentieth century, a democratic art in which poet and tramp alike could revel.[3]

For women, his music is 'as the moth's desire', but it is all 'feminine madness'.[4] In the final scene, Illowski's symphony of colours begins to hum and deepen. 'From this cruel crimson the image of a huge sword [appears]', and 'blending with the color of the light, a musical tone [makes] itself seen, heard, felt'. The stage is consumed, then all of central Paris, and shortly, the entire world. 'Death of Gods!' 'Death of Love'.[5]

In 1902, Alexander Scriabin had only just finished his Second Symphony. The *Poème Divin* was in draft, and the *Poème de l'extase*, *Prometheus*, and the *Mysterium* were still years away. But by 1906 he would be on an American stage, presenting audiences with 'something of the emotional side of [his] philosophy of life'.[6] As usual, Huneker was on hand. As he read the programme notes to the *Poème Divin*, listening for its 'audacity' of spiritual thought, perhaps even trying to follow it into its 'abyss of mysticism', the scene must have seemed amusingly familiar. Illowski, of course, was a parody. As the *New York Sun* would suggest the following morning, so was Scriabin's text.[7]

Compared to the other notable touring musicians of the decade—even in the context of Camille Saint-Saëns—Alexander Scriabin was perhaps the most strikingly cosmopolitan: Russian-born, French-speaking, Swiss-based, Scriabin was—to the charitable observer—a worldly expatriate. Under more critical gaze, he appeared artistically homeless,

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[2] Huneker, 'Piper of Dreams', 35.
[3] Huneker, 'Piper of Dreams', 36–37.
[4] Huneker, 'Piper of Dreams', 45.
[5] Huneker, 'Piper of Dreams', 55–61.
[6] [Henry Krehbiel], 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.
[7] 'More Scriabine Music: His Symphony "The Divine Poem" Is Produced', *New York Sun*, 15 March 1907, 9, col. 3.

untethered from his native soil and culture. Scriabin's internationalism was not only defined by his years as a Russian abroad, but also by the philosophical universalism at the very core of his artistic manifesto—an orientation that proved problematic to the American press. As I have argued, the American critical apparatus was concerned with two publics, one immediate and domestic, the other hypothetical and European. As they reviewed the musical activities of their own cities, American critics were also, in a sense, publishing open letters—manifestos for the indirect consumption of Europeans. The reception of eminent European musicians was closely tied to the projection of both American cultural achievement and potential. If the American critic hoped Strauss and Saint-Saëns would speak the praises of American music and culture in their own homelands, he may have doubted Scriabin's capacity to do the same. After all, where was his home?

Scriabin sat at the nexus of a number of social fault lines pertaining to nationalism, modernism, and masculinity. He was at once suspect for his Russian nationality, but also criticised for his disconnection from national idioms; hyper-modernist, but also a purveyor of trifling 'salon music'; here, he is dashing and gentlemanly, elsewhere morbidly feminine. Of all of his contemporaries, Scriabin suffered perhaps the most varied and contradictory reception; critical consensus about his artistic merits developed only gradually. American suspicion of Russian cultural enterprises, which in turn was linked to a broader political wariness of anarchism and revolution, undoubtedly impeded Scriabin's progress on tour. But not all Russians were so impacted, as the American successes of Tchaikovsky, Vasily Safonov, and Josef Lhévinne can attest.[8] Nor is it sufficient to cite Joseph Horowitz's appraisal of American music as fundamentally a 'culture of performance' rather than of

[8] Vasily Ilyich Safonov (1852–1918) was a Russian composer, conductor, and music educator. He directed the National Conservatory of Music in New York as well as the New York Philharmonic Society. Josef Lhévinne (1874–1944), whom we have already encountered, was a Russian concert pianist and pedagogue who undertook several American tours. In 1919 he and his wife relocated permanently to the United States, and he took up a teaching post at the Juilliard School. Both men will feature in the forthcoming discussion.

composition, identifying virtuosos as the most successful Russian émigrés, and ascribing Scriabin's failure to his presentation as a composer; Tchaikovsky was exclusively presented to the American public as a composer and conductor of his own works.[9] The real impediments to Scriabin's reception were aesthetic, not bluntly nationalistic.

I posit that Scriabin's tepid success in America further demonstrates the limits of cosmopolitanism as an aesthetic philosophy. American critics were equal advocates both for music that, like Tchaikovsky's, was 'throbbing with nationalism and vital with the blood of the people',[10] as well as for Brahms's works of 'Homeric simplicity', excelling those of 'all his contemporaries in soundness and universality'.[11] But they made it clear that the 'universal' idiom was, by its very nature, German. Scriabin suffered practical challenges because he was Russian, but the confused and variegated response of American critics reflected a different indictment—namely that he was not Russian enough. Scriabin approached Americans with pretentions to universality, but universality was the exclusive domain of Germans. In short, Scriabin was the exception which proved the rule. The lack of critical consensus about his philosophy, his aesthetic, and even his playing puts into perspective the comparatively minor controversies which arose in the tours of other visiting Europeans. The confusion that his music engendered stands out against the backdrop of more successful predecessors—men about whom most American critics found a party line.

Practicalities: Personal and Public Impediments for Scriabin

A virtuosic pianist in his own right, Scriabin had left the Moscow Conservatory with the Gold Medal in performance in 1892, and then embarked upon a considerable concert

[9] See Joseph Horowitz, '"Sermons in Tones": Sacralization as a Theme in American Classical Music'. *American Music* 16, no. 3 (1998): 312.
[10] 'Some Russian Novelties: Scriabine Hears His Own First Symphony', *New York Sun*, 1 March 1907, 9, col. 1.
[11] Daniel Gregory Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1902), 175–76.

career.[12] Contemporary critical reception as well as a series of 1910 *Welte Mignon* piano rolls attest to his towering technical facility, his highly-charged emotionalism, and dramatic rubato.[13] But as early as 1898, Scriabin had begun a deliberate turn to composition, his playing now a practical source of income and a means of premiering his own works, rather than a primary vocation.[14] In 1906, however, a series of sudden setbacks put Scriabin in a precarious financial position. The Beliaeff publishing house reduced Scriabin's salary by half, and after the composer's protestations, dropped him entirely. A summer concert in Geneva failed to recuperate his losses, putting Scriabin, Tatiana de Schloezer, and their infant child in considerable hardship. It was at this point that Tatiana's father sent Scriabin a published call for scores from Modest Altschuler (1873–1963), a Russian Jewish émigré and music director of the Russian Symphony Society in New York. Scriabin applied to Altschuler in the first instance; Altschuler responded, offering an American tour.[15]

For the ambitious young conductor, Modest Altschuler, Scriabin's changing musical priorities made him an ideal collaborator; a talented pianist eager to premiere his own works, Scriabin offered affordable celebrity. Already a familiar name among New York musical circles (if only for his Etudes, Op. 8, and the Prelude for the Left Hand in C-Sharp Minor, Op. 9, No. 1), Scriabin had the potential to drum up musical interest in the crowded New York market, as well as to act as a sort of 'composer-in-residence', linking three of the orchestra's six concerts that season.[16] Not only was Scriabin willing to travel to the United States for nothing more than the cost of his second-class passage and accommodation, but his presence was a useful pretence for engaging Vasily Safonov, then Music Director of the

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[12] Alfred J. Swan, *Scriabin* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1923), 14.

[13] See Anatole Leikin, *The Performing Style of Alexander Scriabin* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).; Also, Alexander Scriabin, *Selected Works, New Versions Based on the Composer's Recordings*, ed. Pavel Lobanov, 2 vols. (Moscow: Muzyka, 1998).

[14] Swan, *Scriabin*, 24–42.

[15] Swan, *Scriabin*, 35–36.

[16] The Etude in D-Sharp Minor, Op. 8, No. 12, for instance, was a favourite concert piece of Josef Hofmann while on American tour in 1898, 1901, and 1904. It seems to have filtered into the repertoire of American professional pianists and talented amateurs alike, possibly as a result of Hofmann's enthusiasm.

New York Philharmonic.[17] Altschuler's programme was ambitious but also financially constrained, as reflected in Scriabin's terms, and the engagement of J. E. Francke as manager, rather than a larger, established agency.

Francke appears to have led a fairly successful career, serving as treasurer for one of Paderewski's American tours,[18] as well as for the domestic tour of American soprano Lillian Ruth Shimberg.[19] In November 1906, he was invited by Walter Damrosch to serve as manager of the New York Symphony Wind Instrument Club, a professional chamber ensemble directed by the flautist, Georges Barrère (1876–1944),[20] but it is unclear if he ever took up the post. César Saerchinger's 1918 *International Who's Who in Music* links Francke to the Steinway Studio, but in 1907, he appears to have been acting as a freelance agent, with significant ramifications for Scriabin's success.[21] By comparison, Strauss's tour was managed by the single most influential concert agency in New York, the Wolfsohn Musical Bureau, and underwritten by Steinway & Sons. Elgar made his 1906 American debut at the direct invitation of the Cincinnati May Festival, with significant support from Novello and their American agent, the publisher, H. Willard Gray (who even secured Elgar a private state-car for one of his rail journeys).[22] Saint-Saëns's tour, brokered by Gabriel Astruc, guaranteed him 50,000 francs, covered all his travel and expenses, and afforded him 550 dollars a month in additional compensation.[23] Scriabin arrived in New York with only a single

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[17] Safonov had taught both Scriabin and Altschuler. As both Swan and Bowers explain however, Safonov's loyalty to Scriabin's now-abandoned wife, Vera Ivanovna, would prove a considerable source of conflict.

[18] Gustav Kobbé, 'With Paderewski – A Modern Pianist on Tour', in *How to Appreciate Music* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1906, reprint 1912), 246.

[19] *International Who's Who in Music and Musical Gazetteer*, 1st ed., ed. César Saerchinger (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1918), s.v. 'SHIMBERG, Lillian Ruth'.

[20] Nancy Toff, *Monarch of the Flute: The Life of Georges Barrère* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 94. He also invited Loudon Charlton and Henry Wolfsohn, who acted as Strauss's manager in the spring of 1904.

[21] A simple advertisement in one of Scriabin's Carnegie Hall concert bulletins lists him as 'J. E. Francke, Concert Manager: Room 934, Knickerbocker Building, 1402 Broadway, New York'. Carnegie Hall concert programme, 20 December 1906.

[22] John Richard Smith, *Elgar in America: Elgar's American Connections Between 1895 and 1934* (Rickmansworth: Elgar Editions, 2005), 78.

[23] Contract between Camille Saint-Saëns and William Knabe & Co., 21 August 1906, obverse. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-255 (31 à 42): Lettres de Camille Saint-Saëns à Gabriel Astruc, mai-novembre 1906 (manuscrit autographe), (37) p. 70. In addition to negotiating the American tour

guaranteed concert, no fixed fee, and only the promise of paid expenses and housing. However, through negotiation after his arrival, Scriabin would give a total of nine public concerts (of which eight were officially scheduled) during his three months in America.

Table 4.1: Scriabin's American Engagements as a Performer, 1906–07

1906			
Thursday	20	December	NY: **Russian Symphony Society**, Carnegie Hall Modest Altschuler, conductor [24, 25] **Alexander Scriabin**, piano.
1907			
Thursday	3	January	NY: Mendelssohn Hall [26, 27] **Alexander Scriabin**, piano
Tuesday	8	January	NY or Cincinnati: Paid, private salon concert.[28]
Thursday	10	January	Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall Frank van der Stucken, conductor [29] **Alexander Scriabin**, piano
Saturday	12	January	Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall Frank van der Stucken, conductor **Alexander Scriabin**, piano
Wednesday	30	January	NY: Mendelssohn Hall [30, 31] **Alexander Scriabin**, piano
Monday	4	March	Chicago: Music Hall [32] **Alexander Scriabin**, piano
Wednesday	6	March	Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Music **Alexander Scriabin**, piano Impromptu recital

of Artur Rubinstein, Astruc also negotiated for the first American performances of the Ballets Russes. These archives reside at the Music Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, in the Dance Collection. Gabriel Astruc Papers, ZBD–161.

[24] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

[25] *New York Times*, 20 December 1906, 16, col. 6.

[26] 'Amusements', *New-York Tribune*, 30 December 1906, sec. 4, pg. 7, col. 6.

[27] *New York Times*, 30 December 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, col. 1.

[28] Bowers, *Scriabin: A Biography of the Russian Composer, 1871–1915*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1969), 153.

[29] Bowers, *Scriabin* (1969), vol. 2, 152.

[30] *New York Times*, 27 January 1907, sec. 4, pg. 5, col. 4.; *New-York Tribune*, 13 January 1907, 7, cols. 5–6.

[31] *New-York Tribune*, 30 January 1907, 8, col. 6.

[32] Glenn Dillard Gunn, 'Endowments and Subsidies Needed for American Art: Scriabine Tomorrow', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 3 March 1907, Sunday magazine, pg. 9, cols. 3–6.

Detroit: **Detroit Symphony Orchestra,** Light Guard Armory [33]
Hugo Kalsow, conductor
Alexander Scriabin, piano

Additionally, Scriabin attended two American premieres of his own symphonies by the Russian Symphony Society of New York, with Altschuler conducting. On 28 February 1907, the Symphony No. 1 in E Major, Op. 26, and on 14 March, the Symphony No. 3 in C Major, Op. 43, *Le Poème Divin*. In total, however, this leaves significant gaps in the historical record. Though the revisions of the *Poème Divin* occupied considerable energy (Louis Stanley reports late-night copying sessions in Altschuler's apartment, frantically working through the night over meals),[34] the month of February was almost completely empty, and Scriabin's tour engagements were unusually sparse. By comparison, Max Bruch performed in more than a dozen engagements between 11 April and 5 June 1883, receiving several offers of employment, including those of the Arion Society and the New York *Liederkranz*. In two months (26 October to 26 December 1906), Saint-Saëns had more than twenty public concerts, and a half-dozen private receptions. Strauss (24 February to 28 April 1904) had an astonishing thirty-four public performances in sixty-five days—one almost every other day. Scriabin's full month without performances stands out as particularly unusual. Moreover, Scriabin's travels were geographically constrained. He appeared neither in Boston nor Philadelphia,[35] both of which were staples of most American tours. In Chicago, he appeared only in solo recital, rather than with the Theodore Thomas Orchestra (the present-day Chicago Symphony Orchestra), unusual given his solo engagements with the two regional competitors in Detroit and Cincinnati.[36]

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[33] 'Alex. Scriabine to Play: Will Participate in Symphony Orchestra Concert Tonight', *Detroit Free Press*, 6 March 1907, 5, col. 3.; 'Scriabine is Pleasing: His Audience Makes Demand Several Times for Encores', *Detroit Free Press*, 7 March 1907, 12, cols. 1–2.

[34] Louis Stanley, 'Scriabin in America', *Musical America*, 74 (15 February 1954).

[35] The Boston Symphony would not play a piece of Scriabin until October 1910 under Arthur Fiedler.

[36] Part of this disparity in activity may be attributed to Scriabin's relative youth at the time of his tour. Saint-Saëns, the veteran 'Dean of French composers', as he was often called, was seventy-one at the time of his

For Strauss and Saint-Saëns, American agencies had produced extensive tour programmes, advertising pre-arranged concerts, providing biographical information, portraits, and almost invariably, the composer's printed autograph. For Scriabin, there was commemorative stationary with a portrait and the first two bars of the Nocturne for the Left Hand in the composer's manuscript, but, for obvious reasons, no extensive list of pending engagements—none were yet planned.[37] Scriabin travelled to the United States in a second-class cabin on the SS *Ryndam*, arriving in Hoboken, New Jersey on 11 December 1906.[38] The reception was modest in comparison with those for his more eminent predecessors, some of whom were greeted by crowds, formal delegations, ambassadors, and consuls. Scriabin was met at the gangway by Altschuler and Francke. Though Faubion Bowers places several newspaper reporters alongside them, Scriabin's arrival seems to have gone largely unnoticed in the press. Aside from an announcement in the *Musical America*, there were apparently no references to his landing in the *New York Times*, the *Sun*, the *New-York Tribune*, or the *Evening Post*; Scriabin's name only begins to appear in concert advertisements for his debut.

Scriabin's failure to achieve significant public notoriety was largely beyond his control. Altschuler's orchestra, only in its fourth season, had not yet cultivated a wide, diverse, or—most importantly—a wealthy audience. Though Altschuler had some significant patrons, concert reviews invariably remarked on the half-filled auditorium, often denigrating ethnically Russian concertgoers as boorish or uncultured.[39] The engagement of a less-established manager, and the modest employment of newspaper advertisements all

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American tour. Bruch, in 1883, was in his mid-forties. Strauss was the closest to Scriabin in age at the times of their respective tours (thirty-nine and thirty-five respectively), but their public profiles differed drastically.

[37] Bowers, *Scriabin* (1969), vol. 2, 142, 148.

[38] Bowers, *Scriabin* (1969), vol. 2, 140.; The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation Passenger Search, *Ryndam*, 11 December 1906, frame 431, line number 9, passenger ID 800027010051.

[39] 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5. Criticism tended to focus on excessive noise, lateness, and unkempt appearances.

contributed to a somewhat marginal reception. However, Scriabin exacerbated these factors in two related ways. First, Scriabin refused to play any music but his own, drastically reducing his concert repertoire. When Altschuler broached the subject of possible chamber music engagements, Scriabin made his position clear:

> First, to my participation in a chamber music concert. I can only participate with a sonata of my own, as I have not composed anything for a chamber music ensemble and I never play the works of other composers.[40]

This uniformity of material in his recitals and in his symphonic programmes was one of the main causes of critical rebuke. The *Times* wrote of his second Mendelssohn Hall recital:

> There are not many composers whose works can furnish forth an evening's programme without danger of monotony. Mr. Scriabine is not one of these. His pieces were slight both in length and in musical content. Many of them are lacking in originality or in striking musical thought.[41]

Scriabin's refusal to play other composers' music presented a related challenge: there was only a single work on which he could appear alongside a symphony orchestra, his Piano Concerto in F-Sharp Minor, Op. 20. Unlike every other visiting composer from the 1880s to the First World War, Scriabin did not conduct (though he had three major symphonies and the *Rêverie*, Op. 24, which he might have directed with orchestra). What resulted was a peculiar dilemma—a visiting composer who could either appear on an orchestral stage with one concerto, or in solo recitals exclusively of his own works. On this account, critical objection specifically related to his choice in repertoire.

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[40] Scriabin to Altschuler, Brussles, October 1906. „Erstens, zu meiner Mitwirkung an einem Kammermusikkonzert. Ich kann mich daran nur mit einer Sonata von mir beteiligen, da ich nichts für Kammermusikensemble komponiert habe und andere Komponisten nie spiele." in *Alexander Skrjabin: Briefe*, ed. Michail Druskin (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam, 1988), 265–66. Translation mine. Scriabin wrote in French or Russian, but I have been unable to see the original manuscripts of these letters. They have been translated into German by Michail Druskin, and I have then translated them into English when useful.

[41] 'Mr. Scriabine's Recital', *New York Times*, 31 January 1907, 9, col. 2.

Indeed, other distinguished Russian pianists enjoyed great American followings.[42] It is ironic that one of the primary champions of Scriabin's work in America, Josef Lhévinne, along with the Polish-born, Rubinstein-protégé, Josef Hofmann, would also largely overshadow the visiting composer during the course of their tours. Hofmann seems to have given the major American premieres of several of Scriabin's piano works, but his advocacy of Russian music was always in the context of otherwise varied programmes.[43] Likewise, Lhévinne's programmes, while still including modern Russian works, demonstrate largely catholic musical tastes.[44] His Carnegie Hall recital of Sunday, 11 March 1906 offers a representative sample of his repertoire:

Bach:	Prelude and Fugue in D Major, BWV 532
Weber:	Piano Sonata No. 1 in C Major, Op. 24
Schumann:	Toccata in C Major, Op. 7
Schubert:	Impromptu in G-Flat Major, D. 899, No. 3
Mendelssohn:	*Sieben Charakterstücke*, Presto in E Major, Op. 7, No. 7
Chopin:	Polonaise in F-sharp Minor, Op. 44
Grieg:	*Lyrische Stück*e, Notturno, Op. 54, No. 4
Moszkowski:	Etudes in A-Flat Major, C Minor, Op. 64
Liszt:	*Die Loreley*, R. 209, No. 1
Strauss, J.:	Arabesques on 'The Beautiful Blue Danube'[45]

Similar programmes at Carnegie Hall on 19 March and 22 November 1906, were likewise centred around Beethoven, Gluck, Schumann, Chopin, Rubinstein, Mendelssohn, and Brahms.[46] By contrast, Scriabin's Chicago programme on 4 March 1907 was entirely of his

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[42] For a description of Anton Rubinstein's remarkable American reception, see R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[43] On 24 March 1898, Hofmann played Scriabin's Etude in D-Sharp Minor, Op. 8, No. 12, the Etude in D-Flat Major, Op. 8, No. 10, and a 'Prelude in D Major' at Carnegie Hall. Hofmann would repeat these works thrice more, in March 1901, April 1901, and December 1904, all at the same venue. In the 1905–06 season, anticipating the composer's arrival, Lhévinne performed both the Prelude for the Left Hand in C-Sharp Minor, Op. 9, No. 1, and Nocturne for the Left Hand, Op. 9, No. 2.

[44] 'From a perfectly rendered program of the things one most loves to hear, it is hard to select anything for special praise, the Chopin group was beautiful, and the Schumann "Toccata" and the Marche Mignonne (Poldini) were most enthusiastically received and the Nocturne for the left hand was both technically and artistically splendid'. *Moline* (Illinois) *Dispatch*, 14 February 1907, 6, col. 2.

[45] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

[46] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

own works.[47] Lhévinne's diverse standing repertory was not the only factor in his American success. Writing of one of his regional performances, the *Allentown* (Pennsylvania) *Morning Call* exclaimed, 'Josef Lhevinne a Lion: Tremendous Strength Characteristic of a Wonderful Russian who Played 99th Concert Last Night of First American Tour'.[48] To the *New York Times*, Lhévinne was 'a big, heavy man of robust health and personality, [a] tennis expert, high jumper, and accomplished athlete, quite different from many of the instrumentalists who have been introduced to Americans'.[49] Lhévinne crisscrossed the country, travelling to all the major centres as well as across the Midwest, performing to audiences in small regional towns and county seats. The *Daily Times* of Davenport, Iowa reported, 'Piano Sings at the Touch of Master: Josef Lhevinne Wins More Admirers for his Work'.[50] The young pianist, they observed

> has a personal appearance that is more or less magnetic. Those who expected to see a red-handed revolutionist or a down-trodden serf, were happily disappointed. Mr Lhevinne is a substantial appearing young gentleman, modest in his demeanor, and betraying none of the characteristics that usually are associated with the artist in any line of endeavor. His hair is cropped comparatively close to his head, he has a masculine build throughout, and in his renditions he brought in none of the superfluous swaying of the body or the swagger of the head that some artists have considered necessary to denote the difficulty of their task. His strength and dexterity is marvelous, and the sinews of his arms must be those of a blacksmith.[51]

Not only was Lhévinne's public presentation at odds with contemporary prejudices surrounding Russian musicians, but indeed stereotypes of musicians generally. Both

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[47] Glenn Gunn, 'Endowments and Subsidies Needed for American Art: Scriabine Tomorrow', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 3 March 1907, Sunday magazine, pg. 9, cols. 3–6.

[48] *Allentown* (Pennsylvania) *Morning Call*, 16 April 1907, 5, col. 8.

[49] 'Safonoff's Protege Here: Josef Lhevinne, the Moscow Pianist, a Robust Young Man', *New York Times*, 21 January 1906, sec. 4, pg. 2, col. 6.; 'Young Pianist Direct from Moscow Tells Story of Bloodshed: Josef Lhevinne's Graphic Account of the Riot and Civil War in the Ancient Capital of Russia—Escaped Before the Trouble Was Over to Keep His American Engagement', *New York Times*, 21 January 1906, sec. 3, pg. 2, cols. 1–5.

[50] *Davenport* (Iowa) *Daily Times*, 14 February 1907, 4, col. 3

[51] Ibid.

physically and artistically, Lhévinne self-presented as a robust specimen of [American?] manhood. Scriabin's suavely aristocratic presentation was of a different nature.

In short, while Scriabin's uniformity of repertoire and his various personal eccentricities contributed to his lack of significant success in America, his polarised reception in the press had far more to do with the peculiar expression of his Russian nationality. Scriabin's close association with a Russian diasporic cultural institution, the Russian Symphony Society, and his presentation as the voice of a new 'school' of Russian composition put him under greater public scrutiny than Lhévinne, who not only operated primarily as solo artist, but who also centred his career around mainstays of the Austro-German repertoire. Thus, while *fin-de-siècle* American concertgoers could muster great enthusiasm for individual Russian émigrés, institutional expressions of the Russian diaspora were fundamentally suspect.

Latent Distrust: Russians in American Life

Political concerns about the Russian Revolution and subsequent reaction informed many American cultural critiques after 1905. American circumspection about the Tsar and distrust of Russian autocracy was matched by a profound fear of anarchism and political assassination.[52] With the death of William McKinley in September 1901, the United States had lost its third president to an assassin's bullet in less than forty years.[53] American industry was wracked by its own violent labour disputes. Moreover, the economy had exacerbated spectacular disparities in personal wealth, which—while products of a very different political

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[52] For an in-depth discussion of American reactions see, Choi Chatterjee, 'Transnational Romance, Terror, and Heroism: Russia in American Popular Fiction, 1860–1917', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50, no. 3 (2008): 753–77.; and Jane E. Good, 'America and the Russian Revolutionary Movement, 1888-1905', *Russian Review*, 41, no. 3 (1982): 273–87.

[53] For a fascinating account of James B. Parker, who subdued the assassin, Leon Czolgosz, and the complex racial juxtaposition of a 'patriotic black hero with the treacherous foreign radical whose murderous act struck symbolically at the heart of the nation', see Mitch Kachun, '"Big Jim" Parker and the Assassination of William McKinley: Patriotism, Nativism, Anarchism, and the Struggle for African American Citizenship', *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 9, no. 1 (2010): 93–116.

landscape—could potentially result in the same urban upheaval seen in many European capitals. At the time of Scriabin's arrival in December 1906, Russia was still extinguishing and recovering from the flames of the 1905 Revolution. St Petersburg's Bloody Sunday (22 January 1905) was less than two years in memory and was only one incident in an exceptionally turbulent year: general strikes wracked Moscow and St Petersburg, Grand Duke Sergei Aleksandrovich (the Tsar's uncle) was killed by a bomb in February, and that summer, the peripheries of the Russian Empire were beset with regional insurrections. Between 1906 and 1907, Russian revolutionaries killed as many as 8,000 people, including many government functionaries and prominent aristocrats. The Tsarist response was similarly bloody, and Russia saw a marked increase in summary military executions.[54]

But in spite of the alarming conflicts at home, Scriabin himself did not develop a strong political consciousness. Indeed, he embodied some complex bourgeois social contradictions. Scriabin was disdainful of moneyed philistines, but he was a lazy revolutionary. He may have been philosophising a transcendent new world order, but he was still the product of a rigid middle-class military education, exhausted by the vulgarity of finances, and given to sartorial affectations and flights of dandyism. Bowers writes of how Scriabin largely eschewed informal address, even among long-time acquaintances and colleagues, and of his particular disdain for what he called *amikoshonstvo*, or 'the friendliness of pigs', a derogatory comment about the undue familiarity of 'common' people, both rich and poor.[55] Wary of the literal and metaphorical 'dirtiness' of money, Scriabin apparently would not even hold cash without wearing gloves.[56] And yet, a revolutionary spirit underpins much of his writing and work.[57] Scriabin may only have had a cursory

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[54] For a recent appraisal see Jonathan D. Smele and Anthony Heywood, eds., *The Russian Revolution of 1905: Centenary Perspectives* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

[55] Bowers, *New Scriabin*, 92.

[56] Bowers, *New Scriabin*, 84.

[57] Bowers, writing in 1973, expends considerable energy on Scriabin's Soviet critics and biographers, and their awkward project of reconciling his mysticism with the context of Soviet Realism. In the estimation of

appreciation of the turmoil in his homeland (writing in 1905, he observed 'we take the news from Russia very much to heart, and while we read all that is happening we experience many a sad moment'), but his aesthetic sensibility was profoundly revolutionary:

> The *political* revolution in Russia in its present phase and the upheaval I want are different. Of course, this revolution like every disruption brings the beginning of my desired moment closer. I am wrong to say 'upheaval'. I don't want to *bring about anything* except the endless soaring of creative activity which my art will bring.[58]

In America, Scriabin was largely silent on political matters, even when asked. Writing from the SS *Ryndam*, he betrays both a deep distrust of the wealthy mercantile class, but also a casual snobbery that seems at odds with the revolutionary ethic:

> I have never come into touch with the 'privileged class' of the rich idiots. The conversations are, of course, quite banal, as one carefully avoids raising questions that have anything to do with religion or philosophy. [Of course art is said to be nothing but nonsense, and most of the time, She is dismissed]. This condition is, after all, more pleasant than dealing with the degenerates. It is a pretext for going into the stateroom and exchanging the larger evil for the lesser one. I am, of course, very angry. These people have nothing for me but the greatest attention and amiability. One evening, I played in the salon on an excellent Steinway piano and then became the 'victim' of endless ovations and enthusiasm. Everyone thought it his duty to express his admiration in his own way and to ask as to how I had been sleeping. In doing so, I realized that success is not always something pleasant. But that is nothing new.[59]

Unlike Altschuler, whose Jewish ancestry and liberal political affiliations put him under close Tsarist scrutiny, the reasons for Scriabin's self-imposed exile were largely personal and marital, and his connection to the contemporary political rhetoric of his

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some, Scriabin's rejection of earlier compositional models, tumultuous relationship with the Academy, and offhanded socialist sympathies prefigured a revolutionary art he would not live to see. Bowers is more circumspect.

[58] Bowers, *New Scriabin*, 60.

[59] Scriabin to Tatiana de Schloezer, 10 [or 11] December 1906 in *Alexander Skrjabin: Briefe*, ed. Michail Druskin (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam, 1988). Translation mine. The [bracketed] text is Scriabin's own, and not an editorial insertion.

homeland was minimal. By 1906 he had spent several non-continuous years abroad, and consequently, the American press was divided on how to classify the young composer. As a Slavic musician in Swiss (subsequently, Parisian) exile, Scriabin was routinely identified as the 'Russian Chopin', and upon arrival he notably commented on the 'new French school', rather than on his Moscow Conservatory colleagues.[60] But most of the New York papers lumped Scriabin's aims with those of the Russian Symphony Society and interpreted their activities as inherently political acts.

To Henry Edward Krehbiel, Russian musical 'propogandism' was largely unwanted, a cultural undertaking foisted on New York concertgoers unwillingly. He would write that despite 'the small modicum of encouragement which the Russian Symphony Society receives from the general public, it continues intrepidly in its self-imposed task of making propaganda for the composers of Russia'.[61] *Brooklyn Life* was more sympathetic in tone, but continued the same narrative: 'Although it still lacks the cordial support of the music-loving public at large the Russian Symphony Society goes bravely on in its endeavor to give greater popularity to the works of the composers of Russia'.[62] Writing of the debut of Scriabin's first symphony, the *Sun* described the Russian Symphony Society as 'an institution devoted to the propagation of a taste not necessarily for good music, but for Russian music',[63] and even at the end of its season, the Society had evidently failed to convert the *Tribune*:

> The Last of the concerts of the Russian Symphony Society took place in Carnegie Hall last night. There was a largely increased orchestra, for the sake of the principal number on the programme, but no increase in the size of the audience, which fact, taken in connection with the other that there has never been sufficient public patronage of the concerts to cover their cost, was calculated anew to cause wonderment

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[60] 'Russian Composer Comments on New French School', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 6 January 1907, Sunday magazine, pg. 9, cols. 3–6.

[61] Henry E. Krehbiel, 'Music. A Russian Composer and Russian Music.', *New-York Tribune*, 21 December 1906, 7, col. 4.

[62] 'Sundry Events', *Brooklyn Life*, 29 December 1906, 28, col. 2.

[63] 'Some Russian Novelties: Scriabine Hears His Own First Symphony', *New York Sun*, 1 March 1907, 9, col. 1.

> as to the source of support which these concerts, devoted to a special cult in music, receive. [64]

Krehbiel's antipathy towards the movement was mostly aesthetic. As we have seen, Horowitz has identified Krehbiel as the 'dominant propagator of a distinctively wholesome American Wagnerism', embodying 'both German Kunst and American meliorism'.[65] Krehbiel understood Wagner as a reformer, not an agitator or iconoclast, firmly in the lineage of 'Bach, Haydn, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schumann', indeed 'a legitimate successor of these Kings by the grace of Genius'.[66] Krehbiel was also a passionate advocate for the music of Brahms, ignoring those European polemics which saw Brahms and Wagner as binary oppositions. In short, he was the product of a compositional heritage fundamentally different from than that of Altschuler and Safonov, one in which Austro-German music and aesthetics were enshrined.[67] The one Russian composer for whom Krehbiel had a particular affinity was Tchaikovsky, in whom he perceived both a vigorous national voice, and the structure of underlying classicism. For him, Russian modernism was beyond the pale. Krehbiel was ordinarily a subtle and intelligent critic, his reviews a combination of 'weighty scholarly learning and prose with a nose for news and a popularizing bent'.[68] But even he would stoop to conspiracy theories:

> The propogandism [*sic*.] of Russia has been a striking incident in the history of music […] and it may very well be that there are higher influences than is generally suspected, back of the movement to acquaint the Occidental world with the artists and the art of the great empire of the Czar.[69]

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[64] 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.

[65] Joseph Horowitz, 'Henry Krehbiel: German American, Music Critic', *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 8, no. 2 (2009): 165.

[66] Henry Krehbiel, *Studies in the Wagnerian Drama* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891), 2.

[67] Vasily Ilyich Safonov (1852–1918) was music director of the New York Philharmonic Society from 1906 to 1909. He was periodically criticised for his 'Russianizing instincts'. 'In the World of Music: Features of Concert Hall and Opera House', *New York Sun*, 10 March 1907, 10, col. 1.

[68] Horowitz, 'Henry Krehbiel', 165.

[69] Henry Krehbiel, 'Music. A Russian Composer and Russian Music.', *New-York Tribune*, 21 December 1906, 7, col. 4.

Altschuler's 'Tsarist plot' was not a unique fantasy of Krehbiel and the *New-York Tribune*. At the *New York Sun*, the tone was openly hostile:

> Possibly some day the secret of the astonishing support of Russian music will come out. At present the thoughtful observer of musical doings in this city can only wonder why so many excellent persons are willing to put their hands in their pockets to pay for such poor stuff.
>
> The Russian Symphony Society exists for the purpose of introducing Russian novelties to the public; but no one has yet told us why we should be pelted with these compositions. To be sure it is the privilege of the general public to stay away from these concerts, and it does so with admirable composure. Nevertheless the concerts go on and are attended by audiences composed largely of Russians, who, to put the matter as softly as possible, are not prepared to qualify as experts in the gentle art of listening to good music […] Who is paying for all this? The Russian composers are not, of that we may be sure.[70]

Echoing Krehbiel's 'higher influences', the *Sun*'s critic (probably Henderson) is much more explicit, framing the support of Russian music in terms of conspiracy. The *Sun* was not unique in imbuing its criticism with racialized language, and the *Tribune* echoed its description of unwashed foreigners, citing 'an audience whose appearance and attitude indicated large unfamiliarity with symphony concerts'.[71] Even those journalists who came to the defence of Russian musicians could still offer withering appraisals of Russia itself. The freelance correspondent Robert Butler characterised Russian virtuosi as refugees, 'highly welcome here', having fled the 'uncertainties and persecutions of their native land'.[72] To Butler, the presence of talented Russian expatriates in America was a validating reflection of America's openness and 'hospitality', contrasting Russian political oppression:

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[70] 'In the World of Music: Features of Concert Hall and Opera House', *New York Sun*, 10 March 1907, 10, col. 1.

[71] 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.

[72] Robert Butler, 'Russian Musicians: Playing and Compositions of Foreigners Charm Americans: An Un-American Protest', *Eau Claire* (Wisconsin) *Leader*, 12 February 1907, main ed., 7, col. 3-4.; *Pittston* (Pennsylvania) *Gazette*, 15 February 1907, 4, col. 4.

> Russia wants soldiers, assassins, spies and bomb throwers just now. The unfortunate land, cursed by scheming officials, political murderers posing as statesmen and a ruler that is the laughingstock of the civilized world, has no place for art in any form.[73]

Butler saves his indictment for the Russian state, disassociating solo concert artists from both the Tsarist regime and socialist agitators. But his defence does not extend to cultural institutions, such as the Russian Symphony Society, whose patrons included wealthy foreign businessmen and representatives of the imperial legation. If Russia was indeed 'no place for art in any form', institutions dedicated exclusively to its cultural production could be inherently suspect. Most American critics tacitly maintained this individual/institutional distinction, and xenophobic assaults on solo performers were controversial. Butler's defence came in the wake of an invective in the *New York Evening Post* (probably written by Henry Finck) whose sensational tone was widely derided. The *Literary Digest* relished in the *Post*'s 'delicious irony' so much that it reprinted its wailing 'Jingo cry' in full:

> One look at our concert programmes should be enough to arouse every true Daughter of the Revolution and patriotic son of the Indian Wars to a realization that the peril is upon us. The American pianists and composers are in the last ditch—we had almost said at the last bar […][74]

Bemoaning the paltry recognition of American musicians, the *Post*'s correspondent singled out eight Russians—including Scriabin—for charming 'away our dollars under pretense',[75] not realising, perhaps, that two of his culprits were in fact Polish. The *Post*'s invective bore all the hallmarks of the new nativism, and imbued artistic émigrés with sinister motives:

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Quoted in 'The Russian and Polish Musical Invasion', *Literary Digest*, 34, no. 2 (12 January 1907), 60. Probably, the original article was published in *New York Evening Post* during the week of Sunday 23 December 1906, but I have been unable to verify this. However, we can surmise its print date due to a clue elsewhere in the quoted extract: in the *Literary Digest* reprint, the *Post* critic writes that the Lotos Club 'gave a dinner to Saint-Saens the other night'. That dinner occurred 22 December 1906.

[75] Ibid.

> Is the government sure that they are not anarchists in disguise? Has it had Ellis Island inspectors at our concerts to see that no socialistic or revolutionary sentiments are conveyed to our peaceable citizens by these Russian interpreters of a people in revolt? If not, we would call Secretary Straus' attention to this grave oversight.[76]

These virulent—verging on comic—antipathies were not particularly unusual. Rather, they were representative of much broader concerns about immigration in 1906. As we have seen, immigration policy was a contentious and ubiquitous subject in the public discourse at the turn of the century. Charles Warren, Robert Ward, and Prescott Hall had founded their Immigration Restriction League in 1894 on a platform affirming the innate racial inferiority of southern and eastern Europeans.[77] In 1903, President Roosevelt signed into law an Immigration Act commonly called the Anarchist Exclusion Act. Three years later he signed the Naturalization Act of 1906, which codified English fluency as a requirement for naturalization.[78] In February 1907, the Republican Senator from Vermont, William P. Dillingham, opened the United States Immigration Commission, whose eventual determinations would severely restrict 'undesirable immigration'.[79]

These acts were primarily rooted in ethnic discrimination, but also reflected a more precise predisposition against the European peasantry and urban poor, hence the uneasy acceptability of those Slavs who were educated products of the professional classes. American xenophobia, in both its journalistic and political expression, was primarily a fear of the foreign collective—the Slavic 'mob' more than the Slavic individual. Practically, the

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[76] Ibid.

[77] The American lawyer, zoologist, and eugenicist, Madison Grant (1865–1937), author of *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), would write of Prescott Hall, 'If America goes wrong and allows our native Nordic stock to be replaced by half Asiatic mongrels, the hope of the world is gone. This issue Prescott Hall saw and saw with the vision of a prophet a full generation ahead of his countrymen… [he] served America well'. Mrs. Prescott F. Hall, ed. *Immigration and Other Interests of Prescott Farnsworth Hall* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1922), x.

[78] *An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens into the United States*, Public Law 57–162, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 32 (1903): 1213–1222.; *An Act to Establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to Provide for a Uniform Rule for the Naturalization of Aliens throughout the United States*, Public Law 59–338, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 34 (1906): 596–607.

[79] *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911).

complete disassociation of individuals from their community was impossible. As a result, the journalistic antipathy to Russian institutions—as opposed to Russian musicians—was full of logical inconsistencies. Serious musical critics simultaneously echoed the standard xenophobia of the tabloid press yet ascribed none of the boiler-plate immigrant stereotypes to their subjects. Even within the same newspaper, and indeed, the *oeuvre* of a single critic, the points of criticism were often mutually exclusive or contradictory. For instance, the Russian Symphony Society was unlikely to simultaneously acquaint 'the Occidental world with the artists and the art of the great empire of the Czar', and also propagate revolutionary socialism.[80] Furthermore, the characterisation of Russian Symphony Society audiences as boorish and unwashed masses is at odds with the image of its guests, particularly Scriabin, as gentlemanly to a fault. The only apparent consistency was a wariness of institutional attempts to propagate Russian music, and the conductors and composers—Safonov, Altschuler, and by extension Scriabin—directly associated with that project.[81] Altschuler cannot have been oblivious to this dynamic: in 1905 he formed the New Music Society of America, an institution dedicated to American premieres, with the Russian Symphony Society as its resident orchestra.[82]

Anti-Russian bias assuredly impacted Scriabin's American success, in both its obvious manifestations in printed reviews, as well as indirectly, through the limited finances of the Russian Symphony Society. Scriabin's close association with that organisation—it was the sole guarantor of his time in America—deprived him of the critical indulgence afforded

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[80] Henry Krehbiel, 'Music. A Russian Composer and Russian Music.', *New-York Tribune*, 21 December 1906, 7, col. 4.

[81] The *New York Sun* pitted the Philharmonic 'against the Russianizing instincts of its demonstrative conductor [Safonov], for 'drag[ging]' Russian music into its programmes. 'In the World of Music: Features of Concert Hall and Opera House', *New York Sun*, 10 March 1907, 10, col. 1.

[82] 'To Encourage American Composers', *New-York Tribune*, 24 December 1905, 4, col. 3. 'The purpose of the society is to foster conditions favorable to American composers and to encourage the performances of serious music. The operations of the society will be conducted principally in New-York City, where the principal office will be. The directors are Louis A. Von Gaertner, Samuel Swift, Jacob Altschuler, Modest Altschuler, Lawrence Gilman and Rupert Hughes, of New-York, and Arthur Farwell, of Newton Centre, Mass'.

to free-agent artist-refugees. Finally, Scriabin compounded his own difficulties by refusing to conduct, to share concerts, or to play the works of other composers.[83] However, taken individually, none of these impediments were insurmountable, and none—except, perhaps, the explicit refusal to play other composers—was unique to Scriabin. Scriabin's nationality set the terms and inscribed the restrictions of his American tour, but paradoxically, it was his failure to live up to the expectations of that same Russianness which guaranteed his marginality.

Musical Universalism: The Purview of Germans

As we have seen, American critics made a subtle distinction between musical cosmopolitanism and universalism. Cosmopolitanism carried both aesthetic and personal connotations. On the one hand, as William Weber argues, cosmopolitanism could connote any art that consciously mixed national idioms. On the other, it could describe an academic or professional orientation that was determinately international. Hence Saint-Saëns's extraordinary pronouncement to the American press that, 'I am unconscious of geographical, political, or even racial divisions, in music'.[84] As Daniel Malachuk has demonstrated, nationalism and cosmopolitanism were not diametrically opposed, rather, many nineteenth-century artists saw them as mutually affirming—the worldly experience of foreign styles had the potential to clarify one's own national voice.[85] There is no clearer example than the invitation of Antonín Dvořák to encourage the creation of an American idiom. Universalism, by contrast, took on philosophical—even existential—import. Universal art was that which expressed the higher aspirations and spiritual potentials of

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[83] Scriabin to Altschuler, Brussles, October 1906. „Ich kann mich daran nur mit einer Sonata von mir beteiligen, da ich nichts für Kammermusikensemble komponiert habe und andere Komponisten nie spiele." in *Alexander Skrjabin: Briefe*, ed. Michail Druskin (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam, 1988), 60.

[84] 'The Future of Music in America by Charles Camille Saint-Saens, Great French Musician', *Crowley* (Louisiana) *Daily Signal*, 25 December 1906, 7, col. 3.

[85] Daniel S. Malachuk, 'Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century', in *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*, Diane Morgan and Gary Banham, eds., 139–62 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Man, writ large. Counterintuitively, universalism was potentially incompatible with the cosmopolitan: cosmopolitan music necessarily risked superficiality—it appealed to sensibility but not the spirit.

'National' styles, imbued with traditional forms, folk melodies, and modes might constitute the foundations of a cosmopolitan music, but they were too myopic, too 'racial' to achieve universal transcendence. Conveniently, German music had long presented itself as fulfilling all the critical requirements for achieving precisely that.[86] Having established the German symphonic tradition as the pinnacle of the Western hierarchy, Aldrich, Huneker, Krehbiel, and many of their colleagues assigned the 'national' music of non-Germans to varying degrees of contingent greatness. It was a system which championed those composers who musically affirmed American expectations of their 'race', and consequently one that viewed dissenting voices with suspicion.

It was in this context that American critics appraised Scriabin with such confusion. Scriabin's strong association with the Russian Symphony Society was seemingly at odds with both his own musical idiom and his self-conscious affiliation with France. Furthermore, Scriabin's elaborate musical philosophy was deliberately universalist, infringing upon a Beethovenian and Wagnerian lineage from which he stood apart.[87] This aesthetic transgression, I argue, was the real reason for Scriabin's tepid American reception. Scriabin fitted uneasily into the existing American taxonomy, and in grappling with this difference, American critics implicitly delegitimised it.

As we have seen, this Austro-German orientation ran deep, and it was the product of intellectual frameworks extending far beyond the arts. The early-twentieth-century

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[86] 'When we think of Beethoven's immortal works, immortal both by their strength and by their beauty, can we doubt that music expresses our deepest emotional nature with unrivaled fullness, and yet so reconciles it with itself as to symbolize our highest spiritual peace?' Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 224.

[87] To many commentators, it was Strauss 'on whom Wagner's mantle seem[ed] to have fallen as prophet of the music of the future'. See 'Music', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 5, col. 4.

American *Zeitgeist* was characterised by scientism, with a broad enthusiasm for both taxonomy and quasi-Darwinist methodologies dominating the humanities. Daniel Gregory Mason, like many writers on music, saw progressive teleological evolution not only across generations of composers, but within the same one. Prizing objectivity, Mason promoted an experimental criticism wherein he applied platonic ideals of art to a broad modern repertory. This allowed him 'to perceive the greatest musicians of our day in their relations, and to get a perspective view of modern music in which they shall take their proper places'.[88] Mason's account is anchored in a series of carefully delineated artistic and implicitly national binaries. Summarising his project, he writes, 'if we arrange our six composers in a series, determining the importance of each by means of the universal and impersonal principles of art, we must pass from Grieg to Brahms'.[89] His progression, from Grieg through Dvořák, Saint-Saëns, and Franck, arrives at Tchaikovsky as the aesthetic runner-up of his era—a 'rational pessimist' who falls just short of universality, encumbered by his Slavic subjectivity.[90]

Far from anomalous, Mason's aesthetic binaries were in line with a pervasive critical project. Writing in *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*, Timothy D. Taylor argues that 'binary oppositions are by far the most salient means by which modern western bourgeois subjects made, and continue to make, conceptions of racial, ethnic, and cultural difference. Simply put, it is because of difference that modern western people can know who they are'.[91] Scriabin, however, confounded these narratives, perched precariously at their nexus. One point of contention among American critics was Scriabin's apparent failure to embody a suitably virile masculinity as an artist. In *American Manhood*, the historian E. Anthony Rotundo identifies three pervasive models of male expression, distilled by Mary W.

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[88] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 6.
[89] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 45.
[90] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 154, 156, 167. Contrasting him with Brahms, Mason associates Tchaikovsky with a 'servitude to passion'.
[91] Timothy D. Taylor, *Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 9.

Blanchard as the *masculine achiever*, *Christian gentleman*, and *masculine primitive*.[92] American critics firmly situated Strauss in the first category.[93] Saint-Saëns and Elgar appeared, at least in their presentation to American audiences, as archetypes of the [Christian] gentleman. Scriabin's place was more nebulous.

This is reflected in the seemingly contradictory appraisals of his scores as, on the one hand, trifling, conservative, 'of the salon'—hence feminised—and on the other hand as violent, vigorous, and hyper-modern. Just as there is confusion regarding the feminised nature of Scriabin's music, so too there is ambiguity in how to characterise his own comportment and playing. Absent is the clear-cut, triumphant masculinity critics associated with Strauss, 'a strenuous example of modern musicianship'.[94] All three of New York's major dailies, the *Times*, *Sun*, and *Tribune*, identified Scriabin's piano works as 'salon music', including his concerto. This metaphorical relocation of Scriabin's composition from the concert hall into the drawing room is significant, and in the rhetoric of the American *fin de siècle* serves to fundamentally emasculate the work and throw into question the manful seriousness of its creator. At the end of the nineteenth century, the piano carried two diametrically opposed gender associations in America, one of masculine virtuosity, articulated most strikingly in descriptions of Anton Rubinstein's 'rugged and virile nature',[95] the other of middle-class young women. Commending an increase in the professionalism of young female pianists, James Huneker would write in 1904,

> Passed away is the girl who played the piano in the stiff Victorian drawing rooms of our mothers… And now at the beginning of the century the girls who devote time to the keyboard merely for the purpose of social display are almost

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[92] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).; Mary W. Blanchard, 'The Soldier and the Aesthete: Homosexuality and Popular Culture in Gilded Age America', *Journal of American Studies* 30, no. 1 (1996): 25–46.

[93] '[G]ifted genius and perfect mastery appear in every form of composition by Richard Strauss'. W. P., 'Strauss' Farewell Recital: Range of His Composition Shown in Last Program', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 26 April 1904, 6, col. 7.

[94] 'The Strauss Concerts', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 5 April 1904, 9, col. 1.

[95] D. W. Fostle quoted in R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 171.

> as rare as the lavender water ladies of morbid sensibilities in the Richardson and Fielding novel… Here is a pretty paradox: the piano is passing and with it the piano girl.[96]

Whether or not Huneker was right, the association persisted, and the salon remained gender-suspect. This much-maligned 'piano girl' was, as Judith Tick has termed her, an 'Archsymbol of the dilettante'.[97] Her investment in classical music (genuine or socially compelled) had the potential to delegitimise the masculine musical profession,[98] and though she might not enter the ranks of female professional pianists, she might exert considerable influence as a patron. Such a female authority could be problematic, not only because of her social pre-eminence over professional men, but also because she could re-inscribe a sort of eighteenth-century patronage. Reflecting on his years in New York, the English critic and pedagogue Hermann Klein warned,

> The amateur who enjoys social standing can only be captured by means of personal introduction; and woe betide the foreign musician who pays an initial visit to New York unarmed with this outward and visible emblem of the international *entente*! Even then, though, it will be found that a custom familiar enough in Europe prevails here also—the hostess who purchases tickets for the concert expects the artist to sing or play in her *salon* for nothing.[99]

If the young female dilettante had the potential to undermine Music's self-negotiation into 'masculine', academic professionalism, her patron-hostess grandmother exerted even greater sway through funding. Both posed practical, personal challenges to masculine legitimacy in art, but they also presented more affective, ideological concerns. The 'morbid sensibilities' that Huneker identified were a preoccupation of many Gilded Age male authors, and as Horowitz has argued, closely associated with the untethered Wagnerism of the turn of the

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[96] James Huneker quoted in Judith Tick, 'Past Away Is the Piano Girl', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 325.

[97] Ibid.

[98] See Gavin James Campbell, 'Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900–1925', *American Music* 21, no. 4 (2003): 446–73.

[99] Hermann Klein, *Unmusical New York: A Brief Criticism of Triumphs, Failures, & Abuses* (London; New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1910), 17.

century.[100] Certain composers were more suspect than others, and Huneker would specifically class Chopin as 'morbidly feminine', a personal and metaphorical foil to both Bach, a 'manly music maker', and Beethoven, 'a genuine man'.[101] In this context, it is striking that several American papers crowned Scriabin 'the Russian Chopin'.[102] Quoting the *Boston Transcript*, Chicago's *Inter Ocean* would link the two directly.[103] What the author seems to perceive as an inflated self-regard ('I am now in my fifth period as a composer, and am working out a musical and esthetic [*sic.*] idea of my own'), is linked to Scriabin's independence from a national musical idiom:

> On the subject of Russian music, about which his visitor was naturally curious, Scriabine had little to say. To him Tchaikowsky (of course), Cesar Cui, Borodine, and even Rimsky-Korsakoff are already classics […] "But you must understand", insisted the "Russian Chopin", "though I am still a Russian, Paris has been my home for fourteen years […] so I have known very little about the young composers since my conservatory days in Moscow".[104]

Scriabin's self-affiliation with France is striking in part because it was an invention: Scriabin had not called France home for anything near fourteen years (which would have been 1893–1907, inclusive). He did not perform in Paris until 1898, he lived in Moscow for a five-year period from 1899 to 1904, and his most recent home had been in Switzerland.[105] Consequently, Scriabin's affiliation with France appears self-conscious and deliberate, doubly establishing him in an adjacent canon, outside of the borders of German romanticism. In this way, criticisms of Saint-Saëns which align the Francophone with the

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[100] Joseph Horowitz, 'Finding a "Real Self": American Women and the Wagner Cult of the Late Nineteenth Century', *Musical Quarterly*, 78, no. 2 (1994): 189–205.

[101] James Huneker, 'Feminism in Modern Music', *Harper's Bazaar*, 39 (August 1905): 692–93, quoted in Gavin James Campbell, 'Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900–1925', *American Music* 21, no. 4 (2003): 458.

[102] For one such instance, see 'Orchestral Programmes', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 20 October 1906, 5, col. 7.

[103] 'The Polish Chopin owed much of his fame to his nocturnes. The "Russian Chopin" owes his soubriquet to his nocturne for the left hand alone'. See 'Russian Composer Comments on New French School', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 6 January 1907, Sunday magazine, pg. 9, cols. 3–6.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Bowers, *Scriabin* (1969), vol. 2, 139.

feminine, the effete, or the superficial, similarly apply to the music of Scriabin. But whereas Saint-Saëns was vindicated in the American press for his 'exquisite classic art',[106] with its academicism, and reverence for the German masters, Scriabin was not. Writing of Scriabin's 20 December 1906 Carnegie Hall debut, Henry Krehbiel did not find Scriabin to 'make a profound impression', his playing 'being devoted more to external glitter than to beauty of tone and expression'.[107] He associated the Piano Concerto with a perfumed exoticism, describing a work of 'tender melodiousness […] embroidered with scintillant arabesques'.[108] Krehbiel's review implies a sort of languid degeneracy, emphasizing the Oriental otherness of Scriabin's compositional language. Though the *New York Sun* came to slightly different conclusions, its reviewer likewise invoked the cultural markers of Aestheticism.

> Mr. Scriabine is a respectable composer of highly respectable music. There is nothing improper in it, no disclosure of throbbing passions, no utterance of revolutionary sentiments. It is a melodic and harmonic embodiment of the polite literature of the Gallicized salon. Some Russian themes are heard, but they are gently buried under a flowery robe of elegant conventionalism. Mr. Scriabine is a gentleman and a scholar and doubtless a good judge of vodka, but as a composer he is open to suspicion of drinking cream of violets and smoking Turkish cigarettes.[109]

The *Sun*'s review offers a contradictory appraisal of Scriabin and his music. The absence of impropriety and 'throbbing passions' disassociates Scriabin from the neurasthenia and female hysteria bound up in the less-genteel camps of American Wagnerites.[110] This is consistent with an absence of revolutionary utterance, but strange given the general suspicion of Scriabin and his peers for the 'propagandistic' efforts of the Russian Symphony Society. Politeness, gentlemanliness, and scholarliness imply a sort of moral and personal

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[106] Glenn Gunn, 'Camille Saint-Saens, Musician and Man', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, cols. 1–5.
[107] Henry Krehbiel, 'Music. A Russian Composer and Russian Music.', *New-York Tribune*, 21 December 1906, 7, col. 4.
[108] Ibid.
[109] 'In the World of Music: Features of Concert Hall and Opera House', *New York Sun*, 10 March 1907, 10, col. 1.
[110] Horowitz, 'Finding a "Real Self"', 189–91.

rectitude, perhaps that embodied by Saint-Saëns, yet these traits—like Saint-Saëns himself—are made suspect by the phrase 'Gallicized salon'. If Scriabin is 'open to suspicion of drinking cream of violets and smoking Turkish cigarettes', he is aligned with the suspect masculinity of the Aesthetes, clothed—perhaps literally, one imagines—in a 'flowery robe of elegant conventionalism'.[111] The confused prose and mixed metaphors of the *Sun*'s review are a microcosm of general confusions about Scriabin and his *oeuvre*. Was he Russian or French? Was he revolutionary or inherently conservative? Was he gentlemanly, upright, and decorous, thus artistically barren? Or was his gentlemanliness more that of the aesthete, subtly sexual, deviant, suspect? The very insistence that 'Mr. Scriabine is a respectable composer of highly respectable music', that '[t]here is nothing improper in it', implied such a defence was necessary, and that his respectability and propriety might be—or had already been—cast into doubt. Taken together, the deliberate association of Scriabin's music with the feminised salon, and Scriabin himself with aesthetic decadence, served to undermine and qualify his output. By trivialising Scriabin's *oeuvre*, critics cast him as a curio, ancillary to the progress of modern—implicitly German—music. Had Scriabin toured exclusively with his solo piano works (described by the *Times* as 'slight both in length and in musical content'),[112] he might have been more easily and sympathetically classified. But Scriabin's orchestral works proved problematic, particularly the Third Symphony, whose 'aggressive' modernism and vigour could not be written off as trifling and 'Gallic'.[113] Great critical confusion ensued. The *Sun* described the Piano Concerto as a 'polite', 'pretty and fragile piece of salon music', yet marred by a 'battle between the piano and a small army of brass instruments' whose 'roaring affrighted the ladies'.[114] The *New-York Tribune* perceived a turning point in Scriabin's

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[111] For more on Aestheticism in American culture, see Blanchard, 'The Soldier and the Aesthete', 25–46.
[112] 'Mr. Scriabine's Recital', *New York Times*, 31 January 1907, 9, col. 2.
[113] 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.
[114] 'The Russian Symphonists. The Society's Second Concert at Carnegie Hall', *New York Sun*, 21 December 1906, 6, col. 1.

oeuvre, from 'more or less acceptable salon pieces' to symphonic works of strident modernism. Reviewing the Third Symphony's premiere, Krehbiel observed,

> Last night he put on a vastly different front, with a symphony, so called, of the extremely modern and most aggressive kind–a programme symphony, obviously designed to out-Liszt Liszt (the father of the Russian symphonists) and out-Strauss Strauss, the Richard. […] Mr. Scriabine, who has made much music with his gloves on, in this, his third Symphony, took them off […][115]

The invocation of Strauss was significant, implying Scriabin intended to best 'the master musician of modern music' at his own game.[116] As I have argued in Chapter II, nowhere was the connection between vigorous masculinity and modern compositional idioms more acute than in descriptions of Strauss. Scriabin's contestation of that mantle questioned the implicit hegemony of the German school. As we have seen, maintaining German hegemony was essential to the project of American musical *Bildung*. To America's preeminent critics, the zenith of modern music was German. But many also believed Americans would eventually inherit the throne, dominating the coming era with a cosmopolitan idiom only possible in the New World. Scriabin's aspirations towards a universal art—or indeed such pretences from any Russian musician—necessarily challenged America as the musical heir-apparent. This was cultural territorialism, and it aligned exactly with a period of increasing Russo-American political contestation. Rupert Hughes was explicit in framing American ascendency against that of Russia, which was 'sending up a strong and growing harmony marred with much discord'.[117] In juxtaposing America's 'electric-minded free people' with the 'serfs of the steppes', Hughes not only lambasted that nation's 'barbarous' institution of caste, but also reflected a profound preoccupation with the varieties of European race.[118] As Matthew Frye Jacobson has demonstrated in *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants*

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115 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.
116 To borrow a phrase from the *Chicago Tribune*, 2 April 1904, 12, col. 5.
117 Rupert Hughes, *Famous American Composers* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1900), 447.
118 Ibid.

and the Alchemy of Race (1999), nineteenth-century Americans were deeply preoccupied with the construction and protection of Whiteness. While antebellum authors perceived a fundamental racial difference between Americans of English and German extraction, by the 1880s there was a rhetorical amalgamation of the two, in which whiteness assumed a unified Anglo-Saxon identity. The result was consistent anti-Russian sentiment from, to borrow Philip V. Bohlman's phrase, 'both sides of the hyphen'. Henry Cabot Lodge, a Boston Brahmin of English descent, published anti-Slavic critiques throughout the 1890s and 1900s. A decade later, German-American Chicagoans celebrated the outbreak of the First World War as a battle 'of the Teutonic race against the Slavic' […] those 'natural serf[s]' of Europe.[119] At the turn of the century, the predominant test of suitability for immigration was a population's 'fitness for self-government […] a racial attribute whose outer property was whiteness'.[120] A reasonable artistic analogue might be a race's 'fitness for culture'. Even if the New York papers had sympathy for the individual Russian virtuosi gracing American stages, they were unequivocal in dismissing Russian immigrant audiences.[121] If America was to prove the great artistic synthesis, perfecting German music through the cosmopolitan amalgamation of many styles, two projects were essential: 1. the demonstration of a legitimate succession through the protection of that Austro-German lineage; and 2. the accession of foreign idioms in their most natural, distilled, characteristic folk-like expressions. In offering an alternative style of modernism, Scriabin was at best a curiosity, and at worst a threat.

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[119] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 42, 47.

[120] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 42.

[121] 'In the World of Music: Features of Concert Hall and Opera House', *New York Sun*, 10 March 1907, 10, col. 1.

Analogues: Slavic Composers on the American Stage

In practice, few Slavic composers conformed to the archetypes propagated by the American press. Nevertheless, faced with a broad aesthetic diversity of Eastern European music, critics were unwaveringly consistent in tacitly delegitimising it. In fact, this is perhaps the only constant in the journalistic reception of Rubinstein, Tchaikovsky, and Dvořák—the three most prominent Slavic composers to tour the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. In spite of their considerable popularity among concertgoers, in the estimation of many critics, they were considered necessarily constrained by the affective characteristics of their race.[122] However this did not require them to be hide-bound to traditional folk material. To Huneker, both Rubinstein and Tchaikovsky were 'neo-Russians', departing from the inheritance of Glinka, that man who 'lovingly plucked from the soil [Russia's] native wild flowers and gave them a setting':[123]

> Outside of this pale and viewed with suspicious eyes stand the figures of Anton Rubinstein, who went to Germany and made music more Teutonic than Russian, and Piotor Ilyitch Tschaïkowsky, who, like Chopin had French blood in his veins, his mother being the descendant of a family of French immigrants.[124]

Here, Rubinstein's peripatetic professional life manifests a deeper rootlessness: He alone 'seems to have slipped between the stools of race and religion. Born a Jew, raised a Christian, and of Polish origin, he played the piano like a god, and his compositions are never quite German, never quite Russian'.[125] Rubinstein's affectation of a German compositional idiom appeared more as an act of deference—or as the reflection of a derivative style—than as a conscious attempt to unseat the Teutonic masters. Moreover, his

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[122] Though he was a West-Slavic Czech, Dvořák's American experience bore many similarities to the experience of East-Slavic Russians.

[123] James Huneker, *Mezzotints in Modern Music: Brahms, Tschaïkowsky, Chopin, Richard Strauss, Liszt and Wagner* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 83.

[124] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 84.

[125] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 86.

primary vocation as a concert soloist allowed critics to regard discussions of his music as a secondary concern. American music criticism implicitly relied on some clear-cut musical taxonomies. Consequently, Russian composers who consciously cultivated a German style fit uneasily into the discourse and tended to be absent from the concert repertoire. Nowhere is this negligibility more evident than in the case of Sergei Taneyev (1856–1915), a composer still widely referred to as the 'Russian Brahms' or the 'Russian Bach'. Writing of the fourth concert of the Russian Symphony Society in its 1903–04 season, the *Tribune* gave Taneyev's Fourth Symphony only passing reference as a largely academic work, displaying 'more care and studiousness than it did national flavor'.[126] The *Times* concurred the next year that his 'leanings are clearly in the direction of the classical German school',[127] and that his works were more of 'calculated effect than of musical significance'.[128] Taneyev's music was at best derivative and classicist, and at worst, the attempt of a Russian composer at a musical idiom that was not his own. Ultimately, the point was moot; aside from a handful of performances by the Russian Symphony Society and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, he was almost entirely absent from the American concert repertoire and from discussion in the press.[129] Rubinstein and Taneyev stand in contrast to Tchaikovsky, whom American critics widely regarded as one of the greatest composers of his generation, second only—but significantly—to Brahms.[130] In spite of what Huneker calls Tchaikovsky's innate 'cosmopolitanism', he still firmly identifies the composer with an earthy Russianness:

> [Tchaikovsky] fulfilled in his music much that Rubinstein left unsaid. Rubinstein was a Teutonic mind Russianized; but, unlike Rubinstein, Tschaïkowsky, with all his Western culture kept his skirts clear of German. Her science he had at his finger tips, but he preferred remaining Russian […] Despite

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126 'Fourth Russian Concert', *New-York Tribune*, 4 March 1904, 9, col. 4.
127 'Russian Symphony Orchestra', *New York Times*, 5 March 1905, sec. 10, pg. 6, col. 6.
128 'Musical Art Society Gives First Concert', *New York Times*, 15 December 1905, 9, col. 3.
129 The BSO played only two works by Taneyev in this period: the Overture to *Orestes*, Op. 6 (30 November, 1 December 1900, in Boston, and 13, 15 December 1900 in New York as well as 13, 18, 21, and 23 February 1903), and the Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 12 (22, 23, November 1901 in Boston). Boston Symphony Orchestra Archives.
130 Mason, *Grieg to Brahms*, 175–76.

> his Western affiliation there is always some Asiatic lurking in Tschaïkowsky's scores. One can never be quite sure when the Calmuck – which is said to be skin deep in every Russian – will break forth. Gusts of unbridled passions, smelling of the rapine of Gogol's wild heroes of the Steppes, sweep across his pages, and sometimes the smell of blood is too much for us, unaccustomed as we are to such a high noon of rout, revelry and disorder […] We continually see in him the ferment of the young East, rebelling, tugging against the restraining bonds of Occidental culture. But, like Turgenev, he chastened his art; he polished it, and gave us the cry, the song of the strange land in a worthy, artistic setting.[131]

Huneker contrasts this noble national cosmopolitanism not with 'the big men' like Gogol, Pushkin, Dostoevsky, but with their 'scores of imitators, who wore their blouses untucked in their trousers'. Huneker derides this breed of 'rabid Slavophilist', with his 'savage reaction against cosmopolitan influences'.[132] Tchaikovsky's subtle manipulation of indigenous Russian themes and his encapsulation of a Russian *Geist* was of a higher order than the 'rank nationalism' that Huneker perceived in Russian cultural life more generally:

> […] while little men, Cui and Borodin and the rest, were theorizing and dabbling with nationalism, he, like a patient architect, reared his superb tonal edifice, built of the blood and brawn and brain of Russia, even though here and there the architecture revealed his Western European predilections. In a word, Turgenev, Tschaïkowsky, and Tolstoy were travelled men; they drank deeply at all the founts of modern poetry and philosophy, and each, without losing his native quality, expressed himself after the manner of his individual nature and experience, and how infinitely wider in range, depth and versatility are the utterances of these three masterful artists when compared with the narrow, provincial and parochial efforts of their belittlers![133]

In spite of his rousing, poetic defence of Tchaikovsky, Huneker cannot escape the same national hierarchy delineated by Mason. He acknowledges that Tchaikovsky's 'manner often exceeds the matter; that his masterly manipulation of mediocre thematic material often leads

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131 Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 92–94
132 Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 84.
133 Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 85–86.

us astray', and that ultimately, he is 'not as logical or as profound a thinker as Brahms'.[134] In lionising these Russian musicians, Huneker, Mason, and their colleagues did not challenge the implicit superiority of the German masters or their style. Rubinstein's affectation of a German idiom was inconsequential; Tchaikovsky's manipulation of Russian material by German means was culturally edifying. In the appraisal of most American critics, neither man had tried to supplant the modern German art with their own. In any case, by the time of Huneker's writing, both had been dead for a decade. Whatever threat they posed died with them.

Dvořák suffered a more variegated reception among Americans, in spite of affirming core elements of the American cultural mythos, namely its unique potential to synthesize the best of foreign 'racial' idioms. In a typical flourish, Rupert Hughes called him Dvořák 'the invader', who 'came over here from Macedonia to help us'.[135] Though he resented the image of 'Dvořák-as-prophet', Hughes was happy to concede the composer's pedagogical influence:

> Long before Dvôrák [*sic*.] discovered America, we aboriginals had been trying to invent a national musical dialect which should identify us […] But Dvôrák is to credit for taking the problem off the shelf, and persuading our young composers to think. I cannot coax myself into the enthusiasm some have felt for Dvôrák's own explorations in darkest Africa […] But almost anything is better than the phlegm that says, "The old ways are good enough for all time;" and the Bohemian missionary must always hold a place in the chronicle of American music.[136]

Two years later, Mason expressed similar reservations about Dvořák's enthusiasm for African American folk music, associating this aesthetic interest with Dvořák's own relatively humble upbringing. In spite of his clear affection for Dvořák, he describes the composer

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[134] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 91–92.

[135] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 77. Having just called Dvořák a Macedonian, Hughes's replacement of the *háček* over the 'r' with a circumflex over the 'o' is probably meant as part of the joke.

[136] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 129.

not just in terms of class, but of caste. Just as Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein's bourgeois cosmopolitanism ultimately inhibited their artistic pre-eminence, so too did Dvořák's working-class, Slavic myopia.

> […] if Grieg is personal, Dvořák is at most national. He is too deep-dyed a Bohemian to be a complete citizen of the world. Not only is his style curiously provincial, with its uneven rhythms of folk-song, and its strong dance-like metrical schemes, and its florid coloring, but his substance is too ornate and too sweet to be profoundly significant. He is a "natural" musician raised to the nth power, but he is not enough a scholar to relate himself very vitally with the general growth of his art.[137]

In this understanding, Dvořák's Bohemianisms were ultimately insurmountable, and though the material circumstances of his childhood might have been overcome, the aesthetic orientations they engendered could not be:

> Here was a man, originally a Bohemian peasant, a village butcher's son, who for years had endured the most grinding poverty, the most monotonous obscurity, the most interminable labor for power and recognition, coming at last, a famous musician, to hear his works performed and his genius extolled in a great, enthusiastic country that wanted, and was "willing to pay for," a school of music. […] From first to last, whether in Mühlhausen, Prague, London, or New York, he is essentially a peasant. His deepest moral trait is the dumb persistence, the unthinking doggedness, of the peasant. His mental atmosphere is the peasant's innocence of self-consciousness, his unintrospective candor.[138]

Remarkably, Mason levies these criticisms while still identifying Dvořák as one of the great musicians of his age. In his less-qualified praise, Mason links the composer to the affirmation of a classic American immigrant narrative: 'Dvořák's reception in New York was an appropriate outward sign of victory achieved over peculiarly indifferent destiny by peculiarly indomitable pluck'.[139] In Mason's explicit hierarchy of contemporary masters, Dvořák occupies a lower stratum—second from last, to be precise—but he is still a master.

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[137] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 41.
[138] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 73–75.
[139] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 74.

He embodies a contingent, specifically Slavic greatness: 'He took Parnassus by storm, as it were, overran rather than scaled it, and was victor more by quantity than quality of performance'.[140] In contrast to his Russian analogues, Dvořák's compositional nationalism did not pose any existential threats. A politically disenfranchised Czech in Austria-Hungary, Dvořák's proximity to Czech independence campaigns naturally resonated with his American audience. In 1893, his 'Bohemia Day' performance at the World's Columbian Exposition was introduced by a notable Czech-American, the Wisconsin Lieutenant-Governor, Charles Jonas (born Karel Jonáš, 1840–1896), who

> eulogized the Bohemians of America for their love of a free country and their loyalty to the Stars and Stripes. The speaker was sorry that the Banner of Bohemia was nowhere to be seen in the buildings of the White City, but he was proud that the products of Bohemian skill and invention occupied the most conspicuous position in the Austrian section.[141]

Dvořák's performance was attended by some 8,000 spectators, many Czech, and waving the 'red and white colors under which they and their brave forefathers [had] been fighting for liberty more than 200 years'.[142] While the Bohemian national cause elicited American sympathy, Russian political ascendency could not. Huneker took a cautionary tone:

> Napoleon prophesied that before the end of the century Europe would be either Republican or Cossack, and only a few years ago the Moscow *Gazette* exultantly proclaimed that the "twentieth century belongs to us." […] On the doorsill of the new century this old-young nation, if not master, is almost a determining factor in politics, art and literature […] In politics Russia is the unknown quantity that fills the sleep of statesmen with restless dreams'.[143]

Evidently, the critics were losing sleep also. As Krehbiel had warned 'as far back as 1885', 'Ware the Muscovite!'.[144] Russia's peculiar development as an 'old-young nation' necessarily

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[140] Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms*, 82.
[141] 'Bohemia at the Fair', *Chicago Tribune*, 13 August 1893, 2, col. 1.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Huneker, *Mezzotints*, 82.
[144] Ibid.

pitted it against the United States, the archetypical 'young nation', whose identity was likewise bound up in its complex relationship with Western Europe. No patriotic American artist could allow Russia to inherit the Old-World mantle when that role belonged to America's 'electric-minded free people'.[145] Consequently, American critics tendentiously characterised the successes and abilities of Russian composers, extolling their picturesque, 'national' character as a way of establishing them in an adjacent canon, outside of the Austro-German lineage. Modernism was not the domain of Russians, and Russian pretences to a new, modernist language were inherently suspect.

Scriabin and the Ascendant Modernism

Scriabin's most extreme transgression then, was the propagation of a bold modernism at odds with that of the Austro-German aesthetic monopoly. Scriabin's disassociation from both Tchaikovsky's refined, national cosmopolitanism, as well as the rustic nationalism of The Five, was additionally problematic. Unlike Rubinstein, whose conservative German idiom could be written off as derivative, Scriabin's unique modernism was intended as a furtherance of musical development, the next step in an aesthetic progressive evolution. American critical reaction was generally confused, and reviews varied widely in their approach to Scriabin's music. As we have seen, New York critics often feminised Scriabin's early repertoire, relegating it to the salon. Scriabin's symphonic music was less easily dismissed. The sheer Straussian forces required to produce his First and Third Symphonies demanded more deliberate critical appraisals. In the case of the First Symphony, whose first movements are cast in a more traditional symphonic mode, critics still applied much of the same 'salon' rhetoric. The *New York Sun*'s coverage of the premiere merits reproducing in full:

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[145] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 447.

SOME RUSSIAN NOVELTIES

SCRIABINE HEARS HIS OWN FIRST SYMPHONY

The Russian Symphony Society's Fifth Concert
an Entertainment of New Music
–Lhevinne Thunders Upon a Piano
and the Wondrous Cat Crawls Again.

Pushkin's "wondrous learned cat" of Russian song and story crawled again last night in Carnegie Hall. The occasion was the fifth concert of the Russian Symphony Society, an institution devoted to the propagation of a taste not necessarily for good music, but for Russian music. The principal industry of this society is the importation of orchestral novelties from the land of the Little Father, and hence the programme of last evening's concert was composed entirely of new things. These were the introduction to Musorgski's "The Fair of Sortschinsk," Alexander Scriabine's first symphony, Rubinstein's "Caprice Russe" for piano and orchestra, and Hippolitoff-Ivanoff's second "Caucasian" suite, entitled "Iveria." The piano player was Josef Lhevinne.

Mr. Scriabine is at present a guest of the Russian Symphony Society, and sat in a box last evening listening to his own music. The audience fell upon the scherzo with feet and hands and Mr. Scriabine was compelled to rise and bow many times, after which Conductor Modest Altschuler repeated the movement. Thus to Mr. Scriabine's symphony belongs the place of honor. Let us, then, begin by confessing that all these young Russians have a certain routine of composition. Their works are neatly fashioned and the parts fit together with no little nicety. They have tunes characteristic of their race and national disposition, and one is never at a loss to fancy that he hears the sobbing of the melancholy winds across the steppes echoed in the sorrowful heart of people of minor moods.

In the barbaric bursts of power and even savagery to be found in the fiery compositions of Tschaikowsky one may easily read the emotions of a people ready when the call comes to dance the Carmagnole in the streets of St. Petersburg. On the other hand in certain compositions of Rimsky-Korsakoff one hears all the lore of that wondrous learned cat, which when it crawls to the right sings a song and when it crawls to the left tells a story.

In the orchestral music of Alexander Scriabine the attentive ear can catch a faint echo of all these things, and even at times also an echo of the language of both Tschaikowsky and Rimsky-Korsakoff. But while Tschaikowsky's idioms are throbbing with nationalism and vital with the blood of the people and while the fancies of

> Rimsky-Korsakoff are often tinged with the purple and gold of the Orient and illuminated with the light of Arabian fable the elegant formularies of Mr. Scriabine translate all into the polite language of the drawing room.
>
> In the E major symphony, heard last night, all the gentlemanlike accomplishments of this composer stand disclosed to their best advantage. There is a factitious atmosphere of grief and woe in this composition. We cannot avoid the conclusion that the musician seeks to embody serious sorrows. It is as if he strove decorously to paint in tones some tumultuous tragedy in the life of a butterfly or to narrate the history of a cold old crime misbegotten under the harvest moon by an erring katydid.
>
> Serpentine themes drag their sinuous, slow and scaly folds along under a dank overgrowth of orchestration. Melodic murmurs search for the unsearchable and delve for the unfathomable. And when the themes emerge from the orchestral thicket there is a sudden end of all the crawling and searching and delving and the inevitable double bar terminates the movement.
>
> Thus is fashioned music à la Charlotte Russe […][146]

While this review could be the work of Edward E. Ziegler, or William James Henderson,[147] it is most likely by Huneker, then officially the *Sun*'s art critic. Huneker's style is distinctive—breezy, ironic, and saturated with metaphor and literary allusion. As discussed earlier, Huneker made his artistic sensibilities clear, and it was in the Austro-German masters that he perceived robust, artistic manhood, musically expressed. Thus, otherness appears as the principal attraction of Russian music. It is either barbaric, vigorous, virile, or else it is fanciful, Oriental, mythological. It is not 'of here'. The 'gentlemanlike' quality of Scriabin's music places him apart from his peers. 'The attentive ear'—though perhaps not the inattentive one—'can catch a faint echo' of Scriabin's Russian inheritance, but it is transmuted 'into the polite [read: feminine] language of the drawing room'. Huneker's rhetorical distinction is not entirely unfounded; the other works on the programme, 'The

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[146] 'Some Russian Novelties: Scriabine Hears His Own First Symphony', *New York Sun*, 1 March 1907, 9, col. 1. Pushkin's 'learned cat' appears in the prologue in his 1820 epic fairy tale, *Ruslan and Ludmila*. The cat is tied to a tree by a golden chain, as he walks back and forth, he varyingly sings and declaims.

[147] Ziegler was an assistant music critic at the *New York Sun* until his appointment as Secretary of the Metropolitan Opera Company in 1916. There was one other long-time *New York Sun* commentator, Montgomery Schuyler (1843–1914), but by 1907, he was almost most likely retired.

Fair of Sortschinsk', 'Caprice Russe', and the second 'Caucasian' suite, are all obvious expressions of Russian compositional nationalism.[148] Only Scriabin's work is a multi-movement romantic symphony without descriptive titles. Cast firmly in a Beethovenian mould with a choral finale (though the last movement was omitted in this performance), Scriabin's Symphony No. 1 in E Major ends with a hymn to the redeeming power of art.[149] Scriabin's text, devoid of the intense, 'theosophistic' mysticism that characterises his later work, is also not identifiably 'Russian' in theme, drawing neither on an historical nor mythological narrative. In fact, it is a remarkable expression of early-nineteenth-century German romanticism, firmly anchored in the poetry of Goethe and Schiller, even with similarities to Franz von Schober's *An die Musik*.[150] Regardless of its Austro-German rhetorical inheritance, the symphony did not impress Huneker. In his estimation its primary failing was superficiality, even melodrama; the piece is stormy, overly serious, but built upon insubstantial foundations—a tragedy, but a tragedy of butterflies and katydids. Yet at the same time, the piece is somehow sinister, serpentine, and dank. If Scriabin's thematically and structurally conventional first symphony proved problematic for the New York critics, his *Poème Divin* was untenable. Writing of its 14 March 1907 premiere, Krehbiel of the *New-York Tribune* and an unknown reviewer of the *Sun* (probably also Huneker) offered rebukes. Critically, their comments presage a later American and German tendency to conflate certain veins of modernism with sterility.[151] In these instances, American reviewers focussed

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[148] Mussorgsky, *The Fair of Sortschinsk* (1874–1880); Rubinstein, *Caprice Russe* in C Minor for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 102 (1878); Ippolitov-Ivanov, *Caucasian Sketches*, Suite No. 2, Op. 42, 'Iveria' (1896).

[149] In English, the text reads, O wonderful image of the Divine, / Harmony's pure Art! / To you we gladly bring / Praise of that rapturous feeling / […] Let us sing the praises of Art! / Glory to Art / Glory forever!

[150] Franz Schubert, *Schubert's Werke, Serie XX: Sämtliche einstimmige Lieder und Gesänge*, vol. 5, ed. Eusebius Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), 86.

[151] It was in this vein that the composer Hans Pfitzner would describe the works of the Second Viennese School, with 'an explicitly gendered, and sexualised metaphor: modernist musicians are not just bad or incompetent, but "impotent", lacking in creative force and unable to "reproduce".' Claire Taylor-Jay, '"I am Blessed with Fruit", Masculinity, Androgyny and Creativity in Early Twentieth-Century German Music', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 184.

on the philosophical verbiage of Scriabin's program as a sort of shallow pretence. Krehbiel's review in *New-York Tribune* is worth reproducing in full:

A RUSSIAN SYMPHONY.

The Last of the concerts of the Russian Symphony Society took place in Carnegie Hall last night. There was a largely increased orchestra, for the sake of the principal number on the programme, but no increase in the size of the audience, which fact, taken in connection with the other that there has never been sufficient public patronage of the concerts to cover their cost, was calculated anew to cause wonderment as to the source of support which these concerts, devoted to a special cult in music, receive. But that is of no consequence here. The feature about which interest centred last night was the third symphony of Alexander Scriabine, a Russian composer, who, it has been said, was brought to this country through the agency of the society, whose compositions have played an important role in its lists this season and who, besides, has given recitals, here and there, of his pianoforte compositions. At the society's concerts we had heard a concerto for pianoforte and a symphony before the production of last night: at his recitals a considerable number of more or less acceptable salon pieces. Last night he put on a vastly different front, with a symphony, so called, of the extremely modern and most aggressive kind–a programme symphony, obviously designed to out-Liszt Liszt (the father of the Russian symphonists) and out-Strauss Strauss, the Richard. Neither task is easy, but, as things are going in music nowadays, M. Scriabine went about it in the approved way. The clearest and briefest definition of this way can best be set forth thus: When you have nothing in particular to say, say it as bombastically as possible, and call in the aid of a voluminous programme. Roil the waters with much blathering of brass and much literary ink; then, at any rate, if your message fails of understanding, you may claim relationship with the progressists [*sic.*] in art and rail at the conservatives who are blind to the beckoning light. Mr. Scriabine, who has made much music with his gloves on, in this, his third Symphony, took them off, and impressed an extraordinary array of instruments, the most assertive of which are to be found in the wind choirs, especially the brass. The mission of these instruments, in general, is to keep the harmonic waters turbid, and ever and anon to make stentorian proclamation of a Musical Thought. A gracious press agent will tell you what this thought is–that is what it signifies. It, with a few companion thoughts, less aggressively proclaimed, sings the "Divine Poem"–for that is what the symphony is. Together the instruments, with a

failure to come to any harmonious agreement among themselves, which is amazing, nevertheless, if the composer and his press agent are correct in their exposition, tell us "something of the emotional side of the composer's philosophy of life"; for instance, that his creed is not wholly pantheistic, nor theosophistic, but a little of both. Also, if we may put in a modest guess, that he is not wholly agreed with the atomic theory, has some doubts about Darwinianism, prefers to look upon the nebular theory as merely a good enough working hypothesis, is skeptical about infant damnation, scorns the multiplication table as prosaic and a matter of vulgar faith and is prone to the belief that humanity might be redeemed if it gave up eating meat and emigrated to the tablelands of Tibet. But we should not insist upon this conjecture so long as the composer has told us himself of the content of his wonderful symphony. Nothing can surpass his official utterance, and we therefor reproduce it, though it be to our own utter confusion:

The composer of "Le Divin Poëme" has sought to express therein something of the emotional (and therefore musically communicable) side of his philosophy of life. Mr. Scriabine is neither a Pantheist nor a Theosophist, yet his creed includes ideas somewhat related to each of these schools of thought. The three divisions of this symphony (they are joined without pause) are entitled "Luttes" (struggles), "Voluptes" (ecstasies), and "Jeu Divin" (creative force consciously exercised). The first and third parts are marked allegro; the second is a slow movement. A short, slow introduction proclaims the opening theme, which to the composer means the affirmation of conscious existence, of the co-existence of matter and spirit in the Ego. This theme, begun by the bassoons and basses, ends with a militant ascending interval in the trumpets that may be the equivalent of Je suis (I am). The spirit that affirms is affrighted at the audacity of its thought, and sinks into an abyss of mysticism. A struggle begins between two forms of the new allegro theme of the first movement, as in a soul now confident, now obsessed by doubt and fear. The slow movement, "Voluptes," is built upon two contrasting themes. The first, introduced by the flutes, denotes to the composer the soul's affirmation of the sublime; the second, given out by a solo violin, the desire of the soul for the ecstatic joy of self-annihilation, of the merging of the spirit into nature. Lovely episodes mark this slow movement. The final allegro, "Jeu Divin," brings up in large and triumphant form the theme of affirmation of the introduction.

Here we have crystallized, and now forever preserve like a fly in amber, the contents of this composition, which, when Mr. Nikisch produced it in Paris in May, 1905, caused a public outburst of disapproval, but last night was tumultuously acclaimed by an audience whose appearance

and attitude indicated large unfamiliarity with symphony concerts. As has been indicated, the music of this symphony is very different from that heretofore heard of Mr. Scriabine's composition. It is indeed in some respects different for the good. It has indubitable strength. As contrasted with Mr. Scriabine's first symphony, his concerto and his piano pieces for the salon, it indicated a capacity to handle masses for which we had not given him credit. But, like the music which it imitates, it betrays that it was inspired from without rather than from within, and like much of that music it pursues the ugly and the painful, as if they were things to woo instead of to be shunned in art. Its fantastic programme has nothing more to do with it than the religion of the Hottentots, nor does it help to an appreciation of it. It is simply the product of a fine talent lost in vagaries, like much of the music written by the cleverest composers to-day. […][152]

The *New York Sun* offered an equally striking review, probably written by Huneker:

MORE SCRIABINE MUSIC.

HIS SYMPHONY "THE DIVINE POEM" IS PRODUCED.

The Russians had another field day in music yesterday. In the afternoon Joseph Lhevinne, their chosen pianist, gave a recital in Carnegie Hall with the aid of his wife [… a description of Lhévinne's solo selections follows].

In the evening the same audience chamber was occupied by a large gathering assembled for the purpose of applauding the efforts of the Russian Symphony Orchestra. The programme consisted of Musorgski's "Klovanschshina" [*sic.* 'Khovanshchina'] prelude, Scriabine's third symphony, entitled "The Divine Poem," the first movement of Davidoff's third 'cello concerto, D major, and Glazounoff's symphonic poem, "Stenka Rasin." The solo performer was Alwyn Schroeder.

The most ambitious number on this list was the symphony of Mr. Scriabine. This work was produced in Paris in Mary, 1905, under the direction of Arthur Nikisch. According to the explanatory programme note furnished last evening the composer has attempted in this work to express something of the emotional side of his philosophy of life. The three movements, which are played without intermission, are entitled "Struggles," "Ecstasies" and "Jeu divin," which in this case may be accepted as equal to "The Divine Afflatus"

[152] [Henry Krehbiel], 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.

Naturally the first and third movements are marked allegro and the second is slow. Equally naturally the positive theme of the first movement emerges in pealing proclamation in the finale as the embodiment of triumph. Let us hasten to add that this first theme, we are informed, means to the composer "the affirmation of conscious existence, of the coexistence of matter and spirit in the ego." The theme ends with a trumpet phrase which signifies "I am." The spirit that affirms, singularly, in contrast to Boito's spirit who denies is overwhelmed by the consciousness of its own identity and sinks into an abyss of mysticism. Hence comes the struggle.

Let us confess that this first part of the symphony is its most successful passage. Of the coexistence of matter and spirit in the ego theme we may not feel altogether certain, but about the matter part of it there is never room for a moment's doubt. There is an abundance of matter, and it is most obvious matter at that. No one can mistake it for spirit.

Nor can we fail to discern the fright of the soul at its own audacity, for when it sinks into an abyss of mysticism the symphony sinks thither with such swiftness and appalling certainty that we find ourselves swirling along with poor Ego in the dark and dismal depths, confident that there are more things in Mr. Scriabine's philosophy than are dreamed of in heaven and earth.

The ecstacies [*sic*.] are breathed forth in violin solos decorated with shivers among the wood wind instruments and rapturous tinkles on the harp and glockenspiel. In vain does the programme note tell us that the flute theme affirms the soul's belief in the sublime. Mr. Scriabine knows as well as any other musician that a flute is never sublime.

No, that flute theme paints the thrills of the composer's spirit in the sheer joy of scattering little black dots with long tails on wide sheets of ruled paper. It is the song of the creative power in the Scriabine soul, the separation of its spiritual from its material Ego and its mingling with nature in the supreme hymn of symphonic pantheism.

One could fill pages of newspapers with rhapsodizing about this extraordinary publication of an inner life, but let it suffice to say that it takes a hundred men to play it, that it is scored with fierce insistence on the full capacity of every instrument from the first violin to the double bassoon, that it has more convolutions than the "Symphonia Domestica" and that it is charged with more shrieking discords than anything that Vincent D'Indy ever conceived in his most abandoned moments. It was performed with deadly effect.

> When it was past, the audience called out Mr. Scriabine and took a good look at him […][153]

Both reviewers take issue with actual material of the score, particularly Scriabin's often thick orchestration, but the primary concerns are philosophical. The 'voluminous programme', roiled waters, 'blathering of brass', and spilling of ink all betray a symphony which was 'inspired from without rather than from within, and like much of that music it pursues the ugly and the painful, as if they were things to want [?] instead of to be shunned in art'. In mocking the programmatic elements of the score, Krehbiel offers an exceptional summary of contemporary controversies in American philosophy and theosophy, science, and pseudoscience. Scriabin's creed, he scoffs, is convoluted and contradictory, so abstract that it is 'prone to the belief that humanity might be redeemed if it gave up eating meat and emigrated to the tablelands of Tibet'. Krehbiel's jab was further reaching than he could have known. Indeed, as Scriabin began to complete sketches of his elaborate *Mysterium*, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* whose completion would bring about the dawning of a new age, an [Indian] Himalayan stage became so essential to the project that the composer bought a sun hat and a Sanskrit dictionary. But the reviewers were sceptical of the earnestness in the *Poème Divin*, finding it fundamentally baseless: 'There is an abundance of matter, and it is most obvious matter at that. No one can mistake it for spirit'. Moreover, the Americans had sound precedent on which to dismiss Scriabin's grand, rhetorical symphony—the French had evidently done so already in 1905.[154] For all its grasps at the sublime, Scriabin's *Poème* took on for these critics a striking ordinariness. As Krehbiel concluded, 'it is simply the product of a fine talent lost in vagaries, like much of the music written by the cleverest composers to-day'. But the question remains, why was Scriabin the centre of such controversy when equally programmatic works by Strauss and Saint-Saëns were not?

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[153] 'More Scriabine Music: His Symphony "The Divine Poem" Is Produced', *New York Sun*, 15 March 1907, 9, col. 3.

[154] 'Music: A Russian Symphony', *New-York Tribune*, 15 March 1907, 7, col. 5.

American critics viewed both Scriabin and Strauss with some suspicion, specifically for their roles as 'psychologists in music'.[155] In fact, in his programme notes for the First Symphony the following season, Krehbiel would commend that early work precisely because of its innocence of a complex philosophical and psychological underpinning. In invoking a musical 'guiltlessness', Krehbiel frames compositional practice in moral terms:

> Mr Scriabine is a psychologist in music, and in his third and fourth symphonies goes considerably farther than Richard Strauss in his effort to proclaim philosophies in tones, forgoing even the help which Strauss does not disdain, of voluminous illustrative programmes. To his third and fourth symphonies he gives titles ("Le divin Poëme" and "Le Poëme Éxtase"), and has himself suggested the progress of thought and feelings which he wished them to express. But his first symphony is guiltless of these things, and those who wish to find hidden meanings, outside the simple beauty of the music, which is straightforward and uninvolved, may look for it in the poem which is introduced with thematic reminiscences from the earlier movements in the finale. From this it would appear that the symphony is one in praise of music.[156]

Perhaps satirically, Krehbiel argues that Scriabin's later works aimed to far extend Strauss's psychologism, while other critics perceived these pieces as pale imitations of the Straussian style. But uniformly, critics seemed to discern in Scriabin an earnestness and philosophical conviction that was absent in Strauss. As we have seen in Chapter II, it was precisely Strauss's lack of personal seriousness that absolved him of the philosophical and psychological intensity of his works. Strauss's cavalier attitude to the press, his wry 'Yankee' wit, and his unprepossessing figure resonated deeply with an American audience that idolised these characteristics—those of the talented huckster. Scriabin by contrast, approached American audiences with music that was heavy-laden with pathos, seriousness,

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[155] Already discussed in Chapter II, one 1904 Strauss review provides a perfect encapsulation of this dynamic. 'She Sings Under Hypnotic Control: Dr. Strauss' Strange Influence Upon His Wife's Singing', *Minneapolis Journal*, 9 April 1904, 6.

[156] Henry Krehbiel, *Philharmonic Society of New York, Sixty-Sixth Season, 1907–1908: Synopsis of Compositions to be Performed at the Third Afternoon and Evening Concerts: On Dec. 13th and 14th, 1907* (New York: Philharmonic Society of New York, 1907).

and psychologism. In private correspondence and also the rare public interview, Scriabin demonstrated an earnestness and intensity that many Americans could not take seriously.[157]

Scriabin's critical reception was affected by a variety of factors both personal and systemic. His limited commercial success was the result of a refusal to play the works of other composers, his limited orchestral repertoire, his non-appearance as a conductor, and his association with a new, slightly controversial, and still financially constrained Russian orchestra. But his general failure in the press was aesthetic. Scriabin did not present American audiences with what they had come to expect as normatively Russian music. Unlike many of his contemporaries and forbearers his *oeuvre* did not revolve around affective Russian titles, and it was divorced from Slavic dance forms and folk melodies. Russian music was the place for national flavour and consequently, contingent greatness. Those composers who existed outside of these obvious aesthetic boundaries were either negligible or a potential threat. Unlike Saint-Saëns and Tchaikovsky, national cosmopolitans whose music was still firmly rooted in their Gallic or Slavic otherness, Scriabin's music preached universality. Even attempts to subtly downplay the philosophical foundations of his music were inherently suspect, and critics would ferret them out. Scriabin presented himself as a potential musical inheritor of Wagner's universalism, but American critics had already chosen an heir: Richard Strauss.

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[157] 'Russian Composer Comments on New French School', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 6 January 1907, Sunday magazine, pg. 9, cols. 3–6.

CONCLUSION

> 'I was charmed by the welcome they gave me,' exclaimed the grand old musician, 'and, mark you, it is an absurd error to suppose that the Americans are not musical. Nowhere in the world is there a public more deeply interested and more easily touched by music in all its phases: not only by the great established classics of music, but by the compositions of men most modern, even of revolutionary musical achievement. There is no narrow exclusiveness; the Americans long for good music of whatever race the composer may be, of whatever period […] In a word, the Americans conquered me; captured me. The most alert people in the world, they are the kindest to strangers'.[1]
>
> – Camille Saint-Saëns, 1907

'Impressions of America'

As European composers, artists, and intellectuals began to travel to the United States in droves, the American tour became a professional rite of passage. Indeed, as one American critic put it, 'there is a proverb in Europe that the best musicians come to America'.[2] These tours could offer exposure, publicity, even celebrity, but they almost always entailed substantial fees. To the more cynical European visitor, America was 'a rich land for exploitation',[3] but for those artists willing to engage, it was an opportunity for genuine cultural exchange. Richard Strauss 'sailed for his homeland happy in the possession

[1] Composer Lost His Heart to Kind America: Saint Saens Says New York is Great and Beautiful City […], *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, 13 January 1907, 10 col. 1.

[2] Berenice Thompson, 'Music and Musicians: Felix Weingartner', *Washington Post*, 18 February 1904, sec. 2, pg. 11, cols. 1–2.

[3] Robert Blow, *Abroad in America: Literary Discoverers of the New World from the Past 500 Years* (Oxford: Lennard, 1989), 10.

of liberal profits and the good will of the American musical public', and in exchange the Americans had received much more than thirty-four concerts; they had had an opportunity to articulate their own musical values and ambitions, and to project those aspirations back across the Atlantic.[4] Strauss had left the United States with more than a hefty fee. If the broadsheets were to be believed, 'his visit to America [had] filled his seething brain with ideas for new compositions'.[5] To be sure, these tours were financial enterprises first and foremost—an opportunity for Steinway and Knabe to sell pianos, a way for Herman Hans Wetzler and Modest Altschuler to legitimise their nascent orchestras, and an opportunity for Walter Damrosch to diversify his own. But their success was predicated on an American public that wanted to see these musicians, and a critical apparatus that would do more than passively review them. Art and commerce went hand-in-hand.

The 'American Tour' was defined by its rituals: almost invariably, there was a welcoming party waiting at the docks, there was the Carnegie Hall debut, and a predictable circuit of cities, venues, and civic engagements. For the more august visitors, there were receptions with the Bohemians, the *Liederkranz*, or the Lotos Club. For a very small number of men, there were ceremonial wreaths, lunches with diplomats, and visits to the Roosevelt White House. But the most important ritual was compulsory, and few visitors escaped it—almost invariably, these tours ended with some reflections on America. Richard Strauss would tell the *Sun* that his visit was

> […] delightful in every particular. I was received everywhere with the greatest cordiality and everywhere my compositions seemed to have made an impression on the public that was very flattering.[6]

The *Chicago Tribune* was so eager to read his 'impressions of America'—assuming that he would 'confide any of them to print on his arrival in Germany'—that in the meanwhile they

[4] 'News of the Theatre', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 30 April 1904, 6, col. 5.
[5] Ibid.
[6] 'Strauss Sails To-Day: 'A Delightful Visit', He Says of the Time He Spent Here—Gave Him Ideas', *New York Sun*, 7, col. 2.

made do with his thoughts on American shoe polishing.[7] Every comment to the press was meaningful, and orchestras and institutions combed the foreign dispatches for an endorsement. When Strauss was misquoted in one paper as pronouncing the 'Boston, Chicago, and Pittsburg [*sic*.] orchestras "the foremost musical associations of the United States'", there was a minor firestorm. Strauss had to write back to clarify that in spite of his admiration for Pittsburgh's 'very fine' ensemble, he had said—and meant—Philadelphia.[8] But overall, Strauss was characteristically taciturn, and the American press never got the glowing reflection they had hoped for—at least in print. Strauss's real endorsements came out in his private letters to his father:

> Hotels, stations, railways, [signs of] commerce and industry are magnificent, all [of the] practical facilities shine, the twenty-story giant apartment buildings seem almost beautiful and magnificent, and are very well-proportioned. In any case, our American trip seems to pay off in every direction and everything is in the best possible way.[9]

Strauss's reflections on American cities and on the national art never materialized in public form, but his specific endorsements of conductors, orchestras, and halls did.

As we have seen, Scriabin's Russian modernism posed something of a threat to prevailing American aesthetics, and so his observations were of less critical concern. After his landing in New York and his Carnegie Hall debut, he was rarely interviewed. However, in spite of the critical confusion—even antipathy—surrounding his work, Scriabin seems to have been charmed by his own experiences with American orchestras and audiences. While his initial letters to Tatiana betray some condescension, he would spend the last few years of

[7] 'The Playgoer: Impressions of America', *Chicago Tribune*, sec. 4, pg. 1, col. 2.

[8] 'Chatter About Theatrical Folk', *Buffalo Enquirer*, 28 June 1904, 2, col. 5.

[9] „Hotels, Bahnhöfe, Eisenbahnen, Geschäftsleben und Industrie grandios, alle praktischen Einrichtungen glänzend, die zwanzigstöckigen Riesenhäuser wirken sogar auf das Auge teilweise schön und großartig, da sie in den Proportionen sehr glücklich sind. Jedenfalls scheint sich unsere Amerikafahrt nach jeder Richtung glänzend zu lohnen und alles im besten Zuge." Richard Strauss to Franz Strauss, New York, 2 March 1904, in *Briefe an die Eltern, 1882–1906*, ed. Willi Schuh (Zürich: Atlantis Verlag AG, 1954), 291.

his life defending the United States. Reflecting to the musicologist Leonid Sabaneyev (1881–1968), he would say:

> There is so much that is interesting in America, in the sense of its frame of mind… They are producing a literature, and they will certainly have contemporary music.[10]

It was Saint-Saëns, however, who would give the American critics their perfectly-tailored line. His was a narrative of European prejudices and misconceptions disproved:

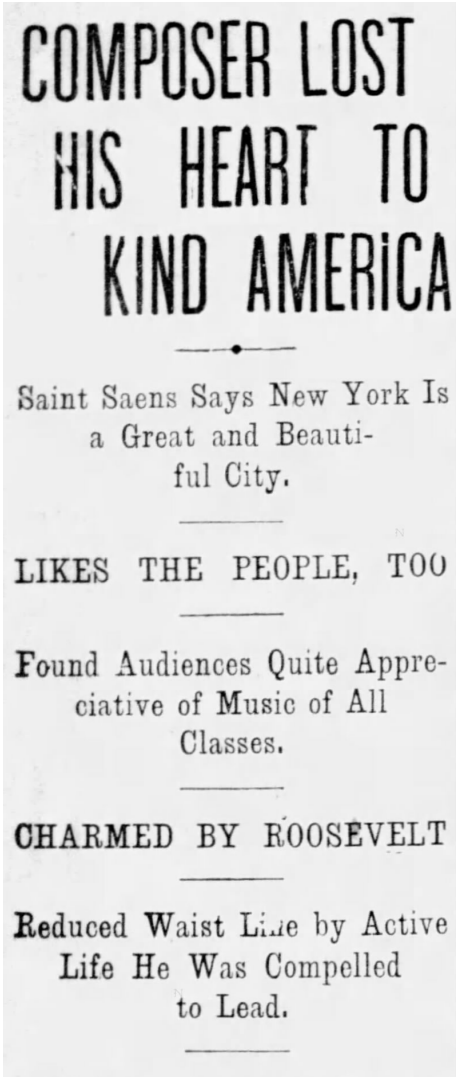
> A great many things had been said to me in disfavour of the New World. 'America will not please you', they told me, 'everything you see will shock your artistic temperament'. Pictures had been given me of excited and busy crowds, something like an exasperated England… Of a certainty, if one expects to feel in America the same emotions as in Rome or Florence, one will be disappointed. […] As I did not go to America for traces of the past, I was not disappointed by their absences. On the other hand, on reaching New York I admired the beauty of the Hudson, that great river ploughed on every side by enormous multi-decked steamers and spanned by gigantic bridges. The beauty was not of form but of strength and vitality, a beauty of another kind.[11]

In marvelling at the enormity of American skyscrapers, and the bustling activity of its streets and ports, Saint-Saëns was mobilizing the signs and symbols of American modernity. Moreover, he was identifying the nation's relative freedom from tradition and its cultural pluralism, as the most promising signs of a national art. Indeed 'promise', and 'potential' lie at the very crux of Saint-Saëns's evaluation—he was projecting American self-actualisation into the new century. In 1892, Henry Lee Higginson had introduced Dvořák by saying, 'the triumphs of our own land in music, like most of our artistic triumphs, lie in the future, if anywhere'.[12] Fifteen years later, Saint-Saëns had much the same to say:

> What pleased me abroad was not so much the present America as the idea of what America will eventually be. I seemed to behold a mighty crucible in which a thousand ingredients are mixed to form an unknown substance. […]

[10] Bowers, *Scriabin* (1969), 164.
[11] Camille Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America', in *Outspoken Essays on Music*, trans. Fred Rothwell (London: Kegan Paul, Tench, Trubner; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922), 137.
[12] 'Antonin Dvorak Leads at Music Hall', *New York Herald*, 22 October 1892, 6, cols. 5–6.

> Everything one sees in America appears, from a distance, as a kind of mirage, for we are still in a transition period, preparing for a new world. It may be that centuries will be required to give it its perfect form, and meanwhile, who can tell what will have become of this world of ours [Europe], carrying the heavy burden of a past which it cannot shake off![13]



COMPOSER LOST HIS HEART TO KIND AMERICA

Saint Saens Says New York Is a Great and Beautiful City.

LIKES THE PEOPLE, TOO

Found Audiences Quite Appreciative of Music of All Classes.

CHARMED BY ROOSEVELT

Reduced Waist Line by Active Life He Was Compelled to Lead.

Figure 5.1: Composer Lost His Heart to Kind America: Saint Saens Says New York is Great and Beautiful City […], *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, 13 January 1907, 10, col. 1.

In conceiving of the United States as a cultural crucible, Saint-Saëns was re-articulating one of the dominant *topoi* of American artistic and philosophical thought. Though he had failed

[13] Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America', 150–51.

to embody it himself—at least in the appraisal of many American critics—he was also extolling the virtues of a robust, dynamic cosmopolitanism. Ironically it was Saint-Saëns, the cool, cerebral *flâneur*, who gave Americans the watchwords they were looking for—the country he had found was one of 'strength and vitality', 'a mighty crucible' into which 'a thousand ingredients' were being mixed. There was one last theme upon which Saint-Saëns had touched; unlike Europe, the United States had been un-burdened by the weight of history. Of course, as Michael Dorsey Clark has noted, 'American society like all others perpetuated traditions and customs of many kinds'.[14] Saint-Saëns may not have gone to America 'for traces of the past', nor was he 'disappointed by their absences',[15] but as Clark notes, tradition is

> not identical with its physical traces. Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry James famously lamented the lack of ancient monuments in America, and foreigners were understandably led by the raw newness of the "American scene" to suppose Americans traditionless. It is true enough that medieval cathedrals and ruined abbeys can powerfully convey a sense of tradition, and that human beings live largely by tangible signs and symbols. But the message does not depend entirely on the age of the messenger. American society like all societies has always been governed very largely by the traditions which inhere in the law, in political institutions, in religion, in folklore, in the myriad ways in which people conduct their lives—most of them of Old World provenance. When tradition became fashionable, it did not have entirely to be invented.[16]

In fact, as Clark goes on to demonstrate, many late-nineteenth-century Americans were constantly judging themselves by 'European' standards—legally, philosophically, artistically, intellectually—the list goes on.[17] It was one of the most essential paradoxes of American

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[14] Michael Dorsey Clark, *The American Discovery of Tradition, 1865–1942* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 2.

[15] Saint-Saëns, 'Impressions of America', 137.

[16] Clark, *American Discovery of Tradition*, 8.

[17] Clark cites William M. Sloan's inaugural presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1895 as a potent example: Sloan 'delivered a sweeping and optimistic exposition of the prospects of history in the United States, characteristic of its time in associating progress, evolution, and "race life" as totems of historical continuity. "No university class-rooms are more thronged than those where instruction in history is given," he observed… "We are Europeans of ancient stock, and a change of skies did not involve a new physical birth for our society," he pointed out. Americans had built upon the past, and were continuing to do

identity and one of its greatest anxieties. How could American culture be firmly anchored in Old-World inheritance, and at the same time transcend it? How could the prevailing belief in American exceptionalism be reconciled with a profound sense of inadequacy in the national mythos? Moreover, now that the United States had expanded across the entire continent, was its Manifest Destiny accomplished, or were there new frontiers? For politicians and war hawks, there most assuredly were—they were literal, geographic boundaries, and they existed in the Caribbean, in the Philippines, and on far-flung Pacific islands. But for artists, musicians, and intellectuals, American expansionism was of a different nature. It was not an imperial project, *per se*. Rather, it was about relocating the centre. As Michael Kimmage writes in his forward to Gloria Deák's *Passage to America*,

> The true source of [American] pride was political, not commercial or territorial. Americans believed themselves pioneers in the art of self-governance. If self-governance was at the heart of modern politics, then Europe might be the real province and America the unacknowledged center.[18]

Themes of self-governance were a stone's throw away from those of self-determination; and that was the essential artistic project of American composers, performers, and critics in 1900. Their question was twofold: where did American art exist in relationship to its European inheritance, and more importantly, where would it lead in a new 'American' century? Kimmage poetically concludes,

> Americans' touching eagerness to lionize such heroes of European culture as Dickens and Tchaikovsky (invited to New York to celebrate the opening of Carnegie Hall) illustrates the proximity of Europe to America in this century of European hegemony [the nineteenth century]. Even American democracy had its roots in European antiquity and in the European Enlightenment, which is why so many Europeans were willing to make the arduous sea voyage, to endure the often terrible travel conditions in America and to suffer through the locals' long monologues of self-praise. They wanted to see what American democracy would mean

so at a time when many Europeans seemed intent on breaking away from it'. Clark, *American Discovery of Tradition*, 11. Citing William M. Sloan, 'History and Democracy', *American Historical Review*, October 1895.

[18] Michael Kimmage, 'Foreword', in Gloria Deák, *Passage to America: Celebrated European Visitors in Search of the American Adventure.* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), xiii.

> to them: it was this curiosity that distinguished their travels from mere tourism. Broadly speaking, they had a share in creating American democracy, and in the twentieth century, as nineteenth-century Europeans seemed to anticipate, American democracy would have a share in the recreation of Europe.[19]

Of course, as Robert Blow observes, 'to an extent all relations between Europe and America are spiced by judgements of superiority and inferiority on both sides', and this is why the receptions of visiting composers and virtuosos were at times confused or contradictory.[20] Of course, there is an existential question that lurks in all of these discussions: who were the Americans? Many of them, and certainly most in Carnegie Hall, were themselves transplanted Europeans—just in varying degrees of recentness and assimilation. Between 1900 and 1910 the United States saw a huge influx of Southern and Eastern European immigrants, and American politics were increasingly consumed by a new nativism. As this xenophobic rhetoric left the fringes of the public discourse and came to the fore, new coalitions were invariably formed. On the eve of these changes, the single largest 'ethnic' contingent of foreign-born Americans (or those of foreign extraction) was German. But in the face of these changing racial dynamics, German Americans had new reason to 'become Old Stock', assimilating into Anglo-American society and an amorphous white identity.

Their efforts were not one-sided. Since at least the 1870s, a cohort of German-educated critics had gradually enshrined the German canon as a universal, platonic musical ideal. Anglo-American musical institutions were appropriating German composers as their own—or perhaps sublimating Americans into the German canon— while positioning American art as its logical and legitimate heir. In Richard Strauss they found the apex of German musical modernism—the place from which American art would have to depart. In Camille Saint-Saëns, they could reaffirm classical values and articulate their vision for a robust, rooted cosmopolitanism—setting it in relief against its less grounded, and slightly

[19] Kimmage, 'Foreword', in Deák, *Passage to America*, xv.
[20] Blow, *Abroad in America*, 10.

more effete French analogue. And in Scriabin, they could confirm some of their expectations of the 'national' music of other European races and repudiate a burgeoning Slavic modernism. But all of these receptions had an important *telos*; in taking on the best of European music, in synthesizing it and modernising it, Americans could potentially transcend it. The music they would usher in could potentially become the dominant aesthetic of the twentieth century. It would proceed from Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and Brahms. It would carry on from Strauss. But in 'gathering into the spirit of the voices of all the nations', it would transcend narrow provincialism and become a new universal art.[21] In evaluating the most *Famous American Composers* (1900), Rupert Hughes would conclude:

> In the ninth century Iceland was the musical center of the world; students went there from all Europe as to an artistic Mecca. Iceland has long lost her musical crown. And Welsh music in its turn has ceased to be the chief on earth. Russia is sending up a strong and growing harmony marred with much discord. Some visionaries look to her for the new song. But I do not hesitate to match against the serfs of the steppes the high-hearted, electric-minded free people of our prairies; and to prophesy that in the coming century the musical supremacy and inspiration of the world will rest here overseas, in America.[22]

[21] Rupert Hughes, *Famous American Composers* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1900), 23.
[22] Hughes, *Famous American Composers*, 447.

Appendix A: *Richard Strauss: Annotated Documentary Calendar of the 1904 Tour and surrounding musical events*

February

Monday 1 February — Berlin: Richard Strauss, Pauline Strauss de Ahna, and Henry Wolfsohn depart.

Saturday 13 February — Hamburg: RS, PSA, and HW set sail on the SS *Moltke*.[1]

Wednesday 24 February — New York: RS, PSA, and W arrive on the SS *Moltke*.

Thursday 25 February

Friday 26 February

Saturday 27 February — NY: **Wetzler Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie Hall [2]
Richard Strauss, conductor
David Bispham, baritone | Hermann Hans Wetzler, conductor
Strauss: Also sprach Zarathustra, Op. 30 [Wetzler, Conductor]
Die Ulme zu Hirsau, Op. 43, No. 3
Nachtgang, Op. 29, No. 3
Das Lied des Steinklopfers, Op. 49, No. 4
Ein Heldenleben, Op. 40

Sunday 28 February

Monday 29 February — NY: Chemical fire at the Strollers' Club.[3]

Brooklyn: **Wetzler Symphony Orchestra**, Baptist Temple [4]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Hermann Hans Wetzler, conductor
Strauss: Don Juan, Op. 20
Till Eulenspiegel's Lustige Streiche, Op. 28
Einkehr, Op. 47, No. 4 [5]
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Ständchen, Op. 17, No. 2
Tod und Verklärung, Op. 24
Allerseelen, Op. 10, No. 8
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3

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[1] 'Dr. Richard Strauss', *Boston Post*, 21 February 1904, 21, col. 3.

[2] 'Richard Strauss Festival', *New York Times*, 28 February 1904, 18, cols. 4–5.

[3] 'Musician's Close Call: Photographic Chemicals Explode and Herr Conried Is Knocked Senseless at Strollers' Club', *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 29 February 1904, 1, col. 6. 'Dr. Richard Strauss was present and aided in preventing further disaster.' Walter and Frank Damrosch, Herman Hans Wetzler, Felix Mottle, Wilhelm Gericke, Ferruccio Busoni and the violinist Jacques Thebaud were all present, among others.

[4] 'Richard Strauss in Brooklyn: The World's Most Noted Composer Directs His Own Music in the Baptist Temple', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1 March 1904, 4, col. 5.

[5] 'Richard Strauss, Musical Man of the Hour: He Will Give One Concert in Brooklyn Next Week', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 27 February 1904, 11, col. 1.

March

Tuesday 1 March — NY: Carnegie Hall
Richard Strauss, piano
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | David Bispham, Baritone
Strauss: Ich trage meine Minne, Op. 32, No. 1
Ich Schwebe, Op. 48, No. 2
Freundliche Vision, Op. 48, No. 1
Junghexenlied, Op. 39, No. 2
Du meines Herzens Krönelein, Op. 21, No. 2
Ach Lieb, ich muss nun scheiden, Op. 21, No. 3
All' mein Gedanken, mein Herz und mein Sinn, Op. 21, No. 1
Winterweihe, Op. 48, No. 4
Ständchen, Op. 17, No. 2
Ein Obdach gegen Sturm und Regen, Op. 46, No. 1
Gefunden, Op. 56, No. 1
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3
Enoch Arden, Op. 38

Wednesday 2 March

Thursday 3 March — NY: **Wetzler Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie Hall [6]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Pablo Casals, cello
Hermann Hans Wetzler, conductor
Strauss: Don Juan, Op. 20
Don Quixote, Op. 35
Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1
Liebeshymnus, Op. 32, No. 3
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27 No. 2
Tod und Verklärung, Op. 24

Friday 4 March — Philadelphia: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Academy of Music [7]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Fritz Scheel, conductor
Strauss: Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1
Liebeshymnus, Op. 32, No. 3
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27 No. 2
Tod und Verklärung, Op. 24
- Liszt: Faust

Saturday 5 March — Philadelphia: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Academy of Music [8]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Fritz Scheel, conductor
Strauss: Meinem Kinde, Op. 37, No. 3

[6] The Carnegie Hall Digital Archives Project.
[7] 'Richard Strauss at the Academy', *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 March 1904, 6, col. 1.
[8] Ibid.

Muttertändelei, Op. 43, No. 2
Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1
Till Eulenspiegel's Lustige Streiche, Op. 28
- Brahms: Symphony No. 2

Sunday 6 March

Monday 7 March — Boston: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Symphony Hall [9]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Fritz Scheel, conductor
Strauss: Till Eulenspiegel's Lustige Streiche, Op. 28 [10]
Meinem Kinde, Op. 37, No. 3 [11]
Muttertändelei, Op. 43, No. 2
Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1
- Brahms: Symphony No. 2

Boston: Dinner at the home of Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears on Arlington Street.[12]

Tuesday 8 March — Boston: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Symphony Hall [13]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Fritz Scheel, conductor
Strauss: Tod und Verklärung, Opus 24
Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1 [14]
Liebeshymnus, Op. 32, No. 3
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27, No. 23
- Liszt: Faust

NY: Richard Strauss postpones *Symphonia Domestica* due to insufficient rehearsal.[15]

Wednesday 9 March — NY: **Wetzler Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie Hall [16]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Pablo Casals, cello
Hermann Hans Wetzler, conductor
Organised with the assistance of Steinway & Sons Pianos.[17]
Strauss: Don Quixote, Op. 35
Meinem Kinde, Op. 37, No. 3, Muttertändelei, Op. 43, No. 2
Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1
Feuersnot, Op. 50, Love Scene
Allerseelen, Op. 10, No. 8
Befreit, Op. 39, No. 4

[9] 'Special—Symphony Hall—Special', *Boston Post*, 31 January 1904, 19, col. 1.
[10] 'Big Ovation to Dr. Richard Strauss', *Boston Post*, 8 March 1904, 8, cols. 6–7.
[11] 'What Dr. Strauss Will Play', *Boston Post*, 28 February 1904, 21, col. 5.
[12] 'Society: Supper for Mr. Strauss', *Boston Post*, 13 March 1904, 26, col. 4.
[13] 'Special—Symphony Hall—Special', *Boston Post*, 31 January 1904, 19, col. 1.
[14] 'What Dr. Strauss Will Play', *Boston Post*, 28 February 1904, 21, col. 5.
[15] '"Symphonia Domestica" Postponed', *New York Times*, 8 March 1904, 9, col. 3.
[16] 'Richard Strauss Appears', *New York Times*, 28 February 1904, 7, col. 1.; Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.
[17] 'Notes of the Theatres', *New York Times*, 6 March 1904, 8, col. 3.

O süsser Mai, Op. 32, No. 4
Kling!, Op. 48, No. 3
Till Eulenspiegel's lustige Streiche, Op. 28

Thursday 10 March — Cleveland: 'Germans of Cleveland' present a 'silver loving cup' to Strauss.[18]

Cleveland: **Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra**, Grays Armory [19]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Strauss: Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27, No. 2
Till Eulenspiegel's Lustige Streiche, Op. 28
Ein Obdach gegen Sturm und Regen, Op. 46, No. 1
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3
Tod und Verklärung, Opus 24
- Beethoven: Symphony No. 7

Friday 11 March — Pittsburgh: **Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie MH [20]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Victor Herbert, conductor
Repeat of the performance 10 March.[21]

Saturday 12 March — Pittsburgh: **Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie MH
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Victor Herbert, conductor
Repeat of the performance 10 March.[22]

Sunday 13 March

Monday 14 March — Morgantown, WV: Strauss honoured with the 'Freedom of the City',[23] followed by a morning recital [programme not specified].[24]

Morgantown, WV: **Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra**,
Commencement Hall, West Virginia University
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Victor Herbert, conductor
[programme not specified]

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[18] 'Last Concert of Season: Germans Will Give Silver Cup to Richard Strauss', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 10 March 1904, 12, col. 7.

[19] 'Not for Effect, But for Melody: Richard Strauss Sways Orchestra with Perfect Control', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11 March 1904, 4, col. 2.

[20] Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

[21] 'An Immense Audience Hears Dr. Richard Strauss', *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 12 March 1904, 4, cols. 2–3.; Pittsburgh Symphony Archives.

[22] *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 12 March 1904, 4, cols. 2–3.

[23] 'Ovation for Dr. Strauss: Morgantown Suspends Business to Hear German Composer and Pittsburgh Orchestra', *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 15 March 1904, 9, col. 1.

[24] Richard Strauss, *Briefe an die Eltern: 1882-1906*, ed. Willi Schuh (Zürich; Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 289.

Tuesday 15 March

Wednesday 16 March NY: [possible concert?]
'Organised with the assistance of Steinway & Sons Pianos'.[25]

Thursday 17 March

Friday 18 March NY: **Mannes Quartet**, Mendelssohn Hall [26]
Richard Strauss, piano
Strauss: Cello Sonata, Op. 6
Piano Quartet, Op. 13
- Haydn: String Quartet, Op. 76 No. 4

Saturday 19 March NY: Lotus Club, Fifth Avenue: Strauss honoured.[27]

Sunday 20 March NY: Liederkranz Club: Strauss honoured.[28]

Monday 21 March NY: **Wetzler Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie Hall [29]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Strauss: Don Juan, Op. 20
Symphonia domestica, Op. 53 (world premiere)
Also sprach Zarathustra, Op. 30

Tuesday 22 March Providence

Wednesday 23 March Providence: [possible recital?].[30]

Thursday 24 March

Friday 25 March NY: **New York Philharmonic**, Carnegie Hall [31]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | David Bispham, Baritone
Strauss: Four Songs for Voice and Orchestra, Op. 33 'Hymnus Pilgers', 'Morgenlied'
Feuersnot, Op. 50, Love Scene
Five Songs for Soprano and Piano, Op. 32, 'Liebeshymnus', 'Sehnusucht' | Eight Songs for Soprano and Piano, Op. 49, 'Das Leid des Steinklopfers'
Tod und Verklärung, Op. 24
- Mozart: Symphony No. 41

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[25] 'Notes of the Theatres', *New York Times*, 6 March 1904, 8, col. 3.

[26] 'Strauss in Chamber Music: He Plays the Piano in His Own Compositions with the Mannes Quartet', *New York Times*, 19 March 1904, 5, col. 2

[27] 'Ask Strauss to Set Skyscrapers to Music: Walter Damrosch's Suggestion at Dinner to Composer: Honoured by the Lotos Club', *New York Times*, 20 March 1904, 7, col. 3.

[28] 'New York: A Daily Resume of Gotham Gossip', *Pittsburg Press*, 22 March 1904, 6, col. 5.

[29] 'Dr. Strauss's Concert: The Symphonia Domestica to Have Its First Performance To-morrow Night', *New York Times*, 20 March 1904, 8, col. 4.

[30] Richard Strauss, *Briefe an die Eltern: 1882-1906*, ed. Willi Schuh, (Zürich; Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 289. No reference to this concert is to be found in either *The Providence News, The Newport Daily News*, or *The Newport Mercury*.

[31] 'Last Philharmonic Concert', *New York Times*, 20 March 1904, 8, col. 3.

Saturday 26 March NY: **New York Philharmonic**, Carnegie Hall
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | David Bispham, Baritone
Repeat of the public rehearsal 25 March.

Sunday 27 March Boston: Private house recital.[32]
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano

Monday 28 March Boston: Symphony Hall [33]
Richard Strauss, piano
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | David Bispham, Baritone
Strauss: Enoch Arden, Op. 38 | Selected songs [not specified]

Tuesday 29 March

Wednesday 30 March Milwaukee: Strauss honoured by the 'Germans of the city'.[34]

Thursday 31 March Milwaukee: Pabst Theatre [35, 36]
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Sydney Lloyd Wrightson, baritone [37]
Strauss: I Hide My Love
Homeward [Heimkehr, Op. 15, No. 3]
Heavenly Messenger [Himmelsboten, Op. 32, No. 5]
Einkehr, Op. 47, No. 4
Seven Seals [Die Sieben Siegel, Op. 46, No. 3]
All My Thoughts [?] | Ah, Love, I must Part [?]
Dream at Twilight [Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1]
Enoch Arden, Op. 38

Chicago: RS and PSA return in the evening.[38]

April

Friday 1 April Chicago: **Chicago Orchestra**, Auditorium Theatre [39]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Theodore Thomas, conductor

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[32] Richard Strauss, *Briefe an die Eltern: 1882-1906*, Willi Schuh, ed. (Zürich; Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 289.

[33] 'Richard Strauss' Recital', *Boston Post*, 29 March 1904, 4, col. 5.

[34] 'Music and the Drama', *Chicago Tribune*, 30 March 1904, 7, col. 2.

[35] *Milwaukee Journal*, 1 April 1904, 6.

[36] 'From the Sentinel, 100, 50, 25 and 10 Years Ago: April 1 1904', *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1 April 1954, 11.

[37] For more on Wrightson see *Music and Musicians in Chicago: The City's Leading Artists, Organizations and Art Buildings: Progress and Development*, ed. Florence Ffrench (Chicago: Florence Ffrench, 1899), s. v. 'Sydney Lloyd Wrightson', 221. Mrs. Ffrench's name does include two f's.

[38] 'News of the Theatres', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 31 March 1904, 6, col. 7.

[39] During Theodore Thomas's lifetime this orchestra was called the Chicago Orchestra. As a memorial to their late music director, the ensemble was renamed the Theodore Thomas Orchestra in 1905, during Frederick Stock's tenure. The name reverted to the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1913. The original hall was the still-extant Auditorium Theatre in the Auditorium Building, 50 Ida B. Wells Drive. This was the venue in which Strauss performed. Since 14 December 1904, the orchestra has performed in Orchestra Hall, 220 South Michigan Ave.

Strauss: Also sprach Zarathustra, Op. 30
Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1
Liebeshymnus, Op. 32, No. 3
Morgen! Opus 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27, No. 2
Till Eulenspiegel's Lustige Streiche, Op. 28
Meinem Kinde, Op. 37, No. 3
Muttertändelei, Op. 43, No. 2
Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1
Tod und Verklärung, Op. 24

- Wagner *Meistersinger*, Prelude

Chicago: RS and PSA dine with Dr. and Mrs. L. H. Watson.[40]

Saturday 2 April — Chicago: **Chicago Orchestra**, Auditorium Theatre
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Theodore Thomas, conductor
Repeat of the performance 1 April.

Sunday 3 April

Monday 4 April — Chicago: Russian Red Cross Benefit Banquet [41]
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Strauss: Sie Wissen's Nicht [42]
Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1
Einkehr, Op. 47, No. 4
Ständchen, Op. 17, No. 2
Allerseelen, Op. 10, No. 8
Junghexenlied, Op. 39, No. 2
Winterweihe, Op. 48, No. 4
In goldener Fülle, Op. 49, No. 2
Violin Sonata, Op. 18
Gefunden, Op. 56, No. 1
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
Ein Obdach gegen Sturm und Regen, Op. 46, No. 1
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3

Tuesday 5 April — Detroit: Light Guard Armory [43]
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Strauss: Ich trage meine Minne [44]
Heimkehr, Op. 15, No. 3
Himmelsboten, Op. 32, No. 5
Einkehr, Op. 47, No. 4
Winterweihe, Op. 48, No. 4

[40] 'In the Society World', *Chicago Tribune*, 29 March 1904, 7, col. 5.
[41] 'Palmer Concert is Arranged: Dr. and Mrs. Richard Strauss Will Appear at Russian Red Cross Benefit on April 4', *Chicago Tribune*, 23 March 1904, 2, col. 5.
[42] 'Throng at War Concert: Palmer Entertainment Raises $4,500 for Red Cross', *Chicago Tribune*, 5 April 1904, 2, col. 5. 2,500 people were in attendance including the Russian, Turkish, Italian, and Persian Consuls all seated (some in boxes) in the Lake Shore Drive residence of Mrs. Potter Palmer.
[43] 'Coming Concerts', *Detroit Free Press*, 21 February 1904, sec. 3, pg. 12, col. 2.
[44] 'Among the Musicians: Coming Concerts', *Detroit Free Press*, 3 April 1904, 6, col. 2.

Ich Schwebe, Op. 48, No. 2
Freundliche Vision, Op. 48, No. 1
Junghexenlied, Op. 39, No. 2
Du meines Herzens Krönelein, Op. 21, No. 2
Ach Lieb, ich muss nun scheiden, Op. 21, No. 3
All mein' Gedanken, Op. 21, No. 1
Ständchen, Op. 17, No. 2
Gefunden, Op. 56, No. 1
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
In goldener Fülle, Op. 49, No. 2
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3

Wednesday 6 April — Cincinnati: RS and PSA travel from Chicago to Cincinnati.[45]

Thursday 7 April — Cincinnati: Strauss honoured by Cincinnati Women's Club.[46]

Friday 8 April — Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall [47]
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Frank Van der Stucken, conductor
Strauss: Don Juan, Op. 20
Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1
Liebeshymnus, Op. 32, No. 3
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27, No. 2
Tod und Verklärung, Op. 24
- Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 5

Saturday 9 April — Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall [48]
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Frank Van der Stucken, conductor
Repeat of the performance 8 April.

Cincinnati: Strauss honoured at two receptions, one given by musicians of the city.[49]

Sunday 10 April

Monday 11 April — Minneapolis: Plymouth Church [50]
Richard Strauss, piano
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Lewis Shawe, reader
Strauss: Enoch Arden, Op. 38
Selected songs [programme not specified]

Tuesday 12 April

[45] 'In Music's Domain: Richard Strauss', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 3 April 1904, sec. 4, pg. 3, cols. 1–3.
[46] 'For Woman's Eye: The Cincinnati Woman's Club…', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 27 March 1904, sec. 4, pg. 8, col. 2.
[47] 'Amusements', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1904, 2, col. 6.
[48] *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1904, 2, col. 6.
[49] Ibid.
[50] 'Strauss Recital To-Night', *Minneapolis Journal*, 11 April 1904, 6, col. 1.

Wednesday 13 April

Thursday 14 April — Chicago: Auditorium Theatre [51]
Richard Strauss, piano
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano | Max Heinrich, reader
Strauss: Ich trage meine Minne, Op. 32, No. 1
Heimkehr, Op. 15, No. 3
Himmelsboten, Op. 32, No. 5
Einkehr, Op. 47, No. 4
Die Sieben Siegel, Op. 46, No. 3
Du meines Herzens Krönelein, Op. 21, No. 2
Ach Lieb, ich muss nun scheiden, Op. 21, No. 3
All' mein Gedanken, mein Herz und mein Sinn, Op. 21, No. 1
Ständchen, Op. 17, No. 2
Gefunden, Op. 56, No. 1
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
O süsser Mai, Op. 32, No. 4
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3
Enoch Arden, Op. 38

Chicago: Dinner with Mr. and Mrs. F. Wight Neumann and the pianist, Harold Bauer.[52]

Friday 15 April

Saturday 16 April — New York: **Wetzler Orchestra**, Wanamaker Department Store [53]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Hermann Hans Wetzler, conductor
Strauss: Don Juan, Op. 20
Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1, Muttertändelei, Op. 43, No. 2
Das Rosenband, Op. 36, No. 1
Morgen! Opus 27, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27 No. 2
Till Eulenspiegel's lustige Streiche, Op. 28
- Beethoven: *Leonore* Overture

Sunday 17 April

Monday 18 April — New York: **Wetzler Orchestra**, Wanamaker Department Store [54]
Richard Strauss, conductor
Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Hermann Hans Wetzler, conductor
Repeat of the performance 16 April.

[51] 'Notes of the Musical Week […] Interest in Dr. Strauss' Recital at the Auditorium: News of Musicians', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 April 1904, Sunday magazine, pg. 7, col. 4.
[52] 'Personal Notes of People of Prominence', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 April 1904, Sunday magazine, pg. 6, col. 6.
[53] 'Dr. Strauss at Wanamaker's: A Vast Throng of Guests Hears an Orchestral Concert Under His Direction and Other Music', *New York Times*, 17 April 1904, 7, col. 5.
[54] Ibid.

Tuesday	19 April	Boston: **Boston Symphony Orchestra**, Symphony Hall [55] **Richard Strauss**, conductor Wilhelm Gericke, conductor Max Zach, viola | Rudolf Krasselt, cello **Strauss**: Don Juan, Op. 20 Don Quixote, Op. 35 Feuersnot, Op. 50, Love Scene • Beethoven: Symphony No. 8 | Wagner: *Tristan und Isolde*, Prelude
Wednesday	20 April	Buffalo: [possible recital?] [56]
Thursday	21 April	Buffalo: [possible recital?]
Friday	22 April	
Saturday	23 April	Chicago: Luncheon with Mr. and Mrs. F. Wight Neumann.[57]
Sunday	24 April	Chicago: Studebaker Hall [58] **Richard Strauss**, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano Theodore Spiering, Violin | Herman Diestel, Cello William Diestel, Viola **Strauss**: Piano Quartet in C Minor, Op. 13 Cello Sonata, Op. 6 Violin Concerto, Op. 8, *Adagio* Winterweihe, Op. 48, No. 4 Ich Schwebe, Op. 48, No. 2 Wiegenlied, Op. 41, No. 1 Junghexenlied, Op. 39, No. 2 Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4 All mein' Gedanken, Op. 21, No. 1 Freundliche Vision, Op. 48, No. 1 Ständchen, Op. 17, No. 2 Chicago: Departure to Washington DC, just thirty minutes after the concert.[59]
Monday	25 April	Washington: Richard Strauss invited to a musicale and reception at the White House with President and Mrs. Roosevelt.[60]
Tuesday	26 April	Washington: Tour of the Capitol with Senator Stephen Benton Elkins.[61] Reception at the White House with President and Mrs. Roosevelt (2:45 PM). Subsequent visit with Ambassador Hermann Speck von Sternburg.

[55] 'Symphony Hall, Tuesday Evening April 19, At 8', *Boston Post*, 14 April 1904, 8, col. 6.

[56] Richard Strauss, *Briefe an die Eltern: 1882-1906*, Willi Schuh, ed. (Zürich; Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 289. Regrettably, no Buffalo newspaper archives were available for April 1904 in order to corroborate.

[57] 'In the Society World', *Chicago Tribune*, 22 April 1904, 7, col. 3.

[58] 'Music', *Chicago Tribune*, 24 April 1904, 23, col. 3.

[59] 'News of the Theatres: Farewell Strauss Concert', *Chicago Tribune*, 25 April 1904, 7, col. 3.

[60] 'Social & Personal: Mrs. Roosevelt Issues Invitations to a Musicale', *Washington Post*, 22 April 1904, 7, col. 4.

[61] 'Richard Strauss Recital: Musical Washington Enjoys a Notable Treat at the National Theatre', *Washington Post*, 27 April 1904, 5, col. 2.

Washington: National Theatre
Richard Strauss, piano | Pauline Strauss de Ahna, soprano
Aaron Kaspar, Violin | Sydney Lloyd Wrightson, reader
Strauss: Ich trage meine Minne, Op. 32, No. 1
Himmelsboten, Op. 32, No. 5
Einkehr, Op. 47, No. 4
Cäcilie, Op. 27 No. 2
Violin Sonata, Op. 18
Morgen, Op. 27, No. 4
Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, No. 1
Ein Obdach gegen Sturm und Regen, Op. 46, No. 1
Heimliche Aufforderung, Op. 27, No. 3
Enoch Arden, Op. 38

Washington: Dinner with Mr. William Knabe of Baltimore.

10:00 PM Departure by train to New York.

Wednesday 27 April

Thursday 28 April New York: Departure to Hamburg on the SS *Bluecher*.[62]

[62] 'News of the Theatres: Farewell Strauss Concert', *Chicago Tribune*, 25 April 1904, 7, col. 3.

Appendix B: *Camille Saint-Saëns: Annotated Documentary Calendar of the 1906 Tour and surrounding musical events*

October 1906

before arrival

Tuesday	9 October		US: Saint-Saëns's birthday nationally announced, along with short biography in the syndicated 'This Date in History' series.[63]
		9:30 PM	Pittsburgh: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Exposition Hall Walter Damrosch, conductor [64] Pittsburgh Exposition Programs **Saint-Saëns**: Suite algérienne, Op. 60
Saturday	13 October	7:30 PM	Pittsburgh: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Exposition Hall Walter Damrosch, conductor [65] Pittsburgh Exposition Programs **Saint-Saëns**: Une Nuit à Lisbonne, Op. 63 [*Serenade* from ?]
Sunday	14 October		Negotiations announced for Saint-Saëns's performance with Joseph Hollman in NY, and a repeat of their London concert.[66]
Tuesday	16 October	7:30 PM	Pittsburgh: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Exposition Hall Walter Damrosch, conductor [67] Pittsburgh Exposition Programs **Saint-Saëns**: 'Serenade' [?]
Thursday	18 October	2:00 PM	Pittsburgh: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Exposition Hall Walter Damrosch, conductor [68] Pittsburgh Exposition Programs **Saint-Saëns**: Le Rouet d'Omphale, Op. 31
Saturday	20 October	9:30 PM	Pittsburgh: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Exposition Hall Walter Damrosch, conductor [69] Pittsburgh Exposition Programs **Saint-Saëns:** Suite algérienne, Op. 60 [movements 2–4]

[63] 'This Date in History', 'This is My 71st Birthday', *Vicksburg American*; *Kansas City Kansas Globe*; *Charlotte* (NC) *News*; *Salem* (OR) *Statesman Journal*; *Jackson* (MS) *Daily News*; *Minneapolis Journal*, 9 October 1906.

[64] 'New York Conductor Gets Warm Welcome', *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 9 October 1906, 7, col. 2.

[65] 'Exposition Nearing End: Conductor Damrosch and Orchestra Wind Up First Week of Engagement Tonight', *Pittsburgh Press*, 13 October 1906, 9, col. 6.

[66] 'Music Notes', *New York Times*, 14 October 1906, 9, col. 4.

[67] 'Last Week Begins at Exposition: Number of Soloists Scheduled to Perform With Damrosch Orchestra', *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 16 October 1906, 12, col. 2.

[68] 'Out-of-Town People at the Exposition: Last of Excursions To-Day for Big Point Show, That Closes Saturday', *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 18 October 1906, 11, col. 1.

[69] 'Exposition to Close Tonight: "Farewell" Will Be Played by Damrosch Band—Good Program Arranged', *Pittsburgh Press*, 20 October 1906, 3, col. 1.

Friday 26 October NY: Saint-Saëns arrives.[70] He is met by Bernard Ulrich, his manager, and Herman Klein.[71] Still weakened from illness, he descends the gangway to Quarantine supported by the purser.[72]

Tuesday 30 October Boston: First concert cancelled due to illness.

November

Saturday 3 November 8:15 PM NY: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie Hall
Walter Damrosch, conductor [73]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Saint-Saëns: Africa, Op. 89
Le rouet d'Omphale, Op. 31
Allegro appassionato, Op. 70
Wedding Cake, Op. 76
- Georg Schumann: *Liebesfrühling* Overture | Beethoven: Symphony No 3 in E-flat, Op. 55 'Eroica'

Sunday 4 November 3:00 PM NY: **New York Symphony Orchestra**, Carnegie Hall
Walter Damrosch, conductor [74]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Repeat of the performance 3 November.

Monday 5 November NY: New York Symphony and Carnegie Hall management announce additional concerts for 15 and 18 November.[75]

Tuesday 6 November Chicago: Saint-Saëns arrives at the Auditorium Annex Hotel, Chicago. His manager, R. I. Carter, announces that the composer will perform, but not conduct.[76]

Thursday 8 November 2:15 PM Chicago: **Theodore Thomas Orchestra**, Orchestra Hall
Frederick A. Stock, conductor [77]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano, [organ]
Saint-Saëns: Marche du couronnement, Op. 117
Africa, Op. 89 | Wedding Cake, Op. 76
La jeunesse d'Hercule, Op. 50

[70] 'Saint Saens in New York', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 October 1906, 12, col. 3.
[71] 'Camille Saint-Saens, Ill, Arrives for Tour', *Chicago Tribune*, 27 October 1906, 5, col. 4.
[72] 'Saint-Saens is Better: Had Tonsillitis on the Voyage, but Was Able to Walk Ashore', *New York Times*, 27 October 1906, 9, col. 4.
[73] 'Carnegie Hall', *New York Times*, 14 October, 1906, sec. 4, pg. 2, col. 7.; Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.
[74] Ibid.
[75] 'More Saint-Saens Concerts', *New York Times*, 5 November 1906, 7, col. 3. 'In making the announcement the management of the orchestra naïvely remarks: "The decision to give these two extra concerts in the composer's honor was reached after the barometer in the box office of Carnegie Hall had registered such manifest desire on the part of the New York public to see and hear 'the grand old man of France'."'.
[76] 'Composer Saint-Saens Ill; Unable to Lead Orchestra: French Musician, However, Will Appear at Concerts to Be Given by Thomas Organization', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 7 November 1906, 6, col. 4.
[77] 'Music for the Week', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, col. 1.; 'News of the Theatres: Saint-Saens' First Chicago Appearance', *Chicago Tribune*, 8, col. 5.

Rhapsodies sur des cantique Bretons, Op. 7 [78]
Danse Macabre, Op. 40 [replacing the Rhapsodies]
Phaeton, Op. 39 | Le Rouet d'Omphale, Op. 31

- Berlioz: *La damnation de Faust* (orchestral excerpt)

Friday 9 November Chicago: **Theodore Thomas Orchestra**, Orchestra Hall
2:15 PM Frederick A. Stock, conductor [79]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Saint-Saëns: Piano Concerto No 2 in G minor, Op 22 [80]
Waltz in D-flat Major [encore; title unknown]
Danse Macabre, Op. 40
Phaeton, Op. 39

- Dvořák: Symphony No. 9 in E minor, 'From the New World', Op. 95

Saturday 10 November Chicago: **Theodore Thomas Orchestra**, Orchestra Hall
8:15 PM Frederick A. Stock, conductor [81]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Repeat of the public rehearsal 9 November [82]

Tuesday 13 November NY: **Kneisel Quartet**, Mendelssohn Hall [83]
Alwin Schroeder, cello | Otto Neitzel, piano
Saint-Saëns: Cello Sonata No. 1 in C Minor, Op. 32

- Schubert: String Quartet No. 14 in D Minor, 'Death and the Maiden'
  Glière: String Quartet No. 1 in A Major.

Thursday 15 November NY: **New York Symphony Concert**, Carnegie Hall
3:00 PM Walter Damrosch, conductor. [84]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano, organ
Saint-Saëns: Quartet from Henry VIII (Gathering of the Clans, Scotch Idyll, Gypsy Dance, Irish Jig)
Piano Concerto No 2 in G minor, Op 22
Sérénade in E-flat Major, Op. 15 [85]
[arr.] Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste de Gluck
Symphony No. 3 in C Minor, Op. 78

Sunday 18 November NY: **New York Symphony Concert**, Carnegie Hall
3:00 PM Walter Damrosch, conductor.
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano, organ
Saint-Saëns: Symphony No. 2 in A Minor, Op. 55
Piano Concerto No. 5, Op. 103 'Egyptian'
Suite algérienne, Op. 60
Valse mignonne, Op. 104

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[78] Though originally scheduled, this rhapsody was cut, owing to Saint-Saëns's ill-health, and a desire not to tackle the Orchestra Hall's 1904 Lyon & Healy organ. For more on that instrument, see 'Cover Feature: Orchestra Hall, Chicago Illinois, Casavant Frères', *The American Organist* (February 2000): 44–47.

[79] 'Music for the Week', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, col. 1.

[80] Glenn Dillard Gunn, 'Thomas Orchestra Concert', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 November 1906, 6, col. 4.

[81] 'Music for the Week', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 November 1906, 9, col. 1.

[82] Glenn Dillard Gunn, 'Thomas Orchestra Concert', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 10 November 1906, 6, col. 4.

[83] 'The Kneisel Quartet', *New York Times*, 11 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 2, col. 7.

[84] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

[85] Camille Saint-Saëns, Piano | Walter Damrosch, Organ | Alexander Saslavsky, Violin | Leo Schulz, Cello

Valse nonchalante, Op. 110
Valse canariote, Op. 88
Le Rouet d'Omphale, Op. 31
Phaeton, Op. 39

Saint-Saëns plays the Piano Concerto No. 5, Op. 103 (not No. 4, first announced).[86]

Wednesday 21 November NY: Saint-Saëns visits Oscar Hammerstein of the Metropolitan Opera, tours the house, and discusses plans for possible productions of *Hélène* and *Samson et Dalila*.[87]

Thursday 22 November

Friday 23 November Philadelphia: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Academy of Music
3:00 PM Fritz Scheel, conductor [88]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Saint-Saëns: Piano Concerto No. 5, Op. 103 'Egyptian'
Le Déluge Prelude, Op. 45
Danse Macabre, Op. 40
- Berlioz: Le carnaval romain, Op. 9 | Franck: Symphony in D Minor [89]

Saint-Saëns receives a 'wreath of tricolor ribbons' from the French Club of Philadelphia.[90]

Friday (cont.) 23 November: 8:15 PM Philadelphia: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Academy of Music[91]
Choral Society of Philadelphia, Henry Gordon Thunder
Saint-Saëns: *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47 [in English]

NY: Heinrich Conried of the Metropolitan Opera confirms the forthcoming season, and that Saint-Saëns has been engaged to conduct one of the Saturday evening performances.[92]

Saturday 24 November Philadelphia: **Philadelphia Orchestra**, Academy of Music
Fritz Scheel, conductor
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Repeat of the public rehearsal 23 November

[86] 'Dr. Saint-Saens Plays Again', *New York Times*, 19 November 1906, 9, col. 2.
[87] '"Helene" May Be Heard', *New York Times*, 22 November 1906, 9, col. 2.; 'Saint-Saens Sees Hammerstein: French Composer Wants "Helene" to Be Produced Here', *New-York Tribune*, 22 November 1906, 6, col. 5.
[88] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, col. 7.
[89] 'News of the Musical Season: Saint-Saens and the Philadelphia Orchestra', *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 6, col. 4–5
[90] 'Music Here and Elsewhere', *Trenton* (NJ) *Evening Times*, 24 November 1906, 6, cols. 6–7.
[91] *Philadelphia Inquirer,* 20 November 1906, 4, col. 8. Saint-Saëns was present but did not participate.
[92] 'Puccini's New Opera Big Hit', *Asbury* (NJ) *Park Press*, 23 November 1906, 11, col. 1.

Monday 26 November Boston: **Boston Symphony Orchestra**, Symphony Hall
Carl Muck, conductor [93]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Saint-Saëns: Piano Concerto No 2 in G minor, Op 22
Les Barbares, Overture
Symphony No. 3 in C Minor, Op. 78
Valse nonchalante, Op. 110
Valse mignonne, Op. 104
Valse canariote, Op. 88

Tuesday 27 November NY: Carnegie Hall [94]
3:00 PM **Camille Saint-Saëns**, piano
'Farewell appearance as a Pianist' [Erroneous]
Saint-Saëns: Fragments, Act I, *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47 [95]
[arr.] Haydn: Symphony No. 94, 'Surprise', II. Andante
Valse mignonne, Op. 104
Valse nonchalante, Op. 110
Valse langoureuse, Op. 120
Valse canariote, Op. 88
Quartet from *Henry VIII*

- Bach: Italienisches Konzert, BWV 971; Prelude and Gigue [BWV?] Rameau: Pièces de clavecin avec une méthode: 16. Les Tourbillons, 17. Les Cyclopes | Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 12 in A-Flat Major, Op. 26 Chopin: Barcarolle, Op. 60

December

Sunday 2 December NY: Saint-Saëns entertained at the home of Herman Klein, 154 W 79th Street, at a reception of eminent musicians.[96]

Monday 3 December NY: Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn [97]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Saint-Saëns: Fragments, Act I, *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47 (Chorus of Priestesses, Ballet, Air of Delilah)
Suite algérienne, Op. 60, III. Rêverie du soir (à Blidah), IV. Marche militaire française.

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[93] 'Music and Musicians', *Washington Post*, 2 December 1906, 2, col. 1. This programme was altered from the original announcement. The symphony and overture were maintained, but Le Rouet d'Omphale, Op. 31, Danse Macabre, Op. 40, and three organ works, 'Prelude and Fugue' [from Op. 99 or Op. 109?], O Salutaris [one of the five settings by Saint-Saëns], and Fantasie in B-Flat Major [?], were replaced simply by the three valse settings performed.

[94] 'Last Saint-Saëns Concert', *New-York Tribune*, 21 November 1906, 7, col. 5.

[95] *New York Sun*, 27 November 1906, 16, col. 6.

[96] 'Reception to M. Saint-Saens: French Composer Honored by Fellow Musicians—May Stay Here Months', *New-York Tribune*, 3 December 1906, 7, col. 1. Heinrich Conried, Director of the Metropolitan Opera; Charles Rousselièr, tenor; Antonio Scotti, tenor; Andreas Dippel, tenor and impresario; Joseph Lhevinne and his wife, Louise Homer, contralto; Elsa Szamosi, soprano; Moriz Rosenthal, composer and pianist; Josef Lhévinne, pianist; Anton van Rooy, bass-baritone; Alfred Hertz, conductor; [Cleofonte or Italo?] Campanini, [conductor and tenor, respectively]; Henry W. Savage, theatre manager; Henry Arthur Jones, dramatist; Forbes Robertson, actor and theatre manager; Daniel Frohman, producer; Leandro Campanari, violinist and conductor; Walter Damrosch, conductor; Richard Watson Gilder, poet; John Philip Sousa, composer; Charles Klein, playwright; Rudolph and Gustave Schirmer, and Charles H. Ditson, music publishers; Victor Harris, composer; Alexander Lambert, pianist; their spouses and several eminent bankers, lawyers and diplomats.

[97] 'Music for the Coming Week', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1 December 1906, pict. sec., pg. 4, col. 1.

- Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 17 in D Minor, Op. 31, No. 2, 'The Tempest'; Piano Sonata No. 16 in G Major, Op. 31, No. 1, II. Adagio; Piano Sonata No. 18 in E-Flat Major, Op. 31, No. 3, 'The Hunt' Chopin: Impromptu, Etude | Schumann: Waldszenen, Op. 82, I. Eintritt, V. Freundliche Landschaft, VIII-IX [?], Jagdlied, Abschied. | Liszt: Au bord d'une source; Tarantelle

Tuesday 4 December 4:30 PM
Washington: **Boston Symphony Orchestra**, National Theatre
Carl Muck, conductor [98]
Camille Saint-Saëns, Piano
Saint-Saëns: Piano Concerto No 2 in G minor, Op 22 [99]
- Weber: Overture to *Oberon* | Beethoven: Symphony No 5

Saturday 8 December 8:15 PM
Baltimore: Baltimore Lyric Opera House
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Under the auspices of the Co-Operative Workers for the benefit of Vacation Lodge for Girls, Blue Ridge Summit [100]
Saint-Saëns:
[arr.] Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste de Gluck [101]
Fragments, Act I, *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47
[arr.] Haydn: Symphony No. 94, 'Surprise', II. Andante
Valse mignonne, Op. 104
Valse nonchalante, Op. 110
Valse langoureuse, Op. 120
Valse canariote, Op. 88
Quartet from *Henry VIII*
- Bach: Italienisches Konzert, BWV 971; Prelude and Gigue [BWV?] | Rameau: Pièces de clavecin avec une méthode: 16. Les Tourbillons, 17. Les Cyclopes [incorrectly attributed to 'Bannan'] | Chopin: Barcarolle, Op. 60

Monday 10 December 4:30 PM
Washington: Columbia Theatre [102]
Camille Saint-Saëns, piano
Edouard Dethier, Violin[103] | Leon Rennay, Baritone[104] | Franz Mulbauer, piano (songs) | Gaston Dethier, piano (concerto)[105]
Saint-Saëns: Violin Concerto No. 3 in B Minor, Op. 61[106]
Rondo Capriccioso in A Minor Op. 28
La Cloche | Rêverie
[arr.] Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste de Gluck
Rhapsodie vergne, Op. 73
Quartet from *Henry VIII* [107]
- Hahn: Quand je fus pris au pavillon; L'heure exquise

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[98] 'Boston Symphony Orchestra', *Washington Evening Star*, 25 November 1906, sec. 4, pg. 10, col. 3. Suggests Saint-Saëns was secured as a last-minute replacement for Paderewski.

[99] C. A. Ellis, ed., *Boston Symphony Programme Notes: New National Theatre, Washington: Twenty-sixth season, 1906–1907: Programme of the Second Matinee: Tuesday Afternoon December 4* (Boston: Boston Symphony Orchestra), 5.

[100] 'Saint-Saens to Play', *Baltimore Sun*, 25 November 1906, 6, col. 6.

[101] 'M. Saint-Saens' Program', *Baltimore Sun*, 2 December 1906, 6, col. 6.

[102] *Washington Evening Star*, 22 November 1906, 16, col. 6.

[103] 'Camille Saint-Saens', *Washington Evening Star*, 25 November 1906, sec. 2, pg. 10, col. 6.

[104] 'Music and Musicians', *Washington Post*, 2 December 1906, 2, col. 1.

[105] 'The Saint-Saens Recital', *Washington Evening Star*, 11 December 1906, 6, col. 1.

[106] 'The Saint-Saens Recital', *Washington Evening Star*, 2 December 1906, 8, col. 7.

[107] 'Music and Musicians: The Week in Washington', *Washington Herald*, 2 December 1906, 11, col. 3.

Tuesday 11 December Buffalo, NY: Convention Hall [108]

Camille Saint-Saëns, piano

Saint-Saëns: [arr.] Fragments, Act I, *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47 [109]
[arr.] Haydn: Symphony No. 94, 'Surprise', II. Andante
Valse mignonne, Op. 104
Valse nonchalante, Op. 110
Valse langoureuse, Op. 120
Valse canariote, Op. 88
Quartet from *Henry VIII*

- Bach: Italienisches Konzert, BWV 971; Prelude and Gigue [BWV?] | Rameau: Pièces de clavecin avec une méthode: 16. Les Tourbillons, 17. Les Cyclopes | Chopin: Barcarolle, Op. 60

Wednesday 12 December 1:30 PM Saint-Saëns arrives via the Michigan Central. He is greeted by the acting mayor, the French and Belgian consuls,[110] and an old colleague, Maurice de Vries.[111]

Detroit: Light Guard Armory

Camille Saint-Saëns, piano

Henri Ern, Violin | Martha Hohly, Piano [112]

[Postponed from Wednesday 5 December] [113]

Saint-Saëns:
Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso in A Minor Op. 28 [114]
[arr.] Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste de Gluck
Fragments, Act I, *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47
Berceuse, Op. 38
Le carnaval des animaux, XIII. Le cygne
Rhapsodie vergne, Op. 73

- Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 17 in D Minor, Op. 31, No. 2, 'The Tempest' | Prelude and Gigue [BWV?] | Rameau: Pièces de clavecin avec une méthode: 16. Les Tourbillons, 17. Les Cyclopes

Evening Detroit: Cadillac Hotel: Saint-Saëns honoured at a 'banquet royal'.[115]

Thursday 13 December Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall

Frank Van der Stucken, conductor

Camille Saint-Saëns, piano

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[108] *Buffalo Commercial*, 1 December 1906, 4, col. 5.

[109] *Buffalo Commercial*, 8 December 1906, 5, cols. 2–3.

[110] 'Saint-Saens Will Reach Here Today: Great Composer-Pianist to Be Tendered Cordial Reception at Concert', *Detroit Free Press*, 12 December 1906, 3, col. 4.

[111] 'Saint-Saens Given Hearty Reception: Aged Musician Appears for Last Time on Concert Platform as Soloist', *Detroit Free Press*, 13 December 1906, 14, col. 3. '[L]ast appearance on the concert platform as a solo performer' [Erroneous].

[112] Ibid.

[113] 'Among the Musicians: Braves Cold for America: M. Saint-Saens Will Play in Detroit December 12', *Detroit Free Press*, 25 November 1906, 7, col. 1

[114] 'Saint-Saens Will Reach Here Today: Great Composer-Pianist to Be Tendered Cordial Reception at Concert', *Detroit Free Press*, 12 December 1906, 3, col. 4.

[115] 'Among the Musicians: Saint-Saens to be Feted: Banquet Royal is Planned for Grand Old Man of Music', *Detroit Free Press*, 2 December 1906, 6, col. 2.

Saint-Saëns: Piano Concerto No. 5, Op. 103 'Egyptian'[116]
[Appassionata?]
Wedding Cake, Caprice-valse, Op. 76
Valse mignonne, Op. 104
Phaeton, Op. 39

Saint-Saëns is introduced by Prof. Alfred Nonnez, presented with a laurel wreath from L'Alliance Francaise of Cincinnati, and then 'banqueted' by 'the ladies of the Orchestra Association at the Queen City Club.[117]

Friday 14 December Cincinnati: Saint-Saëns attends a dinner in his honour at the home of Lucien Wulsin.[118]

Saturday 15 December Cincinnati: Saint-Saëns 'feted by his French countrymen'.[119]

Saturday 22 December NY: Saint-Saëns entertained as a guest of the Lotos Club.[120]

Tuesday 25 December NY: **Metropolitan Opera Orchestra:**
Metropolitan Opera House [121]
Camille Saint-Saëns, conductor, piano
Nahan Franko, conductor, violin
Saint-Saëns: Samson et Dalila, Mon coeur s'ouvre à ta voix [122]
Fantaisie (arr. Périlhou)
Les Barbares, Overture
Le Déluge Prelude, Op. 45
Oratorio de Noël, Trio
Danse Macabre, Op. 40
Marche du couronnement, Op. 117
- Mozart Die Zauberflöte Overture; Adam: Le Châlet, Arrêtons-nous ici | Massenet: Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame: La Légende de la sauge

[116] 'Saint-Saens: Presented With Laurel Wreath By L'Alliance Francaise at Concert', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 16 December 1906, 2, col. 6.
[117] Ibid.
[118] 'Dinner to Saint-Saens', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 15 December 1906, 16, col. 5.
[119] 'Saint-Saens: Presented With Laurel Wreath By L'Alliance Francaise at Concert', *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 16 December 1906, 2, col. 6.
[120] 'Lotos Club Opens Season', *New-York Tribune*, 9 December 1906, 9, col. 5.
[121] Metropolitan Opera Digital Archives.
[122] Conducted by Franko. Franko also played violin in *Le Déluge*. Saint-Saëns played piano in the Périlhou Fantaisie.

Appendix C: *Alexander Scriabin: Annotated Documentary Calendar of the 1906–07 Tour and surrounding musical events* [123]

before arrival

1898

Thursday 24 March — NY: Carnegie Hall [124]
Josef Hofmann, piano
Scriabin: Etude in D-Sharp Minor, Op. 8, No. 12
Prelude in D Major | Etude in D-Flat Major [Op. 8, No. 10]
- Handel: Variations in D Minor | Chopin: Piano Sonata, Op. 35 | Rubinstein: Variations, Op. 88 | Gluck: Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste | Hofmann: Bolero; Intermezzo | Tausig: Ungarische Zigeunerweisen

1901

Monday 18 March — NY: Carnegie Hall [125]
Josef Hofmann, piano
Scriabin: Etude
- Bach: Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 903 | Weber: Piano Sonata No. 2 in A-Flat Major, Op. 39 | Schumann: Phantasiestücke, Op. 12, Nos. 5, 6, 7. | Schubert: Hungarian March, R. 251 | Chopin: Nocturne; Two Chants Polonais, S. 480 | Hofmann: Mazurka | Tchaikovsky: Dix-huit morceaux: Berceuse, Op. 72, No. 2 | Liszt: Valse-impromptu in A-flat Major, R. 36; Années de pèlerinage: Venezia e Napoli: Tarantella da Guillaume Louis Cottrau (Presto e canzone napolitana), S. 162, No. 3.

Saturday 13 April — NY: Carnegie Hall [126]
Josef Hofmann, piano
Scriabin: Two Etudes
- Mozart: Rondo in A Minor, K. 511 | Mendelssohn: Variations sérieuses, Op. 54 | Chopin: Mazurka in C-Sharp Minor; Nocturne in B Major; Piano Sonata in B Minor, Op. 58 | Schumann: Myrthen: Widmung, Op. 25, No. 1 | Schubert: Lieder von Schubert: Ständchen, R. 243, No. 9 | Gluck: Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste | Saint-Saens: Danse macabre | Tausig: Ungarische Zigeunerweisen.

1904

Sunday 25 December — NY: Carnegie Hall [127]
Josef Hofmann, piano
Scriabin: Etude in D-Sharp Minor, Op. 8, No. 12, Patetico
Etude in D-Flat Major, Op. 8, No. 10, Allegro.
- Bach: Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor, S. 463 | Beethoven: Rondo a capriccio in G Major, Op. 129 | Sgambati: Vecchio minuetto, Op. 18, No. 2 | Chopin: Piano Sonata in B Minor, Op. 58 | Medtner: Piano Sonata in F Minor, Op. 5 | Rachmaninoff: Morceaux de fantaisie:

[123] From his first published mention through the 1950s, the most common English transliteration of Scriabin's name was 'Scriabine'. 'Skryabin', the form commonly found in German literature appears not to have entered American journalistic usage until 1909,[123] and thereafter remained highly infrequent. 'Skriabin' does not appear at all.

[124] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid.

Prelude in C-Sharp Minor, Op. 3, No. 2 | Sternberg: En Bohème | Lyadov: Two Pieces: Berceuse in G-Flat Major, Op. 24, No. 2 | Tchaikovsky: Valse in A | Rubinstein: Caprice in F-Flat Major | Hofmann: Intermezzo; Mazurka | Moszkowski: Etudes: La jongleuse, Op. 52, No. 4 | Wagner: Overture to Tannhäuser, R. 275

1906

Saturday 24 February NY: **Russian Symphony Society**, Carnegie Hall [128]
Modest Altschuler, conductor
Josef Lhevinne, piano | Eugene Bernstein, piano
Scriabin: Nocturne for the Left Hand, Op. 9, No. 2

- Glazunov: Iz srednikh vekov, Op. 79 (From the Middle Ages) | Borodin: Petite Suite: Au couvent | Schlozer: Etude in E-flat Major, Op. 1, No. 1 Rubinstein: Kamennïy-ostrov: La Gondolière (Rêve angélique), Op. 10, No. 22; Galop | Konys: From a Child's Life, Op. 1 | Bubeck: Grand Polonaise

Monday 19 March NY: Carnegie Hall [129]
Josef Lhévinne, piano
Scriabin: Prelude for the Left Hand in C-Sharp Minor, Op. 9, No. 1

- Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 29 in B-Flat Major, Op. 106, 'Hammerklavier' | Gluck: Alceste: Melody; Gavotte in A Major | Schumann: Spanisches Liederspiel: Der Kontrabandiste, Op. 74, No. 10 | Chopin: Ballade No. 4 in F Minor, Op. 52 | Rubinstein: Etude in C-Sharp Minor, Op. 23, No. 3 | Schulz-Evler: Etude in Octaves: Moszkowski: Caprice espagnol, Op. 37.

Saturday 1 December Rotterdam: Scriabin departs in a second-class cabin on the SS *Ryndam* (Holland-American).[130]

after arrival

December

Tuesday 11 December NY: Scriabin arrives in New York.[131] He is met by Modest Altschuler and J. E. Francke at the pier, who convey him to the Lafayette-Brevoort Hotel at Fifth Avenue and Eighth Street.[132]

Thursday 13 December NY: Scriabin attends a reception at the Waldorf-Astoria, with the 'officers and members of the Drawing Room Club'.[133]

Thursday 20 December NY: **Russian Symphony Society**, Carnegie Hall
Modest Altschuler, conductor [134, 135]
Alexander Scriabin, piano.

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[128] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Faubion Bowers, *Scriabin: A Biography of the Russian Composer, 1871–1915*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1969), 139.
[131] The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation Passenger Search, *Ryndam*, 11 December 1906, frame 431, line number 9, passenger ID 800027010051.
[132] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 141.
[133] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 141–42.
[134] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.
[135] *New York Times*, 20 December 1906, 16, col. 6.

Scriabin: Piano Concerto in F-Sharp Minor, Op. 20
Nocturne for the Left Hand, Op. 9, No. 2
Mazurka in C-Sharp Minor
Etude in D-Sharp Minor, Op. 8, No. 12, Patetico

- Glazunov: Symphony No. 3 in D Major, Op. 33 | Rachmaninoff: Caprice bohémien, Op. 12

Evening — NY: Café Lafayette, Brevoort Hotel. 'Stag supper' for Scriabin, organised by William R. Steinway (1881–1960).[136]

1907

Thursday 3 January — NY: Mendelssohn Hall [137, 138]
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Scriabin: Allegro de Concert in B-Flat Minor [139]
Prelude and Nocturne for the Left Hand Alone
Six Preludes, Op. 11
Three Mazurkas. Op. 3
Sonata No. 3 in F Sharp Minor
Two Poems, Op. 32
Three Etudes, Op. 8
Valse in A Flat Major, Op. 38

NY: During this week, Scriabin moves to cheaper accommodation in the Wellington Hotel, 55th Street and Seventh Avenue.[140]

Tuesday 8 January — NY or Cincinnati: Paid, private salon concert.[141]

Thursday 10 January 3:00 PM — Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall
Frank van der Stucken, conductor [142]
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Scriabin: Piano Concerto in F-Sharp Minor, Op. 20

- Beethoven: Symphony No 5 | Lalo: Namouna

Saturday 12 January — Cincinnati: **Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra**, Music Hall
Frank van der Stucken, conductor
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Repeat of the public rehearsal 10 January

Sunday 13 January — NY: Carnegie Hall [143, 144]
Josef Lhévinne, piano

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[136] Other attendees included both Altschuler brothers, Vasily Safonov, Josef Lhevinne, and Ernest Urchs (1864–1928) of the Steinway concert office. Bowers, *Scriabin*, 144.
[137] 'Amusements', *New-York Tribune*, 30 December 1906, sec. 4, pg. 7, col. 6.
[138] *New York Times*, 30 December 1906, sec. 4, pg. 5, col. 1.
[139] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 151.
[140] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 152.
[141] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 153.
[142] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 152.
[143] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.
[144] 'Carnegie Hall, January 13', *New York Sun*, 6 January 1907, sec. 3, pg. 7, cols. 2–3.

Scriabin: Prelude for the Left Hand in C-sharp Minor, Op. 9, No. 1

- Beethoven: Fifteen Variations and Fugue on an Original Theme in E-flat Major, Op. 35 ('Eroica Variations') | Brahms: Piano Sonata No. 3 in F Minor, Op. 5 | Chopin: Nocturne in B Major, Op. 62, No. 1; Etude in D-Flat Major, Op. 25, No. 8; Etude in C Minor, Op. 25, No. 12 | Poldini: Etude in A Major; Marche mignonne | Rubinstein: Etude in C Major, Op. 23, No. 2 ('Staccato Etude') | Godard: Douze nouvelles études artistiques: En route, Op. 107, No. 12.

Wednesday 16 January — NY: Through Francke, Scriabin receives an offer for 15 concerts at $150 per, but the project falls through. Scriabin cables Tatiana de Schloezer to bring her to America, but swiftly cancels.[145]

Wednesday 30 January — NY: Mendelssohn Hall [146, 147]
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Scriabin: Etudes, Op. 8, B-flat minor, A-flat major
Preludes, Op. 15
Impromptu, Op. 10, A major
Prelude, Op. 11
Mazurka, Op. 25, F major
Prelude, Op. 17, No. 1
Etude, Op. 8, D-sharp minor
Piano Sonata No. 2 in G-sharp Minor, Op. 19
Album Leaf, Op. 45
Valse in A Flat Major, Op. 38
Prelude, Op. 39, No. 3
Poème Satanique, Op. 36
Waltz for the left hand [148]

Organised by Theodore Steinway and Bernard Urchs.[149]

February

Thursday 7 February — NY: Tatiana de Schloezer arrives, unaccompanied.[150]

Thursday 28 February — NY: **Russian Symphony Society**, Carnegie Hall [151]
Modest Altschuler, conductor
Josef Lhévinne, piano
Scriabin: Symphony No. 1 in E Major, Op. 26

- Mussorgsky: Sorochinskaya yarmarka ('Sorochintsï Fair'), Introduction | Rubinstein: Russian Capriccio, Op. 120 | Ippolitov-Ivanov: Iveriya, Op. 42

145 Bowers, *Scriabin*, 153.
146 *New York Times*, 27 January 1907, sec. 4, pg. 5, col. 4.; *New-York Tribune*, 13 January 1907, 7, cols. 5–6.
147 *New-York Tribune*, 30 January 1907, 8, col. 6.
148 '…Which he has written since his arrival in New York…'
149 Bowers, *Scriabin*, 154.
150 Ibid.
151 Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

March

Monday 4 March 2:30 PM — Chicago: Music Hall [152]
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Concert of the Amateur Music Club
Scriabin: Allegro de Concert in B-Flat Minor
Prelude and Nocturne for the Left Hand Alone
Six Preludes, Op. 11
Three Mazurkas. Op. 3
Sonata No. 3 in F Sharp Minor
Two Poems, Op. 32
Three Etudes, Op. 8
Valse in A Flat Major, Op. 38

A repeat of the programme of his Mendelssohn Hall concert.

Wednesday 6 March — Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Music
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Impromptu recital

Detroit: **Detroit Symphony Orchestra,** Light Guard Armory [153]
Hugo Kalsow, conductor
Alexander Scriabin, piano
Mrs. Frederic M. Brown, Soprano | Ruby Pratt, Piano.
Scriabin: Piano Concerto in F-Sharp Minor, Op. 20
['Group of three compositions']
- Mendelssohn: Overture Fingal's Cave | Haydn: ['Somewhat hackneyed B flat symphony"] | ['Two string numbers'] | J. Strauss: Waltz [?]

Thursday 14 March — NY: **Russian Symphony Society**, Carnegie Hall [154]
Modest Altschuler, conductor
Alwin Schroeder, cello
Scriabin: Symphony No. 3 in C Major, Op. 43, 'Le poème divin'
- Mussorgsky: Khovanshchina: Prelude to Act I ('Dawn on the Moscow River') | Davidov: Cello Concerto No. 3 in D Major, Op. 18, Mvmt. I Glazunov: Stenka Razin, Op. 13

Thursday 21 March — NY: Journalists begin to suspect that Tatiana is not Scriabin's legal wife after Safonov confirms his wife is named Vera. Joseph Altschuler tries to buy time as Scriabin cables Glazunov for 600 rubles in order to return to Europe.[155]

Friday 22 March [?] — NY: The pair depart immediately on Cunard's RMS *Campania*.

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[152] 'Scriabine Tomorrow', *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 3 March 1907, Sunday magazine, pg. 9, cols. 3–6.

[153] 'Alex. Scriabine to Play: Will Participate in Symphony Orchestra Concert Tonight', *Detroit Free Press*, 6 March 1907, 5, col. 3.; 'Scriabine is Pleasing: His Audience Makes Demand Several Times for Encores', *Detroit Free Press*, 7 March 1907, 12, cols. 1–2.

[154] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

[155] Bowers, *Scriabin*, 163.

Saturday 30 March Queenstown: Scriabin and de Schloezer arrive on the RMS *Campania*. Tatiana is listed on the customs manifest as his wife. [156]

after departure

November

Saturday 30 November NY: Carnegie Hall [157]
Josef Hofmann, piano
Scriabin: Poeme d'amour | Etude in D-Flat Major
Etude in F Minor, Op. 42, No. 7, Agitato
Piano Sonata No. 3 in F-Sharp Minor, Op. 23

- Bach: Fantaisie chromatique in D Minor | Beethoven: Andante in F Major, WoO 57 ('Andante favori') | Mendelssohn: Rondo Capriccioso in E Major, Op. 14 | Rachmaninoff: Prelude in G Minor, Op. 23, No. 5 | Chopin: Fantasie-Impromptu in C-sharp Minor, Op. 66 | Mazurka in B Minor | Berceuse in D-Flat Major, Op. 57 | Scherzo No. 1 in B Minor, Op. 20.

December

Friday 13 December NY: **New York Philharmonic**, Carnegie Hall [158]
Vasily Safonov [Wassily Safonoff], conductor
The Bach Choir of Montclair, Frank Taft, director
Ernest Schelling, piano | Rosemarie Cambell, contralto
Dan Beddoe, tenor
Scriabin: Symphony No. 1 in E Major, Op. 26

- Berlioz: *L'enfance du Christ*, Part II | Chopin: Piano Concerto No. 2

Saturday 14 December NY: **New York Philharmonic**, Carnegie Hall [159]
Vasily Safonov [Wassily Safonoff], conductor
The Bach Choir of Montclair, Frank Taft, director
Ernest Schelling, piano | Rosemarie Cambell, contralto
Dan Beddoe, tenor
Repeat of the public rehearsal 13 December.

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[156] The National Archives of the UK: Kew, Surrey, England, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Inwards Passenger Lists*, Class: BT26, Piece: 291, 14–16. 'March 1907, Part 2, Liverpool and Queenstown: RMS *Campania*, 30 March 1907: Saloon Passengers, Aliens'.

[157] Carnegie Hall Digital Archives.

[158] Henry E. Krehbiel, *Philharmonic Society of New York, 1907 – Sixty-Sixth Season – 1908: Synopsis of Compositions to be Performed at the Third Afternoon and Evening Concerts: On Dec. 13th and 14th, 1907*. (New York: Philharmonic Society of New York, 1907).

[159] Ibid.

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