A PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL OF GUITAR STUDIES

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Soundboard SCHOLAR
A PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL OF GUITAR STUDIES

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

by Thomas Heck

Thank you, dear readers, GFA members and supporters, for making possible this second annual issue of Soundboard Scholar (SbS). As a new peer-reviewed journal of guitar studies, it has special value for those of us with academic connections, being a vetted publication.

The goal of Soundboard Scholar is to encourage, recognize, and publish research of the highest caliber related to the guitar. Submission guidelines are posted on the GFA website. Publication frequency is expected to be annual, with free distribution to all GFA members and online sales as well.

As the General Editor of SbS, I see my job as primarily steering a constructive course among four players: a. our prospective contributors; b. the unnamed referees assigned to give submitted articles careful blind-review; c. the requirements of the journal’s production staff; and most importantly, d. our readership.

Complications always arise when English is not the mother tongue of an author. The preparation of such a submitted article for substantive (not just stylistic) peer-review can involve many hours of preliminary work on the part of the “acquisitions editor,” whether myself or another colleague. (In this regard, let me thank my translator / proofreader wife, Anne Goodrich Heck, for her meticulous editorial and stylistic sensibilities.)

While the current official roster of referees is listed on the masthead, other appropriate readers (who shall remain anonymous) have already kindly agreed, when asked, to participate in the vetting process, based on their areas of expertise. We all hope that the quality of the results will be worth the collective effort and apparent to all.

What more does this journal need to fulfill our readers’ desires? Last year we put out a call for scholarly reviews; this year, thanks to Richard Long’s efforts, we have a couple that are well worth reading. We could certainly put out a call for reviews; this year, thanks to Richard Long’s efforts, we have a couple that are well worth reading. We could certainly have absorbed quite a lot that I did not know about guitar culture and music education in general in nineteenth-century America.

Perhaps you will be surprised (as was I) to learn about the once popular “Pestalozzian, or inductive system of instruction.” Henry Worrall was one of many American immigrants who advocated the incremental methodology of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) in all manner of instruction, including music. Worrall was also enough of a realist (some might say a populist or a “democrat”) to promote open (harmonious, chordal) guitar tunings for the untutored masses. He published various pieces for guitar tuned chordally, as in Sebastopol—a “battle piece” for D-major tuning full of ruffles and flourishes.

Robert has additionally contributed to this issue, as a “Return With Us Now” featured facsimile from his private collection, Spanish Retreat, the one score by Worrall which so far has not been digitized and made available by the Kansas State Historical Society (see note 7 of his article for access to all Worrall’s other editions).

Andreas Stevens specializes in the history and literature of the guitar primarily in German-speaking lands. His intervention helped to save the old Giarrisistische Vereinigung collection: he negotiated a new home for it at the Bavarian State Library. Andreas’ article, shedding new light on J. K. Mertz’s life and times, would have been impossible without access to the letters of his widow, Josephine Mertz (1819–1903), preserved in that collection. They provide a new lens by which to view her husband’s compositions and performances. They also suggest strongly that the photographic portrait currently proposed as showing Mertz’s likeness is not credible.

The names Nicoletta Confalone and Grégory Leclair will not be unfamiliar to our readers who have been following the growing literature on Emilia Giuliani, one of the first woman guitarist/composers to achieve real fame in her profession. This article finally shows how papa (Mauro Giuliani) managed to have both a family in Italy and a household in Vienna. The former produced Michele (1801–1867), a talented son who taught voice at the Paris Conservatoire. The latter gave us the incomparable Emilia (1813–1850). If an actual “walking tour” of Giuliani’s Naples is not in your stars, this virtual excursion might be the next best thing.

We have two reviews in this issue, both prepared by our reviews editor, Richard Long, and both about publications of significance. The first discusses Christopher Page’s The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History (2015). The reviewer considers it a major contribution to a better understanding of the early variants of the guitar—the gittern and citerten—and their place in England’s social and cultural history.

The second review, of the CD German Romantic Guitar Duets by Adam Darr (1811–1866), performed by John Schneidemaran and Hideki Yamada, refocuses our attention on the continent at roughly the same time Worrall was breaking new ground with the guitar in the developing USA. The guitar in central Europe at mid-century, alas, was falling out of favor, making it impossible for Darr’s music to break into print. Fortunately not all was lost. Much of the music recorded on this two-CD set was preserved in the very collection that Andreas Stevens helped to save, the Gitarritische Sammlung Fritz Walter and Gabriele Wiedemann in Munich.
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Cover: The painting “Home Ranch,” by Thomas Eakins (1844–1916), executed in 1892, visually captures some of the atmosphere that must have prevailed in Henry Worrall’s frontier world. The singing guitarist has been identified as Franklin Schenck. Might he have been singing “Home on the range,” first published in Kansas in 1873? His friend Samuel Murray sits on the right. Now part of the permanent collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, “Home Ranch” was donated by the artist’s widow and by Miss Mary Adeline Williams in 1929. This reproduction is in the public domain, according to the Wikimedia Foundation.
HENRY WORRALL (1825–1902): Anglo-American Guitarist
By Robert Ferguson

...the only man that we ever heard make music—real live music—on a guitar. 1

The six-string guitar began its rise in popularity in the United States during the 1820s and 1830s, stimulated partly by the arrival of the first touring European virtuosos of the instrument—players like A.T. Huerta (1800–1874) and Antonio B. Martinez (active in New York in the 1830s). Its vogue was especially evident among the nation's growing middle classes, who could afford to pay to play. The latest editions of guitar music imported from Europe were regularly being offered for sale in American newspapers, as this notice in the Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser of 1 April 1822, attests:

NEW MUSIC. J. Cole has just received a choice variety of EUROPEAN MUSIC, chiefly Parisian and Italian publications, among which are . . . Guitar Music, consisting of Nocturnes, Divertimentos, Arias, Sonatas, & c. by Giuliani, Carulli, Pastou, Garibaldi, Comoglio, Anelli, etc.

The appearance of European performers and European music in this country bespoke an overflow of la guitaromanie, the exuberant embrace of all things guitar in Europe. The social acceptance and appeal of the instrument spread in varying degrees through a number of European capitals in the early decades of the nineteenth century, culminating in the full-fledged Parisian outbreak of "guitarmania" around 1830. 2

Excitement surrounding the guitar in the States paralleled European developments. It created a demand for guitar literature for the parlor performer, including pieces to play and instruction on how to play them. The first homegrown American guitar method, George Willig's New Instructions for the Spanish Guitar (1816), was followed by about twenty more tutors issued between 1820 and the midpoint of the century. 3 In addition, sheet music editions of guitar solos and songs with guitar accompaniment proliferated. Figures such as Leopold Meignen, José de Anguera, Francis Weiland, and dozens of others published compositions and arrangements for guitar in this early period.

Few of these individuals, however, in their music or their personal lives proved as colorful as the English immigrant Henry Worrall, who appeared on the American scene just as the guitar reached a plateau of popularity. As vital as the guitar itself, the prevailing social, philosophical, and aesthetic tenets of Worrall's era also wove a unifying thread through his life, career, and oeuvre. His immersion in both the graphic and musical arts; his straddling of vernacular and high culture; his connection to nature and especially agriculture; his nationalist and regionalist sympathies; and his fondness for folk, popular, and heroic musical themes all drew from and evinced a Romantic worldview.

Worrall's Early Years
Worrall rose to prominence in the American West, first as a musician and then as a visual artist—one of the earliest national figures in either field to do so. Born in Liverpool on 14 April 1825, he emigrated with his father, Charles Allen Worrall (1791–18??), to North America aboard the Napoleon on 26 April 1835. Charles, whom Henry's own son, Harvey, later described as a "brilliant writer—fine flute player & wood carver," served at some point as the editor of a New Orleans newspaper. Harvey wrote that his grandfather died in New Orleans, and that "we do not know when he died." Accounts of Henry place him and his father first in Canada, but by 1836 the two resurfaced in Buffalo, New York. 4

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1 (Cincinnati) Weekly Register, 8 Dec 1853.
2 Douglas Back, "The Guitar on the New York Concert Stage, 1816–1890, as Chronicled by George C.D. Odell and George Templeton Strong," Soundboard 25, no.4 (Spring 1999): 11–18; Philip P. Gura, C.F. Martin and His Guitar, 1796–1873 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003), xi, 2–24. La guitaromanie, the term given to the instrument's vogue in France, derives from the title of a publication by Charles de Marescot of guitar pieces interspersed with satirical illustrations. The Bibliothèque nationale has catalogued its rare, undated, hand-colored copy this way: "Musique imprimée. Paris: chez l'auteur, [s.d.]. In-8° obl., 51 p. Known as Marescot's Op. 46, it can be dated to approximately 1829, when its publication was first announced in the authoritative Bibliographie de la France (p. 792). It was reprinted in facsimile by the Studio per Edizioni Scelte, Florence, in 1985. Its famously hilarious hand-colored lithographic illustrations are well worth viewing and easily found online as digital photos of various resolutions.

3 New Instructions for the Spanish Guitar... by a Professor (Philadelphia: George Willig, 1816); Robert Ferguson, American Guitar Methods to 1924, forthcoming.

4 Robert Taft, Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850–1900 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 118; handwritten notes of Harvey Worrall, son of Henry, Henry Worrall Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka (hereafter cited as HWC); "Henry Worrall Dead," Topeka State Journal, 21 June 1902; "Henry Worrall Has Passed Away," Topeka Daily Herald, 21 June 1902. The preceding two obituaries, plus a third by C.T. Webber ["Former Well-Known Cincinnatian Dead," (Cincinnati) Commercial Tribune, 29 June 1902] contain most of the available information on Worrall's early life. All three state that the Worralls spent time in Canada, but only "Worrall Dead" places Henry in Buffalo as a child. Listings for Charles Allen Worrall, printer, in the Buffalo city directories of 1836 (p.139) and 1839 (p.146) confirm the presence of the Worralls in that city. Webber claims that Henry followed his father not only to Canada but to New York City, Cincinnati, and New Orleans, returning to Cincinnati upon his father's death. However, discrepancies between Webber's recollection and certain known facts call this part of his account into question.
Little is known about Worrall’s childhood and early adulthood, aside from his selling newspapers on the streets of Buffalo. According to one source, “he had a hard struggle to get an education, having to support himself while studying, but he acquired not only the usual schooling, but a thorough training in art and music.” Unfortunately, no direct evidence corroborates this statement, and in all likelihood Worrall, at least as a visual artist, was self-taught.5 As a musician, Worrall may have received vocal training in the Buffalo public school system, which introduced vocal instruction as early as 1837, or in the singing schools and singing conventions that flourished in the East and across much of the Mississippi Valley in the mid-nineteenth century.6 Aspects of his professional life, examined later in this article, strongly suggest this. Worrall also learned a number of instruments—keyboard, brass, and bowed—in addition to guitar, but when and from whom (if not himself) constitutes another unknown.

Cincinnati

Worrall first appeared in Cincinnati city directories in 1851. Documentation of his professional activities began a couple of years later. In 1853 he published his first guitar solo, *Violet Waltz with Variations* (see List of Works, p. 19, for publishing details).7 Notices of Worrall’s guitar recitals also appeared in southern Ohio newspapers starting in 1853, documenting performances in Marietta and Zanesville as well as Cincinnati. A typical notice read: “The lovers of ‘the concord of sweet sounds’ will be sure to go and hear ‘Worrall,’ the great Guitarist. He was here once before and we must say is the only man that we ever heard make music—real live music—on a guitar. He offers a rich bill this evening.”8

In 1855 Worrall wrote what would later be his most acclaimed guitar piece, *Sebastopol*. Beginning the same year, and continuing for the next ten, he served as instructor of guitar and organ at the Ohio Female College, Cincinnati (Figure 1, also viewable in color online).9

Such private academies were not only prime venues for the education of girls and young women in Worrall’s day, but as his own case demonstrates, they provided welcome employment for artists and musicians. These schools also offered opportunities to perform. On 30 June 1856, an “Exhibition of the Somerville Literary Society of the Ohio Female College” included these pieces:

- “Duett, Guitar, Mary E. Harvey and Worrall”
- “Solo, Guitar, Worrall” (The whole program, Figure 2, is viewable online.)

Exactly a year later, on 30 June 1857, Worrall participated in a second program sponsored by the Somerville Society. His selections on this occasion were similar:

- “Duett – Guitar, Prof. Worrall and Miss L. Harvey”
- “Solo – Guitar, Prof. Worrall”11

Mary Elizabeth (Liz) Harvey, a student of Worrall’s at the college, hailed from the hamlet of Harrison, Indiana, near the Ohio border, about seventy-five miles northwest of Cincinnati. She and Worrall married on 14 April 1859, his thirty-fourth birthday, and together raised three children (Figure 3).12

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7  Original scores of all the pieces by Worrall discussed in this article, with the exception of *Spanish Retreat*, can be viewed online at www.kansasmemory.org/locate.php?query=Henry+Worrall.
8  (Cincinnati) Weekly Register, 8 Dec 1853 [italics original].
9  “Henry Worrall Dead”; Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Ohio Female College (Cincinnati: Ben Franklin Book and Job Office, 1855–1865).
Figure 1 is viewable online in color at www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02.
10 Figure 2 is viewable at www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02.
11 Concert programs, HWC (see note 4).
1856 marked a red-letter year for Worrall. He published a popular method book, *The Eclectic Guitar Instructor*, as well as his first collection of student pieces, *Worrall’s Select Guitar Melodies*, both issued by W. C. Peters & Sons of Cincinnati. Immediately before and after the Civil War, Worrall would issue or reissue several additional guitar works under the Peters imprint, including *Sebastopol*, *Fantasia on Lucy Long*, *Spanish Fandango*, and *Spanish Retreat*.

Around this same time Worrall made a trip to Cherry Hill outside Nazareth, Pennsylvania, to visit America’s most esteemed luthier, C. F. Martin. Much later in life Worrall related the story of his meeting with Martin to his young friend in Topeka, J. W. Valentine. A half-century after that, in a letter to Robert Taft, Valentine recalled Worrall’s account:

> When at his peak of guitar playing he conceived the idea that he wanted a big concert guitar and could not find any for sale large enough. So he went to the great Martin guitar factory and asked them to make him one. They invited him to play for them and was so pleased they (The Martins) asked him to their home for supper and play some more for them at home. That night they invited in neighbors to hear him and before he left they promised to make him a large guitar like he wanted. They did so and made it a present to him.

Although Valentine’s last statement sounds implausible, it is truthful! In his sales journal for 18 August 1856, Martin recorded the details of the guitar he made for Worrall, and in the price column he entered “Present” (*Figure 4*). Such a practice of gifting guitars to players was exceedingly rare for Martin. He clearly regarded Worrall as a figure of singular importance.

Worrall took delivery of his guitar, and of a second one he had ordered for a Miss Babbs, three days later, on August 21. On that same day he wrote to Martin:

> The guitars arrived to day by Adam’s & Co. express, they were leaning against the door of my room when I went there in the morning. I shall not endeavor to tell you how proud I am of that guitar, or how much I thank you for it, knowing I have not words to do so. It seems the whole town knew that I was about to receive an extra instrument and from noon to 7 o’clock there must have been twenty persons who called to see it, having heard of its arrival, and I have played so much that all my fingers are sore and my thumb is blistered—I am delighted.
Worrall concludes his letter: “Please present my respects to your family with the assurance that I remember my pleasant little visit to Cherry Hill.”15 (See Figure 5, viewable online.)

A photograph from about this time shows Worrall posing with a guitar, but curiously, the instrument he holds does not conform to any known Martin design (Figure 6).16

As a painter and illustrator, Worrall soon became active in the artistic circles of his adopted city. His growing recognition as both a musician and artist was reflected in his appointment in 1857 to the position of “Professor of the Guitar, and of Lineal & Perspective Drawing” at the Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College. He served in that capacity until 1862. (See Figure 7, online.)17

1857 proved of special significance to Worrall for another reason, too. That year he became a United States citizen. On March 31 he went before Ohio’s Court of Common Pleas for Hamilton County and took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and “absolutely and entirely forever renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every Foreign Prince, Potentate, State, or Sovereignty, whatsoever, and particularly to the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland.”18

In late 1858 Worrall and artist William P. Noble cofounded the Cincinnati Sketch Club, a group of artists, writers, and musicians who met regularly in private homes. The group included the most important figures of the Cincinnati arts scene, including John Frankenstein, James H. Beard, Thomas Buchanan Read, C.T. Webber, and many others.

In March of 1860 the group first published their own eight-page semimonthly, The Sketch Club, described as “A Journal of Fine Arts and Literature.”19 Only the first three issues survive; how many more followed, if any, remains unknown. The club noted its musical interest in its first issue: “We should be happy to receive from our musical friends such new compositions they may publish or receive…We trust in the progress of the Sketch Club to be able to present our subscribers and readers with some choice songs and pieces in our journal.” True to form, the third issue announced: “We have received from our friends at A. C. and J. L. Peters…Sebastopol, a Fantasia for the Guitar, by one of the members of the Sketch Club, Mr. Henry Worrall; Mr. Worrall is a very excellent performer, and his composition is good evidence of his talent in that line.”20

Perhaps the most interesting statement made by the Sketch Club appeared in the premier issue of its journal, where the group laid out its artistic philosophy in no uncertain terms: “[The] time has arrived when we should assume a sectional independence, and no longer submit to be held in leading strings, and patted upon the head as a pretty boy…let us not follow the slavish course which has kept all our Eastern country crushed under the ban of European opinion.”21 Although this regionalist declaration appeared without a byline, there is no doubt that Henry Worrall (if he did not in fact write it) subscribed to its aesthetic stance wholeheartedly, evidenced in most all of his visual and

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15 Letter to C. F. Martin, 21 Aug 1856, C. F. Martin & Co. archives, Nazareth, PA. I thank Mr. Boak for making this letter and Martin’s ledger entry available to me. Figure 5 is viewable at www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02.
16 Correspondence with Dick Boak, 22 Aug 2011. Boak observes of the photograph: “The guitar looks illustrated to me and is not indicative of Martin style and shape, especially the elongated headstock and thin bridge wings…Looking at the sides of the guitar, it just doesn’t appear to be photographic. Same with the rosette and soundhole. The soundhole usually shows up black from an absence of light. The headstock seems stretched out of proportion with an odd taper.” Insofar as Worrall was a skilled illustrator, a fact unknown to Mr. Boak at the time of his observation, the latter’s remarks seem particularly perceptive.
17 Annual Catalogue of the Cincinnati Wesley College, for Young Women (Cincinnati: [Wesleyan] College, 1857–1862). Figure 7 is viewable online at www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02.
18 Naturalization papers, HWC.
20 The Sketch Club 1, no. 3 (5 May 1860): 4.
22 Haverstock et al., 984; Cincinnati Enquirer, 6 Aug 1864.
HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

musical work. The Sketch Club's final meeting, described as a "reunion," took place on 6 August 1864.22

In 1862 Worrall's mother, Mary, died. Worrall traveled back to Liverpool, where he and his younger brother Joseph settled her estate. Henry returned to the States in late February 1863, having received £263 as his share of the settlement. This amount roughly equaled a year's income for professionals in Britain such as clergy or clerks, and about three times the annual earnings of schoolmasters. With a three-year-old son, Harvey, born 12 January 1860, and a daughter, Mamie, arriving in about a year (April 1864), such a windfall must have provided Worrall a welcome respite from the austere economic conditions that he surely faced daily as a musician and artist. This would have been especially true coming on the heels of the Panic of 1857 and the economic depression that ensued. However the Panic may have affected Worrall, clearly his life in Cincinnati was not always sweetness and light. In the same letter to Robert Taft quoted earlier, J.W. Valentine also disclosed that his friend twice attempted suicide during his residence in that city. Now with a sizable inheritance in hand, Worrall faced the possibility of making a significant change in his situation. This he would finally do when the Civil War ended and the country, at least north of the Mason-Dixon Line, returned to normal.23

Topeka

In 1868, in his early forties, Worrall relocated his family to Topeka, Kansas, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants. A year after his arrival, Worrall's drawings appeared in local newspapers, and his illustration "Drouthy Kansas" appeared on the cover of the November 1869 issue of Kansas Farmer.24 This caricature of Kansan agricultural abundance, reproduced across the country, brought Worrall his first national recognition and elevated him to folk hero among the people of the state.

But none of this should suggest that Worrall did not remain involved with music. The same year that he created "Drouthy Kansas," he participated in his first concert in Germania Hall tonight, the review read. “Prof. Henry Worrall and Miss Minnie Beals were prominent among those taking part in the program.” That same year Worrall also joined Topeka's newly founded Musical Union, whose stated mission emphasized "the cultivation and faithful rendering of the better class of musical composition." The group gave its first performance on 28 April 1869. The announcement for the program read in part: “Prof. Worrall in some of his finest guitar melodies—Union Hall tonight.” Worrall maintained a long association with this organization, becoming its president in 1876. On 12 October 1869, he again performed in a program with singer Minnie Beals: "A grand benefit concert given Miss Minnie Beals by residents of Topeka, took place tonight at Union Hall. Among others taking part in the program was Prof. Worrall, who played the 'Carnival of Venice' with variations." 25

Worrall never published a set of original variations on "Carnival of Venice," nor does one exist in manuscript. Whether this item represents a lost arrangement of his or one of numerous other arrangements for guitar available at the time remains an open question. It does tell us that Worrall's performance repertoire extended beyond his own published works. About a month after the Minnie Beals benefit, in a typical melding of his musical and artistic impulses, Worrall painted a life-size portrait of the "Topeka Nightingale." 26

Over the next decade Worrall's artistic activities continued to expand. In 1871 he became "Instructor in Perspective Drawing and Painting" at Washburn College in Topeka. Fellow Topekan W. E. Webb enlisted him to illustrate Buffalo Land (1872). A similar commission came to Worrall a couple of years later with Joseph G. McCoy's Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade (1874). Some of Worrall's illustrations, though not yet attributed to him as they later would be, also appeared in Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper and Harper's Weekly in the early 1870s.27

Although Worrall played and promoted the guitar actively, it's worth noting the conspicuous absence of the instrument in his portraits of life on the cattle trail. This comes as...
no surprise given that the image of the singing, guitar-strumming cowboy was largely the product of twentieth-century myth and Hollywood fantasy. Worrall did, however, produce one illustration that rings true about music on the rural frontier. His “Dance-House” from Historic Sketches accompanies McCoy’s colorful, though not altogether objective, description of this ubiquitous frontier institution:

Beings without whom the world would be better, richer and more desirable… are found in the frontier cattle town; and that institution known in the west as a dance house is there found also. When the darkness of the night is come to shroud their orgies from public gaze, these miserable beings gather into the halls of the dance house, and “trip the fantastic toe” to wretched music, ground out of dilapidated instruments, by beings fully as degraded as the most vile.28

In Worrall’s simple illustration (Figure 8) we see no guitar but instead the frontier instrument par excellence, the fiddle, taking its dominant role in a three-piece string band.

As for Worrall’s own music, the public record reveals a marked decline in his solo performances throughout the seventies and beyond. Growing demand for his art and design work was the main reason, but the three economic depressions that beset the country between 1873 and 1896—not to mention the arrival of his third child, Charles Alexander, in 1873—surely had a dampening effect on his performance opportunities as well.

Nonetheless, Worrall remained musically active on other fronts. He continued as president of the Musical Union in Topeka until the group disbanded at the end of the 1880s, concluding a twenty-year history together. In the mid-eighties he served as pianist for the Topeka Choral Society, formed at the beginning of that decade to attain “a higher degree of musical culture through the study and rendition of the works of the best authors, both ancient and modern.” In addition, he served as organist for a Topekan church, most likely Grace Cathedral, and participated in one or more of the town’s half-dozen brass bands, playing ophicleide.29 Meanwhile, throughout this period his earlier guitar works were kept before the public eye, attesting to their continuing popularity. Between 1875 and the end of the century, all of them, including his Eclectic Instructor, were reissued by Oliver Ditson & Co., some several times.

The only new guitar work that Worrall published while in Kansas was his Carmencita: Mexican Dances of 1896.

In 1899 Worrall suffered a paralytic stroke from which he only partially recovered, and three years later, on 20 June 1902, he died. The Topeka Daily Herald eulogized: “His ability, taste and judgment have often been of great service to the people of Topeka and Kansas and he did much for the advancement of art in the middle West.” A distinguished contemporary, T. C. Henry, stated it more succinctly, writing that Worrall “was a man whose unique public service Kansas should honor.” Four decades later, J.W. Valentine offered a final, poignant epilogue to Worrall’s musical life west of the Mississippi: “Many times, he, an old gray haired man, and I a 15 year old boy, went serenading the girls of Bethany College and other girls over [in] Topeka, about midnight. He played the guitar accompanying my violin playing. He said this fun reminded him of when he was a young fellow in Cincinnati.”30

Worrall’s Musical Legacy

Worrall’s position in nineteenth-century American music rests on two main pillars: his contribution to an Americanist guitar literature and performance style, and his championing of the country’s urban frontier and pioneer culture. When press, pulpit, and prosenium were filled with exhortations on the need for the United States to achieve self-reliance in its artistic and literary life, and when German music was gaining an ever-greater foothold in American concert life, Worrall pursued in many of his works a mode of expression national and even western in idiom. Some of Worrall’s compositions portended the later technique-driven American school of guitar centered on

28 Diane Lindstrom, “Depressions, Economic,” in Oxford Companion to United States History, ed. Paul S. Boyer (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), 183; Charles Alexander’s birthday is recorded on a cemetery plan of the Worrall-Harvey family; RCC, Radges’; 1876 to 1888-89. Quote is from Radges’, 1882, 248. The Musical Union drops from city directories after 1889; “Henry Worrall Dead” states that Worrall “was organist in a church” but does not specify which one. Circumstantial evidence points to Grace Episcopal Cathedral (present-day name). “Passed Away” reveals that Worrall’s funeral was officiated by “Dean Kaye of Grace cathedral.”

29 “Passed Away”; Later generations have been less generous in their assessment of Worrall’s art. For example, in Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 371, William Frank Zornow writes: “His talent was actually rather negligible, but as a primitive artist he is not without interest”; T. C. Henry, “The Story of a Fenceless Winter-Wheat Field,” Kansas State Historical Collections 9 (1905–1906), 505; Valentine to Taft, 4 Jan 1946, RTC.

30 Worrall’s house was a four-minute walk from Grace. And an Anglican affiliation would be consistent with Worrall’s British provenance, though obviously not determinative. Valentine to Taft, 4 Jan 1946, RTC.
HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

virtuosity and represented most prominently by William Foden (1860–1947).

Between 1860 and 1866, in Foden’s hometown of St. Louis, J. L. Peters & Bro. issued or reissued all of Worrall’s music published up to that time. Foden himself owned a copy of Worrall’s arrangement of Spanish Fandango. As a composer and arranger, Foden mirrored Worrall’s treatment of New World themes but on a much larger scale. Some of Worrall’s concert compositions extend and embellish those themes with pyrotechnic passagework, arpeggios, and other devices to create fantasy or variation forms. So it is with Foden. Worrall’s virtuoso treatment is evident in his renditions of tunes like Spanish Fandango and the minstrel favorite, Lucy Long. Both exemplify a type of extended guitar composition that gained great favor in the American guitar community after 1890. This music, in the words of Jeffrey Noonan, “offered the illusion of elite, authoritative music, detailing dynamics, articulations, and tempi,” while “thematic familiarity, static structures and harmonies, and changing surface patterns insured a vernacular accessibility.”

Worrall explored the guitar’s technical and timbral palette more thoroughly than any of his mid-century contemporaries. As with the piano, battle pieces on guitar were a popular item of the day, and they provided a favorite vehicle for players to exploit certain idiomatic effects, especially harmonics and tambour. Worrall, however, did not limit his use of such techniques to martial music alone. In most of his more advanced pieces, he made extensive use of these devices plus additional ones like rasgueado, melody played over the entire length of one string, unison effects, and open-string drones or pedal tones.

Worrall’s penchant for innovation is perhaps most apparent in his use of the right-hand pinky (c). Generally speaking, c has not been a part of standard guitar technique. Its earliest known documentation occurred in the method books of Johann Jacob Staehlin (Anleitung zum Guitarrespiel, 1811) and Simon Molitor (Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen Anleitung, 1812), where both authors advocated the use of all five right-hand fingers in five-string chords. In his Escuela de Guitarra (Paris, 1826) Dionisio Aguado included c for some limited arpeggio fingerings. Its use was first put forward in the United States by N. P. B. Curtiss, also for five-string chords (Progressive and Complete Method for the Guitar, Boston, 1850). Foden, too, applied c to such chords in accordance with what his teacher, William O. Bateman, advanced in his School of the Guitarist (St. Louis, 1881). Worrall adopted this usage but took it further, using the little finger to execute an idiosyncratic rhythmic pattern present in over a half-dozen of his solos—a kind of signature motif derived from percussion technique. On guitar, this figure requires an approach much like that of tremolo, rapidly repeating a single pitch or two simultaneous pitches c-a-m-i (Figures 9a/9b).

Worrall’s importance to the guitar also resides in his use of “slack-key” or consonant tunings, which produce resonant, full-voiced triadic harmonies when strummed. Worrall did not invent such tunings, to be sure, but no one did more to popularize them in his day and ultimately to standardize them. He accomplished this primarily through two pieces, the first being Spanish Fandango. Likely due to this tune’s broad appeal, its G-major tuning (D-G-d-g-b-d’) became known as “Spanish tuning.” It spread far and wide, both through Worrall’s compositions and those of others. Worrall’s battle piece, Sebastopol, which first appeared in truncated form in his Eclectic Guitar Instructor of 1856 and later, in 1860, in a complete edition, popularized D-major and other open-G scordaturas, including that of Spanish Fandango, also surfaced in Iberamerica early in the colonial period and became widespread. See Maria-Ester Grebe, “Modality in Spanish Vihuela Music and Archaic Chilean Folksongs: A Comparative Study,” Ethnomusicology 11, no. 3 (Sept. 1967): 234, and Carlos Vega, Los instrumentos musicales aborígenes y criollos de la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Centurión, 1946), 167. So there may be historical roots for the term “Spanish tuning” as used in North America, which in turn raises the possibility that Spanish Fandango derived its name from, rather than gave it name to, the tuning upon which it is based.

51 Foden/Hoskins Collection, Box 20, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Jeffrey J. Noonan, The Guitar in America: Victorian Era to Jazz Age (Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2008), 94.
53 Juan Bermudo, in Declaración de instrumentos musicales (1555), bk. IV, ch. 26, describes a Spanish 5-course “guitarra nueva” tuning of GdBgd’. In bk. IV, ch. 60, Bermudo refers to an unconventional tuning for 6-course vihuela of GBgdgbd’. These figures 9a/9b.
tuning (D-A-d-f#-a-d’). Like its open-G counterpart, this tuning became known by the piece most closely associated with it. Guitarists from that day forward have called it “Sebastopol tuning” (or “Sevastopol,” often corrupted to “Vastopol” or “Vestopol”). These open G and D tunings not only appeared in the published guitar literature of the day; more importantly, they entered the unwritten folk tradition of American guitar music. They took hold in the country’s southern rural areas, and became the basis of quite a range of regional blues, country, later steel-string folk and rock, and other popular guitar styles—a trend still in evidence today. 34

The popularity of open tunings, then and now, has much to do with their ability to simplify (some might say democratize) guitar playing: to bring its resonant charms within the reach of untrained enthusiasts. These tunings allow players to easily execute both melody and accompaniment, giving the left hand freer range over the entire fretboard. Chordal textures thus become more accessible; major chords in particular become easily playable even in the higher positions, by stopping the strings with an index-finger barré. As a result, guitarists of limited ability are able to produce pieces with both melodies and full-sounding accompaniments.

James Ballard, in The Elements of Guitar-Playing (1838), recognized the expediency of such variant tunings: “This peculiarity of tuning, which is by many considered as a great imperfection, is, to the amateur of the guitar, a matter of congratulation; for it adds to the variety of guitar effects; and by its means, passages, which sound very difficult to the ear, are often rendered exceedingly easy for the hand.”35 On the down side, open tunings force a single key to predominate, making it more difficult to venture into other tonal regions or even to leave the tonic-dominant axis. As a result, they are most appropriate for harmonically simple music, a limitation that would hardly matter to the unsophisticated but enthusiastic amateur.

Worrall’s role in American music was not limited to his influence on the nation’s developing guitar traditions, however. As he embraced the democratic and Romantic spirit of the age, his compositions, like his visual art, reflected the dynamic of the unfolding frontier. Like his exact contemporary, Stephen Foster, Worrall operated in the liminal urban culture at the nation’s edge of settlement, where wilderness conditions were never far off. What Gilbert Chase wrote about Foster—that “he was able to combine the vitality of the frontier and a certain element of primitive simplicity with the genteel tradition of the urban fringe”—applies equally well to Worrall, except that Worrall was closer to the soil. 36 His agrarian ties became especially clear in his visual productions once he moved to Topeka.

He was commissioned to create crop-art displays for various corporate, state, and national fairs, including the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia (for which we still have his personalized entry ticket; see Figure 10). 37

The Lighter Side of Worrall

Musically, too, some of Worrall’s Topeka performances had strong rural resonance, designed to appeal to Kansan farmers and other western frontiersmen. For instance, in one such performance he “made one of his characteristic speeches…and played on his wood and straw piano.”

One reviewer described him as “manipulating the strings of his guitar with the hand of a perfect master, and then changing to the jocular style of a minstrel, rattling the wooden keys of his Pianissimo fortissimo staccatorion [the same wood and straw piano?] with equal ease.” Another described one of his “crayon and musical programs” as “rich, rare, and racy.” The Topeka Commonwealth reported in early August 1869 that “Worrall, the prince of artists and musicians, has concocted and executed a most admirable burlesque on the picture of the infantile group of the Commonwealth proprietors.” The reviewer opined, “A peep at Worrall’s caricature is worth more than a physician’s prescription of the worst case of biliousness,” adding that “Knight has taken photographic copies of the caricature.” J. Lee Knight was a leading Topeka photographer. One of his photos of Worrall’s parody still survives and appears as Figure 11.

In this image we can see, or infer, not only Worrall’s proclivity for crop art carried over to the stage, but many

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37 Figure 10 is viewable online at www.guitarfoundation.org/page/Sbs502.
HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

comic conventions then prevalent in the West: costume, masquerade, “rhapsodic monologue,” and mock oration. However, as this was also the “Age of Eloquence” in America, it is not entirely clear that Worrall’s performances, this one included, involved music in every instance.38

Some evidence suggests that the guitar at this time, at least in the public sphere, lost ground to the banjo as the latter gained ascendance in the mid-century minstrel show. Worrall’s performances in both Cincinnati and Topeka reveal how one musician attempted to meet the minstrel challenge. The Cincinnati Commercial, writing of one Worrall concert, observed that “the guitar playing was admirable, the songs were given in a manner that prove him to have a genuine soul for comedy, the air and variations on his Tronduanphilipenstrausiomomento was brilliant and beautiful, and his violin solos irresistibly comic.” Here too, the “mock pompous words” that Worrall used as names for his homemade instruments had, like minstrelsy, deep roots in the American frontier and its broad brand of humor. What the multisyllabic instrument mentioned here might have been remains uncertain, but as one writer rather dryly observed, Worrall “has some instruments that are a novelty to our people.”

In his desire to appeal to a broad spectrum of the public, then, Worrall was something of a musical polymath. He played guitar, piano, organ, violin, an instrument or two of his own invention, and he sang. One newspaper even referred to him as “H. Worrall—the eminent guitarist and vocalist.” His friend in Topeka, J.W. Valentine, corroborated and enlarged upon Worrall’s multi-instrumentalism when he wrote: “He was a good player on violin, viola, double bass, flute, and guitar and an instrument I don’t know how to spell in a brass band. Sounds like off-clyde” (ophicleide, see above).39

Published Concert Works for Guitar

Worrall’s publishing history makes clear that he was first and foremost a guitarist. He neither composed nor published for any other instrument. Even so, his output of guitar music was not large—about a dozen opuses altogether (see List of Works, p. 19).

Many of his guitar scores embraced the same egalitarian values of mid-nineteenth-century America that his live performances did. For example, in his Fantasia on Lucy Long he invokes one of America’s least genteel cultural products, the minstrel song. In Sebastopol and Spanish Retreat he draws on military band music. In Capretio on a Mexican Air and Spanish Fandango he treats two exemplars of the North American folk tradition.

Spanish Fandango

Spanish Fandango, a guitar solo of uncertain authorship that was neither Spanish nor a fandango, first appeared in Ballard’s Elements of Guitar-Playing cited earlier (titled simply “Fandango”). Worrall’s history with the piece says much about his popular appeal. The story actually begins with violinist Joseph Tosso (1802–1887), an older colleague of Worrall’s in Cincinnati with whom Worrall occasionally shared the concert stage. Tosso began playing the traditional fiddle tune, “Arkansas Traveler,” in 1841 or 1842, complete with variations, soon after it gained popularity (and a couple of years before Ole Bull, who also created a sensation with this piece, first toured the United States). Not only did Tosso play “Arkansas Traveler,” he claimed to be its composer. In fact, as late as 1880 he still billed his showcase arrangement as “Arkansaw Traveler: A Musical Anecdote or Mr. T’s Adventures in Texas.” Tosso’s hoax succeeded so well that the people of the Ohio Valley believed it right up to his death.41

Coincidentally or not, Worrall did something similar. When he published his first composition in 1853, a set of variations on Spanish Fandango, he failed to identify the theme. Instead he titled the work Violet Waltz with Variations and listed himself as composer. In so doing, he undoubtedly left the impression in many people’s minds that the work was wholly his own (though he may have assumed the source of the theme was common knowledge).

A few years later, in his Eclectic Instructor, he also included Spanish Fandango, this time in its basic sixteen-bar form, without embellishment, and again titled it Violet Waltz. Here, however, he listed himself as arranger rather than composer (p. 57).

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40 On 20 June 2015, the Kansas State Historical Society sponsored a two-hour lecture-recital in Topeka on the music of Worrall, viewable at www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwJh4djM_E. On that program, guitarist Joshua Pierce plays the following works (locator times in parentheses) on a period John Ashborn guitar: Spanish Fandango, 1866 version (44:30); Sebastopol, 1860 version (50:29); Carmencita (56:15); Chimes of E (1:04:24); Storm Waltzes, complete (1:09:08); What be King but Charlie, from Medley of Airs (1:14:11); five waltzes (1:16:04) and “Arkansas Traveller” (1:22:45) from The Eclectic Guitar Instructor, Fantasia on Lucy Long (1:29:23).

In 1866 he published another, shorter set of variations on this same tune, now using the original title _Spanish Fandango_ while again listing himself as arranger. His various editions of this theme were reprinted several times before century’s end, until his name became so closely linked to it that even in the early twenty-first century, scholars still on occasion attribute _Spanish Fandango_ to Worrall.  

Wittingly or unwittingly, Worrall, like Tosso, pulled off a musical appropriation the effect of which remains with us to this day. But in a way it’s fitting. Worrall so positioned himself as a musician of the people that such a piece of music as this, sprung so organically from egalitarian roots, could not have resonated more strongly with his artistic persona.

_Capretio on a Mexican Air_

We may never know to what extent, if any, Tosso and his “Arkansas Traveler” provided a model for Worrall’s initial handling of _Spanish Fandango_ and its subsequent shaping of public perception. In a similar way, we can only infer Tosso’s influence in the making of another major Worrall guitar solo, _Capretio on a Mexican Air_ of 1866 (capretio = capritio or capriccio).

Born in Mexico of Italian parents, Tosso studied at the Paris Conservatory from the age of eight to about sixteen. He returned to North America, finally settling in Cincinnati in 1827, where he became a looming presence in the city’s musical life and a compatriot of Worrall. Worrall’s _Instructor_ includes “Tosso’s Favorite Air” (p. 31; not the Mexican Air discussed here). Tosso also participated in Worrall’s Sketch Club. The Kansas State Historical Society has a program of a concert by Tosso in Cincinnati on which Worrall also appeared as soloist, dated 19 May 1859 (Figure 12). And in his 1856 letter to C.F. Martin, Worrall mentioned that he “played at a concert given to a Mr. Bickerdyke, at which Mr. Jos. Tosso played.” C. T. Webber provides additional background: “With Tosso and his violin Worrall’s guitar went, giving refinement and delight throughout many of the Western and Southern States. The older Cincinnatians and people of the river towns, Marietta, Portsmouth, Maysville and others will remember well those concerts of the early days.”

Many years later, in 1886, Webber photographed Tosso and Worrall playing together (Figure 13).

In short, given his Liverpudlian roots and the predominantly German and Irish population of Cincinnati,
HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

it is not unreasonable to surmise that Worrall’s decision to arrange a Mexican popular song for guitar—as an Italian-style capriccio no less—was inspired not by anything in his immediate social milieu but by his Italian-Mexican friend and mentor.

Whatever the case, the regional provenance of the tune provides an apt vehicle for the idiosyncratic style that the capriccio typically represents. Worrall’s Capretio shows that genre’s characteristic departure from musical norms most conspicuously in its unusual tuning: C, c, c, g, c’, e’. The preponderance of c’s, especially the unison fifth and fourth strings, gives this piece a certain exotic, primitive quality, one often exalted in the Romantic imagination. The slow introduction features the melody in the bass, at one point played on a single string and ascending to the highest fret of the instrument, an effect that was intensified by Worrall’s use of thumb rest-stroke, a technique he advanced in his Eclectic Instructor. The Capretio itself is replete with tambour, rasgueado, harmonics in single notes and chords, a couple of abrupt and distant modulations, and meter changes from 2/4 to 6/8 to 4/4. The three-voice bass line of the final section moves in parallel octaves and unisons, ascends and descends the fretboard from the open strings to the octave twelfth fret, and pits the key of A-major against a drone C-major triad on the three open treble strings. This interplay of longitudinally moving chord shapes and static open strings, along with their resultant tonal clashes, Worrall looks far beyond the late nineteenth-century American guitar school of William Foden to Heitor Villa-Lobos’s watershed guitar etudes and preludes of the mid-twentieth century.

Sebastopol

Far and away the two most popular guitar solos of latter nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America were Spanish Fandango (though not exclusively Worrall’s renditions) and Worrall’s tour-de-force, Sebastopol. These two pieces were so ubiquitous, in fact, that one serious-minded guitarist of the time, C. D. Schettler, despaired:

Quacks swarm in our cities, where a few dollars are to be made, and frequently those who cannot execute a scale correctly, know nothing whatever of exercises, and have for their complete repertoire the “Spanish Fandango” and sometimes “Sebastopol,” put themselves up to be complete masters of the instrument; thence, wrong impressions are engendered in the public mind and the guitar is looked upon as a mere plaything.44

In Worrall’s defense it should be pointed out that the Sebastopol to which this author refers was not necessarily the complete work that Worrall published in 1860. That would have been too advanced for the typical “quack” to play (though many undoubtedly tried). More likely, Schettler’s lament refers to various simplified versions circulating at the time, versions issuing from the easier prototype that Worrall first published in his Eclectic Guitar Instructor (pp. 50–51). Nor was enthusiasm for Sebastopol limited to guitar. In the 1880s Ditson issued the music for piano and banjo as well. C.T. Webber provides another example of the composition’s crossover appeal: “Once, while the writer, with Mr. Worrall, was looking at a procession going by there came a band playing beautifully something like the roll of a gentle sea. It was Worrall’s ‘Sebastopol.’”45

Sebastopol stands as an example of a piece so popular with the public that its dissemination transcended conventional commercial channels. As Schettler’s remarks attest, transmission-by-imitation played a big part in this. But there was another process at work as well. As in the piano, banjo, and marching band examples cited above, the era’s favorite music inevitably prompted a spate of arrangements across various instruments. But these spin-offs were not always the products of established publishing houses. Untold numbers of them were created in more extemporaneous fashion by rank-and-file musicians working within their respective communities, men and women who adapted their music of choice to the local resources they had at hand.

In the case of Sebastopol, this was instanced in a recital given by the students of Iowa City music teacher Cora Fracker. In March of 1893 Fracker presented a program that included Sebastopol, transcribed for six guitars.46 This arrangement, most likely made by Fracker herself, probably never circulated beyond her own locale, much less her own time. While locally inflected variants like hers still fell within the domain of written music, they formed part of a scribal (hand-copied) rather than a printed music tradition. As such, they replicated many of the features—parochial, ephemeral, alternative, and communal—of orally disseminated forms.

Falling in this grey area between literacy and orality, such musical adaptations were an effective means by which certain high-profile compositions wove their way into the fabric of America’s workaday culture. Doubtless, such scenarios were repeated countless times nationwide. The

45 Webber, “Former Well-Known.”
46 “Impromptu Musicale,” (Iowa City) Daily Citizen, 2 Mar 1893.
Worrall’s *morceau de guerre* commemorates the siege of Sevastopol (1854–55) that hastened the end of the Crimean War. As was usual for his day, Worrall received a cash payment of $15.00 for his effort, while his publisher, A. C. & J. L. Peters of Cincinnati, realized a small fortune from it. A prominent feature of the work is Worrall’s aforementioned signature motif, which he likely derived from the four-stroke ruff of military drumming (Figure 9 above). This figure occurs in the middle section of *Sebastopol*: ninety-six measures that represent the most stirring and technically challenging part of the work. This section was omitted when the piece originally appeared in *The Eclectic Guitar Instructor*. It was that simpler model, as noted in connection with Schettler’s comment above, which most amateurs probably followed. The ruff motif is set alongside traditional bugle imitations in harmonics—evocations of advancing and retreating armies—and other techniques of martial imagery as they were commonly applied to the guitar in the nineteenth century.

**Spanish Retreat**

In her novel *A Lover’s Quarrel* (1858), Harriet Maria Gordon Smythies, one of the country’s many “scribbling women” of sentimental fiction, describes a typical scene in the life of a girl of the American bourgeoisie:

> While expecting the guest, Cecile had taken up her guitar; that guitar she had played with such well-assumed nonchalance the last time she had seen her lover… As Courtney Cleaverhouse entered the hall, he heard Cecile playing “Spanish Retreat” with great taste and skill.

If *Spanish Fandango* and *Sebastopol* were the two most popular guitar works of the nineteenth century, *Spanish Retreat* ran a close third. As the passage above suggests, it too was regarded by genteel guitarists as a highpoint in their musical cultivation. The work first appeared in 1826 or early 1827 in London as part of *A Complete Book of Instructions…*, a guitar method of anonymous authorship, “approved by A. T. Huerta.” Within that book appears “The Spanish Retreat/arranged for the Spanish guitar by A. Sosson.” Sosson’s version was reissued separately around 1830. Meanwhile, Flamini Duvernay, “Guitarist to the King’s Theatre,” published his own arrangement of the piece in late 1827. He also issued a second edition some ten to fifteen years later.

These early solos spawned a plethora of additional guitar arrangements as well as piano adaptations, which were published throughout the nineteenth century. Worrall’s arrangement appeared in 1866. In it, he again makes use of the standard bugle and percussion allusions, including an onomatopoetic simulation of snare drums “produced by muffling the strings with the left hand near the 1st fret, and passing all the fingers of the right hand over the strings from Treble to Bass.” He indulges in most other conventions of the genre as well. All in all, Worrall’s battle pieces were another means by which he captured on guitar an important facet of America’s democratic musical life at mid-century, one that engaged the American populace at a grassroots, quotidian level.

**Fantasia on Lucy Long**

When European virtuosos like Ole Bull, Henri Herz, and Leopold de Meyer began touring the United States in the 1840s, they exerted significant influence in many musical quarters. The guitar community was no exception. In Herz’s tours of 1846–50, the pianist regaled his American public with highly ornamented renditions of popular melodies, framed as fantasias and variation sets and characterized by high-velocity scales, arpeggios, and trills. This lesson was not lost on Worrall. In 1860 the guitarist issued his *Fantasia on Lucy Long*, a piece that treated one of the country’s most popular songs in the same presentational spirit. Worrall’s *Fantasia* is notable mainly for being one of the more virtuosic American guitar solos of the antebellum period. But true to the spirit of Herz and his fellow showmen, Worrall’s treatment of the theme is neither particularly original nor substantive in conception. The minstrel theme, once stated, is simply recast in a predictable array of dazzling arpeggios, tremolos, and harmonics. Near the end of the piece, Worrall adds a program. Every two-bar motive of the theme, written in contrasting registers, intensities, and timbres, now represents a character or situation from the song. Worrall supplies captions below each motive: “Baby crying—Lucy talking to it—Baby—Lucy—Baby—Old man scolding—Baby—Old man.”

Given the source of the music, the aesthetic predilections of the composer, and his intended audience, Worrall’s ending is appropriately theatrical.

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47 “Worrall Dead” claimed that “the sale of that single piece alone has passed the $200,000 mark.”


HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

Other Guitar Publications
Along with his concert works, Worrall also published a number of pieces for amateur guitarists. These appeared in the form of short collections, starting with Worrall's Select Guitar Melodies of 1856. (See List of Works, p. 19, for the individual items in Worrall's anthologies.) The items in this collection are strictly for the elementary player. Open strings are used whenever possible, while the left hand rarely ventures beyond the first position.

In 1860 J. L. Peters & Bro. of St. Louis released a series of Worrall works, titled Floating Gems for the Guitar, in four volumes: I. Storm Waltzes, II. Medley of Airs, III. Fantasia, on Lucy Long, and IV. Two Songs without Words. All but Lucy Long were intended for the dilettante. A few more of Worrall's parlor tunes exist only in manuscript: Jack, Chimes of E, and one untitled. Volumes I, II, and IV of Floating Gems, and the three unpublished pieces, exhibit slightly more sophisticated treatment of rhythm, melody, and harmony, and they extend over more of the fretboard. But they still remain firmly within the circumscribed parameters of the parlor genre. Despite these limitations, Worrall's music for amateurs contains some very lyrical and spirited music.

Carmencita
After his move to Topeka, Worrall issued no new music for thirty years. However, in his work as an illustrator Worrall had traveled over much of southeastern Colorado and the Territory of New Mexico, sometimes for extended periods, and through these visits was able to assimilate some of the Southwest's musical flavor. Accordingly, in 1896 he published Carmencita: Mexican Dances. Worrall did not identify specific Mexican dance types in this collection, nor are any readily apparent. It seems likely that the composer had more interest in evoking, rather than copying, Hispanic musical idioms. Carmencita is a suite of eight short sketches, each portraying a particular individual (see List of Works, p. 19). As in Sebastopol, Worrall employs open-D tuning, which adds to the work's vaguely exotic character. Again, this is not music for the concert stage but for the drawing room. As the most substantive of Worrall's pieces in the parlor genre, Carmencita offers a lively, regionally-inflected tableau for guitarists of modest ability.

The Eclectic Guitar Instructor
In 1856, W. C. Peters & Sons published Worrall's The Eclectic Guitar Instructor: containing the elements of music, a series of exercises and examples together with a variety of waltzes, dances, marches, pleasing airs, &c., and a copious selection of vocal songs and duets, designed for seminaries, high schools and private classes. Worrall's title in part reflects an attempt by author and publisher to capitalize on a number of Cincinnati's prior cultural successes; among them, Timothy Mason's school, the Eclectic Academy of Music; Timothy and Lowell Mason's Sacred Harp or Eclectic Harmony (1835, reissued through the 1840s), published by Truman and Smith of Cincinnati; and William McGuffey's nationally acclaimed series of Eclectic Readers, published in the same city. Worrall's method carried the alternate (and more restrained) title, Worrall's Guitar School, on its front cover (though not on its title page), which is how it usually appeared in advertisements and promotions. Following a one-page preface, the book allocates sections to music fundamentals, technique, solo pieces, and songs with guitar accompaniment. A summary follows:

Preface. In his opening sentence Worrall states that the object of his book is "to furnish the Guitar student with a series of inductive and progressive lessons." The word inductive references Pestalozzianism, a popular educational reform movement of the early nineteenth century. This connection is made clear in the aforementioned Sacred Harp or Eclectic Harmony, where the Mason brothers state, "The Introductory Rules have been prepared according to the Pestalozzian, or inductive system of instruction." Worrall borrows other Pestalozzian catchphrases as well. "The pupil is taken by gradual and almost imperceptible degrees, from the commencement to the end," he writes, emulating Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) himself, whose methodology emphasized "graduated steps of knowledge, in which every new idea is only a small, almost imperceptible addition to that which has been known before."

Although Pestalozzi was not a music educator, his approach was applied to music by Hans Nägeli in Switzerland and Michael Pfeiffer in Germany, and transferred to this country by William C. Woodbridge (1794–1845). In 1830 Woodbridge delivered a lecture in Boston titled "On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education," outlining his seven main principles of vocal instruction. The third was: "To teach but one thing at a time—rhythm, melody, expression." Significantly, Worrall's preface reads, "The exercises and rules for fingering have been arranged on the principle of teaching but one thing at a time" [italics added in both quotes]. Woodbridge's ideas were adopted and widely promulgated by America's foremost music educator, Lowell

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50 In 1866 the same publisher reissued the music of Floating Gems and other Worrall scores in a three-anthology series that included works by other composers: Recreations for the Guitar, Pearl Drops for the Guitar, and Guitarist's Album.
51 Taft, Artists and Illustrators, 119–21.
52 Greve, 920.

Music fundamentals. Worrall's indebtedness to Mason and Pestalozzianism further reveals itself in the music fundamentals section of his tutor, which he divided into three parts: rhythm, melody, and dynamics. Instead of devoting one or two pages to these subjects, as was typical for most guitar tutors of the day, Worrall devoted thirteen, the norm for most vocal tutors and tune books. As for his deference to Pestalozzianism, he only went so far. For instance, whereas that school advocated "sounds before signs,"54 that is, teaching songs by rote before introducing staff notation, Worrall's *Instructor* utilized notation from the outset. In this and other ways, Worrall's book more closely resembled other contemporary guitar instructors.

Technique. In his technique section, Worrall advocates resting the right-hand little finger on the soundboard à la Carcassi and other tutors of the period, although this contradicts his own practice of sometimes playing with the pinky, as in his ruff motif (Figure 9) discussed above. That was a technique that he evidently believed lay beyond the elementary scope of his book. He does, however, also recommend the use of the little finger in five- and six-note chords and arpeggios in the manner advanced by players like Aguado and Curtiss (see above), so he didn't necessarily intend for the player to rest it on the top of the guitar at all times.

He departs from standard mid-nineteenth-century guitar technique in other ways as well. For instance, he writes, "The thumb of the right hand, in striking the thick strings, should slide to, and rest on, the next string, unless the next string forms a portion of the chords [sic] intended to be struck" (p.15). Thus we have an early (perhaps the earliest?) description of rest-stroke with thumb. Worrall also demonstrates a more modern approach to right-hand technique with this statement: "There are often examples on which it is necessary to play the third and second strings with the thumb. The fourth and fifth strings are sometimes struck with the first and second fingers" (p.15, italics original). Worrall recognizes here the greater flexibility that a more free-ranging right hand can provide in certain passages, and like his other observations about technique, this one gives us additional insight into his own style of playing. Despite this last statement, however, Worrall advocates the standard practice of his day for most playing situations: *p* assigned to the fourth, fifth, and sixth strings, while the three highest strings are played with alternating *i-m.*

Solos. The solos section of the *Instructor* draws on the first part of Matteo Carcassi's renowned *Méthode complète* (Paris, 1836) both in its organization—scale exercises in the principal guitar keys followed by a selection of solos in those same keys—and in its actual borrowing of Carcassi's music, mostly without attribution, a standard practice in American guitar methods throughout the nineteenth century. Worrall also takes pieces from Ferdinando Carulli's popular *Méthode complète* (Paris, c.1825) as well as from many other sources, including a representative sampling of music by American guitarists like Francis Weiland, Henry Bollman, and of course, Worrall himself.

Songs. Worrall's section of songs begins with two vocal exercises with guitar accompaniment, followed by nearly twenty songs drawn from the traditional and parlor repertoires. The inclusion of simple vocal pieces in a guitar method not only reflects the author's own background as a singer but continues a convention established in a number of contemporaneous European tutors of the instrument. Those books often added a collection of songs to underscore the guitar's value as an accompaniment medium.55 The selection of solos and songs for Worrall's book, he tells us, was based on his own experience as a pedagogue, "having successfully taught most of the pieces and songs in my own classes" (p. 3).

The *Eclectic Guitar Instructor* was aimed at a popular audience. In this way it closely mirrored other American tutors of its day. When a year later, in 1857, James Flint insisted that his *The Guitar at Home* was "compiled as a book for the people" [italics original], he could just as easily have been speaking for Worrall or any other contemporary in his field.56 As for the word *eclectic* in Worrall's title, the expression served as more than just a fashionable buzzword. Music education in the United States was by its very nature eclectic. As Allen P. Britton writes, "Although from the very first, singing school teachers showed an interest in improving the methodology of teaching and constantly produced 'plainer and easier' techniques for and about


56 Peter Danner, "The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century America: A Lost Social Tradition," *Soundboard* 12, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 294.
HENRY WORRALL:  (cont.)

which they debated and propagated, on the other hand, in what can, I think, be called typically American fashion, they remained eclectic in practice, never adopting one method completely but utilizing bits and snatches of all."57

This aptly describes The Eclectic Guitar Instructor, particularly in view of the fact that Worrall attempted in his book to apply some of the tenets of vocal teaching to an instrumental medium. In 1862, J.L. Peters & Bro. of St. Louis published a revised edition of his book in which the fundamentals section was cut by half to make room for more solo pieces. Ditson reissued this second edition in 1884.

Conclusion
Writing in 1938, cultural historian Constance Rourke observed of nineteenth-century America:

It may be argued that we never had a classic art in this country…that our broad drift has been toward romanticism…[We] were the romantic movement during the 19th century and even earlier, an embodiment of those explosive, highly individualistic forces expressed by romantic art and literature during this major period in Europe…

The stresses and strains of romanticism with their assertion, boldness, and breadth were characteristic of much of the life and expression on our frontiers; they belong to those phases of the national character which we are most likely to call American. 58

Though most of Worrall's music followed more or less classical outlines in terms of form, harmony, and texture, the Romantic thrust of his life and art constitutes the true essence of his legacy. His work reflects a fundamental tenet of American Romanticism, articulated by the writers of the American Renaissance in the three decades leading up to the Civil War: the positive, even heroic, valuation of common people and ordinary experience. Though first given formulation in Europe, this creed found particular pertinence in the New World, where it resonated strongly with the values of proletarian democracy. It led to new pertinence in the New World, where it resonated strongly given formulation in Europe, this creed found particular of common people and ordinary experience. Though first

In his own day, Worrall's works and deeds served as testaments to the vitality of the expanding nation. Today, they serve primarily as documents and indices that enrich our cultural chronicle of the nineteenth-century trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippi Wests. Henry Worrall embodied many of the most sacrosanct values of the western body politic: mobility, self-sufficiency, innovation, egalitarianism, and sturdy manhood (Figure 14). Within that populist ethos, he carved out a European models had a major influence but where a distancing from those models is also apparent. In Europe the guitar was an accessory to the upper and middle classes; it was introduced to America in the colonial and Federalist periods with that pedigree. In the United States it had yet to develop any folk associations and was only beginning to acquire popular ones. In the Romantic spirit of dialectic synthesis, Worrall was among the first to associate this cultivated European instrument with the robust, diversified, vernacular American culture of his day.59

Oscar Sonneck, writing a decade after Worrall's death, argued that the "musical expansion of the West…is really the only characteristically American contribution to the world's musical life at large." He was referring here to the emergence of large institutions such as philharmonic societies and opera companies in places like St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati (while ignoring the all-important African-American presence).60 Paralleling that trend, Worrall's tenure with the Topeka Musical Union and the Topeka Choral Society helped spread the European tradition to one of the West's many peripheral but advancing communities. At the same time, his guitar pieces added another element to America's growing musical lore.

Figure 14: Henry Worrall, photographed in the 1870s

place for the guitar, reinforcing the instrument’s European roots through such means as variation technique and virtuosity, while fostering the instrument’s unique adaptability through devices like open tunings and the treatment of popular themes.

LIST OF WORKS

Published


- Prince William’s Gallop
- Princess Henrietta’s Waltz
- Evening Waltz
- Silver Wave Waltz
- Rosey


I. Storm Waltzes
   - A Life on the Ocean Wave
   - Waltz No. 1
   - Waltz No. 2
   - Sturm Gallop

II. Medley of Airs
   - What be King but Charlie
   - Spanish Dance
   - Gliding Jessy
   - Fisher’s Hornpipe
   - Celebrated Spanish Serenade
   - Smith’s West End Serenade

III. Fantasia, on Lucy Long

IV. Two Songs without Words
   - Gladness
   - Sadness


*Capretio.* Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1866.

*Spanish Retreat.* St. Louis: J. L. Peters & Bro., 1866.


- The Don
- The Donna
- Don Roberto
- Señora Petit
- Don Pasadena
- Señora Pureto
- Señor Grazio
- Don Juan

In manuscript (n.d.)

*Jack.*

*Chimes of E.*

Untitled.

*Sebastopol.*

Untitled [Carmencita]

Sources and descriptions of the illustrations
(Figures with asterisks have been web-copublished at www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02).

1. *Ohio Female College, c.1840–56. Courtesy of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.


3. Henry and Mary E. Worrall in later life, c.1890s. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.

4. C. F. Martin’s account ledger listing the details of the guitar he made for Worrall, 1856. Courtesy of C. F. Martin & Co. Archives.


7. *Wesleyan Female College. Courtesy of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

8. Woodcut of Worrall’s “Dance House” from McCoy’s Historic Sketches, 1874.
9a. Worrall’s “four-stroke ruff” motif from Seastopol, 1860, mm. 51–54. Courtesy of Kansas State Historical Society.

9b. Worrall’s “four-stroke ruff” motif from Violet Waltz with Variations, 1853, mm. 17–19 of Var. 3. Author’s collection.


11. J. Lee Knight’s photograph of Worrall’s solo burlesque performance, Topeka, 1869. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.


SPANISH RETREAT
BY HENRY WORRALL

Introduced by Robert Ferguson

Henry Worrall’s Spanish Retreat (St. Louis: J. L. Peters & Bro., 1866) is one of many arrangements of this popular nineteenth-century piece. As I detail in my accompanying article on Worrall in this issue (page 15), its origins go back to London, specifically to two guitar prints published there in the mid-1820s. Though the earliest of these (c.1826) states that the piece was “arranged for guitar” by Alexander Sosson, this does not necessarily indicate that it was originally written for a different instrument, such as piano. “Arranged” could mean the piece was already in circulation among guitarists, or another guitarist created or popularized it, and Sosson merely reworked it (and wrote it down).¹ Moreover, imitating other instruments, at which the guitar proved particularly adroit, constituted the essence and charm of this piece for its listeners. Without comparable timbral resources, the piano could capture this dimension only faintly—further pointing to the guitar as the intended medium.

In the United States, José de Anguera issued two well known early versions of Spanish Retreat: one for piano in 1841 and one for guitar in 1843, both in C major.² Anguera used a scordatura of C, c, c, g, b, e’ in his guitar arrangement (very similar to Worrall’s tuning for Capretio on a Mexican Air; see page 14 in this issue), evoking bugles by means of harmonics, drums by means of tambour, and horns by means of muted strings—standard devices in the martial guitar music of the time. Worrall sets his piece in A major with regular tuning, while he replicates the common triadic bugle-call theme of most Spanish Retreat scores, including Anguera’s. Dynamic emphasis, harmonics, and percussive coloration are given in a guitar work of this kind. So above all else, Worrall’s use of the “four-note ruff” motif (see pages 10 and 15) with its manifest military flair distinguishes this arrangement from others of the period.

¹  As when guitarist Vincent Schmidt performed his own The Celebrated Retreat (inspired by, but different from, Spanish Retreat) in Philadelphia in the 1830s, and Samuel Carusi issued the sheet music (Baltimore, 1839), promoting it “as performed by Vincent Schmidt, arranged for the Spanish Guitar by S. Carusi.”

Worrall's
Celebrated
Spanish Retreat
A Favorite Guitar Solo
As performed at his principle concerts
by
Henry Worrall


Published by J.L. Peters & Bro., St. Louis, Mo.

Chromolith. A.C. Peters & Bro.
THE SPANISH RETREAT.

A FAVORITE GUITAR SOLO.

Arranged and performed at the Puplic Conertos, by H. Worrall.

INTRODUCTION

Andante:

AIR. Allegretto.

*1892 — 3

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1887, by J. L. Peters & Bro; in the Clerk's Office of the Eastern District Court of Mo.
Harmonics.

Bugle.

A, String.

Snare Drums. Produced by muffling the strings with the left hand near the 1st fret, and passing all the fingers of the right hand over the strings from Treble to Bass.

Spanish Retreat. 1892 – 3.
The effect is produced by commencing exceedingly piano and while repeating gradually increase the sound to the full force of the instrument. Then gradually diminish the volume of tone until it becomes inaudible, allow the fingers of the right hand to pass over all the strings, and retain the chords. When properly done this produces one of the most charming effects of the instrument.
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOSEF KASPAR MERTZ: New Biographical Insights

By Andreas Stevens

Biographical information about the German Romantic-era guitarist Josef Kaspar Mertz (1806–1856) has depended mainly on two texts until now. The first one, authored in Russian by Nicolai Makaroff, became the best known because it has been available in English since excerpts of it were published in the *Guitar Review* in 1947.¹

By today’s standards, Makaroff’s recollections of the guitar’s situation in the middle of the nineteenth century seem deeply subjective. Ever on the lookout for active exponents of the art of guitar playing, he met Mertz twice in Vienna and witnessed several private performances by Mertz. For better or for worse, his less-than-enthusiastic assessment of Mertz’s playing has been taken at face value for perhaps too long, especially since (until now) there have been no contradictory opinions on the matter. Here is the faint praise that Makaroff initially penned:

As a performer, Mertz was without doubt, the best of the German guitarists I had heard. His playing was marked by power, energy, feeling, clarity and expression. However he had the defects of the German school—the buzzing of basses, the smothering of very rapid passages at times. With respect to the embellishment and polishing of musical sentences and periods, Mertz was not on a par with Zani de Ferranti or Schulz.²

As far as we know, Makaroff never listened to Mertz in a live concert. Their encounters were purely private. Mertz may have sight-read for his Russian guest a few of his compositions, some of which were not part of his active repertoire. Who knows? However, if one takes a look at a concert review of 1842 copied and preserved by one Eduard Fack, Mertz’s ability as a performer appears in a much more favorable light:

With a skill that approaches the impossible he [achieves] an outstanding clarity of plucking; in the most difficult passages one can hear the upper voice, the middle voice and especially the ground bass—qualities that not even the most famous virtuosos of that instrument can achieve.³

We have every right to wonder, then, which guitarists Makaroff might have met before the encounter with Mertz took place. To whom was Mertz compared? The route of Makaroff’s journey in 1851 included the cities of Hamburg, Cologne, Mainz, Frankfurt, Kreuznach, and Schoenebach.⁴ In Mainz he met Kamberger, a guitarist “who, I had been told, was famous along the shores of the Rhine. He was a young man of thirty...”⁵ Makaroff’s description makes it probable that he was talking about Friedrich Karl Josef Kamberger (1824–1892), who was listed in the address books of the city as a piano teacher.⁶

Up to now only a single composition by Kamberger, *Bouquet de Mélodies, Livre 1*, has been discovered. It was announced as published by Appiano (Mainz) in the *Musikalischer Monatsbericht* (December 1852).⁷ His activities as a guitar performer are not known.⁸

Two other names that can be found in Makaroff’s *Memoirs* on the occasion of another journey in 1856 are Jansen and Fischer. The latter “was considered a great guitar maestro on the shores of the lower Rhine.”⁹ But Makaroff does not seem to have provided even a single word of praise for this guitarist; not even his first name is known.

Neither of these guitarists seems to have made his mark in guitar history as a performer or composer. Fischer recommended to Makaroff the names of three guitar players

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² “The Memoirs of Makaroff,” *GR* 3 (1947): 59. In the new Ophee translation (op. cit., 141) we read: “Particularly in the finish and roundness of musical phrases and periods and in the soothiness and softness and the singing of tone, he was far below Zani de Ferranti and Schulz. And as a performer, he was incomparably below the latter. On the other hand, as a composer, he stood immensely higher than him, by his inspiration, by his originality, by his knowledge of music in general and by understanding the properties of the guitar.”

³ “Mit einer Fertigkeit, die an das Unglaubliche grenzt, verbindet er eine ungemeine Deutlichkeit des Anschlags und in den schwierigsten Passagen hört man die

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JOSEF KASPAR MERTZ: (cont.)

whom he considered of importance: Rilling in Fulda, Brand in Würzburg, and Franz in Munich.

About Rilling we have no information so far. Friedrich Brand was active as the choirmaster of the Würzburg Cathedral and had a great reputation as a guitar virtuoso and composer. He also performed quite often as one of a touring guitar duo with Adam Darr, an exceptional performer whom Makaroff overlooked completely.

Selected compositions of Josef Franz were published by the Augsburg Free Society for the Promotion of Good Guitar Music (Freie Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Guitaremusik).

But to date no real research on the works of the aforementioned composers has been carried out.

For reasons that remain unclear, Makaroff did not actually meet the three recommended guitarists; he did not follow the advice of Kamberger. Makaroff also missed the opportunity to visit Eduard Bayer, regarded in later publications as “the last virtuoso” of the guitar in Hamburg. So it appears that Makaroff, by choice or by oversight, simply did not meet most of the significant German guitarists of his era. As a result, his reports about the few guitarists he did encounter in Germany seem less credible than we might wish.

§

Without a doubt Josephine Mertz (1819–1903), who had been touring Germany with her husband from 1842 until his death in 1856, was an especially privileged witness to Mertz’s guitar playing and composing. Her brief recollections of him represent the second source of first-hand information we have on J. K. Mertz.

Surprisingly her memoir first appeared in print in English. Josephine sent it to J. M. Miller in the United States in 1891. It was translated by the recipient and published in The Cadenza in 1895. Soon, in 1901–02, a comparable German version would be printed.

It was over a century later, in 2011, that I discovered Josephine’s correspondence with the Internationalen Gitarristische Vereinigung (I.G.V.) among the materials that I helped to make available to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Her letters accompanied and lent authority to the publication of her biography and the sale of some manuscripts to the association. What follows is a selection of pertinent recollections from her letters, published here in English for the first time.

J. K. Mertz as a Performing Artist

Without any doubt Josephine was intimately familiar with her husband’s musicianship. On the one hand she herself was a performing artist on the piano before she met him; on the other hand she became his duo partner. As we will see later, she also was the co-composer of the piano parts of their guitar and piano duos.

But was she objective? Or impartial? We learn from her letter dated September 1902 that Josephine seems to have fallen under the spell of her husband’s magical performances almost immediately. Even if her objectivity was somewhat impaired, she nevertheless wrote with disarming candor, as this sentence reveals: “The solo piece Les Adieux was played by my late husband so marvelously and delighted me so much that as a consequence we entered into wedlock.”

However emotionally colored her observations may have been, they are nevertheless of special relevance. In combination with other concert reviews, they paint a more credible, more complete picture of Mertz’s instrumental capabilities than we have yet encountered.

It is unfortunate that the melody in harmonics that was a highlight of Mertz’s performance of Les Adieux is neither preserved nor even suggested in any known edition of the piece, including the available modern edition of 1985. Josephine refers several times to it. In another letter she writes about the “Flagolet-Melodie” (melody in harmonics), and in yet another about the “Fantasy Les Adieux with harmonics.”

Whenever performed, this moment musical made the greatest impression on the audience: “The melody in harmonics aroused the most tumultuous ovations because even in the great hall they were heard like bell tones in the most distant corners.”

10 SammlungWW has 33 Brand manuscripts.
11 Etden 2, 5, 6, 7, Im Waldes, Auf den Fluren, Marche sérieuse. There are 85 manuscripts of Franz in the SammlungWW.
12 See Fritz Bueck, Die Gitarre und ihre Meister (Berlin, 1926), 42.
15 Her letters accompanied and lent authority to the publication of her biography and the sale of some manuscripts to the association. What follows is a selection of pertinent recollections from her letters, published here in English for the first time.
16 “Die Solopiece Les Adieux mit der Flageolettmelodie spiele mein seliger Gatte so wunderbar, und entrückte mich dermaßen, daß in Folge dessen unsehe Ehebund entsprang.” Letter of September 1902.
Later Josephine commented on a second version of the Finale of this composition: “when he played it in the concert, he aroused such a sensation that the whole audience stood up just to be able to watch his fingers. But he played at such a breakneck speed that one could not know if there were human fingers or billions of worms rushing around on the strings.”

About the sound quality of her husband she wrote, “but he (Dubetz) could not achieve such a beautiful sound as my husband. In this respect he was incomparable, and even if he almost pulled the strings away from the frets with the greatest force, his tone always stayed wonderful; neither the orchestra nor the most powerful grand piano could overpower him.” In light of this comment, we are entitled to wonder: On what occasion and when did Josephine have the opportunity to hear her husband performing with an orchestra?

There can be no doubt, then, that playing in harmonics was a special feature of Mertz’s technique, most notably in Les Adieux. In another letter, Josephine remarks: “Also unrivalled were his harmonics.”

J. K. Mertz as a Composer

In some of her letters Josephine provides some dates of composition that appear to be erroneous. For instance, she writes in a letter of 17 February 1902, “The publication of the Opern-Revue started in March 1843 after we settled in Vienna, the Bardenklänge in 1845—the same year that he wrote a guitar method that to my amazement was not mentioned anywhere. As a consequence, I don’t know what happened to it. In 1851 or 1852 he wrote Gebirgs-Bleameln for the zither, also for the mandolin he wrote a lot…”

For the guitar Congress shortly to be held in Munich she recommended the Walzer Partie in C major (composed in 1848), “that in our concerts have been tumultuously requested for encores because they are so jolly.” She acknowledged the Concert Duos as the most demanding pieces for guitar and piano, adding that they “challenge the guitarist mostly and could be recommended as curiosities to the Congress, because nobody except myself has been so bold as to write such an accompaniment to the guitar.”

Josephine also mentioned some compositions that have not yet been found: “My husband has also effectively composed quartets for two mandolins, guitar and piano, that we performed three times a week at Count Ledochowsky’s home.” These works were in the private collection of Countess Ledochowska, a mandolin pupil of Mertz’s, but copies of the pieces mentioned have not been located. For that unique combination of instruments none of them seems to have survived.

Among the many papers that Josephine kept, she discovered some score fragments from which she intended to reconstruct some of her husband’s compositions: “Among the large existing number of musical sketches written by the late J. K. Mertz, there still are some very lovely items that I intend to decipher little by little.” Apparently she had every intention to complete this task, because she wrote on 1 June 1902, “Among the sketches are several very lovely items, but it is difficult and laborious to locate them; it takes time and patience.”

In another letter she explained what she was doing in more detail: “Also on separate sheets (because he had a habit of sketching out pieces in this way) I found an original fantasy and several waltzes that I could reconstruct, thanks to my good musical memory. I also found a Hugenot-Fantasy, like the one that Thalberg wrote for the piano. He arranged it for guitar, but I still don’t know if it is complete.”

Josephine also mentioned that she had sold or given away copies of her husband’s works on several occasions: “Through the mediation of a guitar manufacturer I sold in 1858 some copies of compositions that he has sent away.”

19 “...das wenn es im Concert spielte, solche Sensation erregte, daß sich das ganze Publikum erhob, um seine Finger sehen zu können, nur spielte er es in so rasendem Tempo, daß man wirklich nicht wußte, ob das menschliche Finger seien, oder Milliarden von Würmern, die auf den Saiten herumwirbelten.” Letter without date.
20 “Aber einen so schönen Ton erzielte er (Dubetz) doch nie wie mein Gatte. Denn darin war er ganz unerreichbar und wenn er auch mit der größten Kraftanwendung die Saiten beinahe aus den Bünden hob, so blieb sein Ton doch immer wunderschön und er war weder mit dem Orchester, noch dem stärksten Konzertflügel zu decken.” Letter of 17 February 1900.
21 ”Auch unerreicht waren seine Flageolet-Töne.” Same letter, 17 February 1902.
22 ”Die Opernrevue erschiene von März 1843 an nach unserer Niederlassung in Wien, die Bardenklänge im Jahr 1845, wo er auch eine Gitarrenschule schrieb, und zu meinem Erstaunen nirgends eine Erwähnung gemacht wurde, folglich gar nicht weiß, was damit geschehen ist. Für die Zither schrieb er im Jahre 1851 oder 1852 die Gebirgs-Bleameln, für Mandoline schrieb er auch viel...” Same letter, 17 February 1902.
23 ”...die in unseren Konzerten immer stürmisch zur Wiederholung verlangt wurden, weil sie sehr lustig sind.” Letter of September 1901.
24 ”Die concertanten Duos für Guit. und Clavier stellen wohl große Anforderungen an die Gitarre und dürften vielleicht als Raritäten dem Congreß empfohlen werden; da bis jetzt außer mir niemand so dreist war, eine derartige Clavierbegleitung zur Gitarre zu schreiben.” Letter of September 1901.
25 ”Wirkungsvolle Quartette für zwei Mandolinen, Gitarre und Clavier schrieb auch mein Gatte, die wir wöchentlich dreimal beim Graphen(sic) Ledochowsky aufführten.” Letter of 17 September 1902.
26 ”Unter den vorhandenen reichen Skizzen des sel. J. K. Mertz befinden sich noch manche sehr hübsche Sachen, die ich mich nach und nach zu entziffern be strenben werde.” Letter of 1 June 1902.
28 ”Auch auf einzelnen Blättern (den dieß war seine Gewohnheit, Skizzen hinzuzufügen) fand ich noch eine Original Fantasie und mehrere Waler, die ich vermöglich meines guten musikalischen Gedächtnisses zusammen stellen könnte, und eine Hugenoten Fantasie, wie sie Thalberg für das Clavier schrieb, so arrangierte er sie für die Gitarre, ob sie aber komplett ist, weiß ich noch nicht.” Letter without date.
JOSEF KASPAR MERTZ: (cont.)

together with his guitar to Russia (whither or to whom I know not). In 1891, I also sent copies of some pieces to Mr. Boije in Sweden and to Mr. Miller in America. The original manuscripts of my late husband are in possession of the Guitarristische Vereinigung.”29 In another letter she mentions this event again, without giving further details.

What About a Mertz Portrait?
Josephine described her husband with the following words: “tall and of knightly stature, slim, not broad-shouldered, standing six feet minus two lines, with light brown hair, a high forehead, mischievous-looking grey eyes, a delicate little moustache, chin and cheeks beardless, and full soft red cheeks until his last breath.”30 This description was written at the request of an American guitarist since a photo of Mertz was not available.

Josephine had repeatedly been asked for a photo of her husband. Her answer was the following: “Unfortunately I don’t possess any photo of my late husband, because the one that was made once was so bad that within a short time it faded and no facial features could be recognized anymore. I was not able to insist that he sit for another photo, because he was very frightened and believed that he would die soon.”31

Nine days later she wrote again on this subject: “With the greatest pleasure I would make a picture available to you if I had one, but 50 years ago nobody had an idea that a picture could be generated from such a thing, and because it was so ephemeral, I did not take any delight in it and did not keep it, whereas I carefully kept everything interesting that existed from my husband.” Josephine did not let the matter drop, but rather tried to see if any of her friends had a photograph of her late husband: “I have inquired of all my acquaintances if someone perhaps possessed a picture, but again without success.”32

We should certainly accept the fact that neither Josephine nor her circle of friends had access to the photo of him that had once been taken. With good reason, it is presumed lost. The portrait that was used by Erwin Schwarz-Reißlingen in his 1920 edition and often reprinted (in the Wikipedia article, for example; see Figure 1) without giving the source, is of questionable authenticity.

Mertz’s True Name
Classical guitarists, lexicographers, and catalogers have long been confused about the first or given names of Mertz. His earliest editions consistently used “J. K. Mertz” as author on their title pages. Domingo Prat’s Diccionario de Guitarristas (1934) actually had two adjacent entries for him: MERTZ, Juan Gaspar [i.e. Johann Kaspar], and MERTZ, José Gaspar [i.e. Josef (or Joseph) Kaspar]. Prat must have been aware of the conflicting forms of name, but he made no effort to reconcile them.

It seems that with the dawn of the twentieth century various publishers made a common assumption about what J. K. stood for, taking it upon themselves to “establish” a plausible German form of Mertz’s full name: Johann Kaspar Mertz. The Library of Congress (USA) “established” the same form of name and created a “see reference” from J. K.
Mertz to the now common (if dubious) German form. The credit must go to Astrid Stempnik for finding documentation of Mertz’s true name, in 1982. She sent a communication to Thomas Heck, who described it this way in his “GFA Archivist’s Report”: 33

As many readers know, Ms. Stempnik is doing doctoral research in Vienna on the composer we are all accustomed to referring to as Johann Kaspar Mertz. Alas, alas! What hath research wrought? First, the Library of Congress tells us that Fernando Sor’s real name is Sors. . . And now Ms. Stempnik’s research has revealed that Mertz’s real name is CASPARUS JOSEPHUS MERTZ! To quote from Ms. Stempnik’s letter, “Therefore the Schirmer editions are not wrong in giving Mertz’s name as Joseph K. It is only interesting how the editor came to this name. I hope you find my information useful.”

There was some hope that in the fifteen preserved letters of Josephine there would be a first-hand indication of the complete form of her husband’s given name. Such was not the case! She simply used the letters J. K. or called him “my late husband.” Given Dr. Stempnik’s research, it now seems clear that his name should be “established” as Josef (or Joseph) Kaspar Mertz. 34

A Closing Anecdote
The following story may not, at first sight, have direct relevance to the interpretation or reception of Mertz’s compositions. But it shows that the couple had a special sense of humor—a quality that could also be found in their works. Josephine claimed for herself a “robust sense of humor” and lightheartedly referred to her own biography as “a walking disaster.” She signed one of her letters as “piano-pounder and mandolin-picker.” 35 Here is an especially interesting social occasion reported by her:

The mind-reading séances held nowadays remind me that in private gatherings we played similar jokes. I was the medium and had to figure out, through music, the words or phrases posed during my absence. A piano player or my husband played inconspicuous things from which I had to guess the correct words or phrases. On one occasion, the posed word was in Polish and I listened totally amazed. After the player finished, I asked for help, because the word did not seem to be German. Everybody hesitated. I asked for a paper and pencil and wrote one letter after the other. Finally I said that I could not pronounce the word, but there it was! Everyone was amazed, and nobody—neither Johann Strauss nor Franz Suppé nor others—could figure out our joke. 36

Aside from the entertaining quality of this anecdote, it recalls the musical circles in which the Mertz couple moved. Might it be possible, therefore, that in letters, diary entries, and biographies of other Viennese musicians during the years 1843–1856—like those of Johann Strauss or Franz von Suppé—more information about our couple will emerge?

The insights gained from reading these letters add a new dimension to our knowledge of J. K. Mertz, the eminent protagonist of the guitar in the Romantic era. The whereabouts of the autograph manuscripts that Josephine sold to the I.G.V. (Figure 2) remain a mystery. They were expected to be found in the Sammlung WW. If and when they finally emerge, we will be making serious progress in our quest to know more about the guitar and its repertoire at that pivotal period of its history.

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35 “unverwüstlicher Humor,” and “Pechvogel,” from an undated letter.
36 “Clavier trommlerin und Mandolinenzupferin” from the letter of September 1901.
GIULIANI’S NAPLES: A Walking Tour

By Nicoletta Confalone and Grégory Leclair

I’m leaving. I’ll no sooner forget Via Toledo than the sight of all the other quarters of Naples. It is without equal in my eyes—the most beautiful city in the universe.

—Stendhal, Rome, Naples, and Florence

“Naples, a city foreign to me.” This is how, in early 1824, shortly after his arrival, Mauro Giuliani described the capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his friend and publisher, Domenico Artaria. Scholars still do not agree on what he meant by this remark. Could he simply have been overwhelmed by it all? With 430,000 inhabitants in 1800, Naples had become the third most populous European city after London and Paris—far ahead of all the other Italian cities. And by 1850 only Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and Vienna were more populous. They were on a par with Paris and London.

The excavation of the site of Pompeii (just south of Naples at the foot of Vesuvius) in the eighteenth century gave a special prestige to the city. Its newly unearthed antiquities and frescoes led to a vogue of neoclassicism across the arts. Images of ancient Greek and Roman lyres inspired the creation of the lyre-guitar, an instrument on which Giuliani performed on various occasions in Naples—probably more for its visual effect than for audibility’s sake.

In the sixteenth century, with the incursion of Spanish culture and governance into southern Italy, instruments like the Spanish guitar (with four, and then five courses) assumed an enduring place in Neapolitan musical life. As the capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Naples was also a cultural center boasting a number of renowned theaters. It was a must see destination for those making the Grand Tour—the traditional trip undertaken by wealthy youth in search of art, culture, and the roots of Western civilization. After the “French decade,” ca.1806–1815, Naples’s governance reverted to the Bourbon dynasty. For musicians like Giuliani, who depended on the security of aristocratic patronage, it was the right place to be in 1823, the year he arrived.

Previous research has provided a reasonably complete overview of the life of Mauro Giuliani, but his final Neapolitan years have eluded documentation until recently. By 1970, Thomas Heck had located a number of concert reviews of Giuliani and of his daughter Emilia in the Giornale delle due Sicile. Thanks to archival documents discovered recently, a much more complete picture of the Giuliani family’s activities in Naples and beyond is emerging.

It now seems likely that when Mauro Giuliani arrived, Naples was not so foreign to him after all. It would gradually become more and more like home to his growing family in the 1820s and beyond. Using the device of a “city walk” on a contemporary map, we will point out the places frequented by the Giuliani family. We have also been able to construct a new family tree with most of the famous guitarist’s Neapolitan descendants.

The new information has come from secular as well as sacred repositories: the State Archives (Archivio di Stato) of Naples, as well as the Historical Diocesan Archives (Archivio storico diocesano) of Naples and Trieste. With respect to Naples proper, all the civil documents created...
after 29 October 1808 are now to a greater or lesser extent available,7 thanks to the implementation of Joachim Murat’s decrees, under the Code Napoléon, instituting civil record-keeping.8 From that time forward, parishes continued to record baptisms, weddings, and deaths, but also had to submit civil certificates to complement the religious ones they traditionally kept.

A Walking Tour

The “walk” that we are proposing to readers is not very long, because almost everything of relevance to the Giuliani family happened in the so-called Spanish Quarters (Quartieri Spagoli). This area included the quarters of San Ferdinando, Avvocata (partially), Montecalvario, San Giuseppe, adjacent to Avvocata, and Chiaia (now written Chiaia), along the waterfront. The Spanish Quarters came into being in the sixteenth century to accommodate the Spanish troops charged with maintaining law and order.

Chiaia—where Giuliani lived and died

The famous guitarist Mauro Giuliani moved from Rome to Naples in 1823, where he spent the final five-plus years of his life. His last personal address was a flat at No. 18 Strada (now Via della) Cavallerizza, in the Chiaia quarter (MapRef-1). Here, at the age of 47, on 8 May 1829, he died. His home was not far from the waterfront, the Riviera di Chiaia.

During the late 1830s Maria Teresa and Giuseppa Lucci, the daughters of the cellist Gaetano Lucci, along with Emanuela Giuliani, Mauro’s sister, lived at No. 30 Strada di Chiaia now Via Chiaia (MapRef-2). Note that Strada di Chiaia has always been one of the most elegant streets of Naples. In fact each sister was recorded in civil records as having been a gentildonna (gentlewoman), the female equivalent of a possidente (householder). This suggests that they were well-to-do, thanks probably to inherited family resources.

In 1819, Maria Teresa’s husband, Zefirino Cerami, sought employment as a violoncello teacher at the Real Collegio di Musica,9 which soon (in 1826) would be known as the famous Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella. He was also a cellist at the Real Teatro di San Carlo.10 The other sister, Giuseppa, born in 1812 and thus almost the same age as her cousin Emilia, married Giuseppe Prisco, a civil servant.

The San Ferdinando quarter

A few hundred meters from Mauro’s home, on Via Santa Caterina (now Via Calabritto) in the San Ferdinando quarter, is the monumental Palazzo Calabritto (MapRef-3),11 where Mauro gave his first documented performance in Naples in 1823.12

Emanuela Giuliani, Mauro’s sister (sometimes spelled Emmanuele and Emmanuela),13 lived with her husband, Gaetano Lucci, in the San Ferdinando quarter. Mauro had once described her as a “devilish monster,” who “denied food” to their dying father and allegedly kept Mauro from knowing where he was. On the other hand, Emanuela might have served as a kind of second mother for Maria and Emilia, Mauro’s “Viennese” daughters, both when they took them from Vienna to Palermo in 1822,14 and presumably after Mauro’s death, when the two girls were respectively ages 21 and 16.15 The Luccis lived at No. 13 Vico Carminiello a Toledo (MapRef-4), where Emanuela died on 22 November 1839 at age 63.16 This street, now called Via Carlo de Cesare, took its earlier name from the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, nicknamed Carminiello, currently closed to the public. This area is very lively, bustling with restaurants and close to the famous Teatro di San Carlo (MapRef-5), opened in 1737—one of the oldest continuously active opera houses in the world.

Another important theater in that quarter is the Teatro Mercadante, known before 1870 as the Teatro del Fondo (MapRef-6),17 where we know that two performances of...
GIULIANI’S NAPLES: (cont.)

Emilia Giuliani occurred. On 8 October 1828 the royal family witnessed her first known solo appearance, between the acts of the opera Gianni di Calais by Gaetano Donizetti. Concerning her second reported appearance, on 19 April 1831, the Giornale del Regno delle Due Sicilie reported: “Her modesty, almost bordering on shyness, and the ample evidence of her skill in making sweet and delectable an instrument deemed quite insignificant, moved the audience to acclaim her with enthusiasm during not only the first, but also the second intermission of the Opera, when she was loudly invited to come back on stage.”

The Montecalvario quarter
Of all the places frequented by the Giuliani family, the Montecalvario quarter was the most noteworthy for its performance venues, and perhaps too for family history. On 23 September 1823, Michele Giuliani, Mauro’s father, age 82, died at no. 27 Vico (now Vicoletto) Secondo Politi (MapRef-7). The funeral was held in the church of Santa Maria ad Ogni Bene dei Sette Dolori (MapRef-8), situated at the upper end of the esplanade commonly called Spaccanapoli, meaning literally “Naples splitter.” That street was one of the three east-west roads of the old Greco-Roman city, Neapolis. It is now the main promenade for tourists, giving access to a number of important sights of the city.

The Teatro Nuovo (MapRef-9), situated on Via Montecalvario, was where Emilia Giuliani, Mauro’s daughter, made her Neapolitan debut on 6 February 1828, in a joint concert with him. It appears that this was also the occasion of her father’s final public performance. The theatre, dating from the eighteenth century, was a landmark in the history of opera buffa. Originally it had a thousand seats. Unfortunately two fires completely destroyed it in 1861 and 1935, but twice it was rebuilt. Today the Teatro Nuovo is a stage of choice for avant-garde theatre.

Maria Willmuth, Mauro’s eldest “Viennese” daughter, after her marriage to Gabriele Amato, a jeweler, lived at nos. 133 and 138 Strada Speranzella (MapRef-10). Maria and Gabriele were married on 9 June 1836, less than two years after her sister Emilia married Luigi Guglielmi. She bore two daughters: Elisabetta (b. 4 November 1836), and Adelaide (b. 11 June 1838). Unfortunately Adelaide died in infancy.

A short distance from Maria Willmuth’s known residences in Strada Speranzella one can find no. 50, Vicolo (now Vico) Lungo del Gelso (MapRef-11), the return address written by Mauro in his letter of 16 January 1824 to Domenico Artaria.

It appears that a Luigi Guglielmi, Emilia’s eventual husband, also grew up in the Montecalvario quarter. The baptismal registry of the parish Santi Francesco e Matteo (MapRef-12) records his birth and baptism the same day, 12 May 1807, and indicates that he was the son of Gaetano Guglielmi and Maria Sogner. The Guglielmi family were still living in the Montecalvario quarter at 77 Vico Giardinetto (MapRef-13), on 13 April 1810, when Gabriele was born, and at 45 Vico Chianche della Carità, now Via Giuseppe Simonelli (MapRef-14), on 8 November 1811, when Maria Luisa was born.

The Avvocata quarter
The Neapolitan residence of Emilia Giuliani and her husband Luigi Guglielmi in 1835 can be found both in the civil and the parish registers. They lived at 52 Vico Lungo Avvocata, now called Via Giovanni Brombeis (MapRef-15). Their first son, Giovan Battista Mauro Carlo, was born on 25 June 1835. He was baptized in the Church of San Domenico Soriano (MapRef-16).

The San Giuseppe quarter
Adjacent to the aforementioned quarters—Avvocata (north), Montecalvario (west), and San Ferdinando (south)—lies the

17 The Teatro del Fondo was built in 1777–1778. The hall, seating 553, remains unchanged today. Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870) was director of the Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella from 1840 until 1870. In 1837 Giovanni Ricordi published Emilia Giuliani’s Variations (Op. 9) on a theme by Mercadante.
18 “La sua modestia che giungeva fino alla timidezza e le ardute prove di esperienza nel render soave e dilettuoso uno strumento per sé già di poco rilevante, mossero il pubblico ad acclamarla con entusiasmo egualmente che nell’altro suo concerto dopo il secondo atto dell’Opera, essendo stata invitata a ricomparir sul proscenio a piene voci.” Giornale del Regno delle Due Sicilie (14 May 1829): 444.
19 The civil death certificate asserts that the deceased Michele Giuliano [sic] from the last domicile of her declared mother.” In fact, Gerhard Penn demonstrated that Maria Willmuth’s mother was Nina Wiesenberger, a wealthy Viennese woman known to have been in a long-term liaison with Mauro Giuliani in Vienna. For the full documentation, see these articles by Gerhard Penn, “Mauro Giuliani a Vienna: nuovi documenti,” Il Fronimo, no. 169 (Jan/Mar 2015): 30–53; no. 170 (Apr 2015): 30–51; and no. 171 (July/Sept 2015): 45-61.
20 The date of the marriage between Emilia Giuliani and Luigi Guglielmi comes from the Neapolitan archives.
21 There is a high probability that this Luigi Guglielmi (of the many with the same name) became Emilia Giuliani’s husband because the year of his birth and the name of his parents found in this baptismal certificate coincide with Luigi’s declarations, recorded in Vienna in the aforementioned baptismal certificate of his third child, dated 30 October 1841. The only difference is regarding his mother’s surname, here written apparently as “Longnier.” Sogner, of Catalan provenance, often spelled Sunyer, is an unfamiliar surname in Italy; misspellings were frequent. Also, Maria Willmuth is misspelled as Dillmuth in the parish marriage registry.
San Giuseppe quarter. It is not part of the Spanish Quarters. On 2 October 1826, Mauro Giuliani gave an Accademia di Lira (a lyre-guitar concert) in the Teatro dei Fiorentini, on Via Roberto Bracco (MapRef-17). Founded in 1618, it was one of the oldest Neapolitan theatres. Severely damaged during a bombing in 1941, it was demolished in the 1950s. Today a bingo hall (Napoli Bingo Fiorentini) is situated on the same site.

On the eastern side of Strada (now Via) Toledo, which separated Montecalvario from San Giuseppe, at number 177, one would have found the Casa Girard (MapRef-18), the Neapolitan publisher of a number of Giuliani’s works that were evidently unknown to publishers further north. Girard’s establishment was a mere hundred meters from Mauro’s address at 50 Vicolo Lungo del Gelso, in Montecalvario.25

San Giuseppe is also the quarter of the Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella (MapRef-19), on Via San Pietro a Majella. Luigi Guglielmi, Emilia’s husband, who later became a successful voice teacher in Vienna and Pest (now part of Budapest) and who was also an opera composer, could have been a student at this Conservatorio.26

Our Neapolitan walk comes here to an end. It seems that in the course of the earlier nineteenth century the extended Giuliani family put down roots in Naples. It truly became their new home. Thus it wasn’t just on a whim that Emilia, in 1839, when she was already in Rome, wanted Mount Vesuvius pictured in the background of her portrait (Figure 2),27 drawn by Franz Nadorp.28

Map of Naples, Genealogical Tree of the Giuliani family, and Appendix

The historic places mentioned and tagged above are marked on the modern map of Naples presented here. Most of the locations in the old center (centro storico) of Naples are still standing and can be visited today.

Our genealogical tree of the Giuliani family spans about four generations, beginning with the parents of Mauro Giuliani and extending to his grandchildren. It updates research already published by Thomas Heck, Marco Riboni, Gerhard Penn, Thomas Cimarusti, Nicola Giuliani, and Michael Lorenz.29 It also includes unpublished information collected through personal contacts with various scholars, in particular with Gerhard Penn.

The documentation found in the Appendix highlights in boldface various family members who have distinguished themselves in the visual and performing arts. Besides Mauro Giuliani and his talented daughter Emilia, one can find these artists, listed in the chronological order of their of birth dates:

- **Gaetano Lucci** (b. 1769), cellist
- **Nicolas Giuliani** (b. 1778), composer and choirmaster in Saint Petersburg
- **[Mauro Giuliani](b. 1781), guitarist and composer**
- **Zefirino Cerami** (b. 1790), cellist
- **Michele Giuliani** (b. 1801), guitarist, composer, singer and voice teacher in Paris
- **Luigi Gordigiani** (b. 1806), composer
- **Luigi Guglielmi** (b. 1807), voice teacher and composer
- **[Emilia Giuliani](b. 1813), guitarist and composer**
- **Leontina Gordigiani** (b. 1829), author
- **Michele Gordigiani** (b. 1835), painter

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24 HeckMG-k, locations 3818–3823.
25 Mario Totta, “Le edizioni napoletane di Mauro Giuliani,” il Fronimo, no. 87 (April/Jun 1994): 12–34. The same Palazzo San Giacomo, starting in the early nineteenth century, housed the headquarters of the Banco di Napoli, the most important bank in Southern Italy. From 1926 to 1952 in the same area the new bank headquarters, still extant, was built—the Palazzo Piacentini.
26 Luigi Guglielmi is described as having studied with the composer Giacomo Tritto (1733–1824) and the singer Girolamo Crescenzini (1762–1846) in Ferdinand Simon Gassner, *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lehren der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart: Köehler, 1849), 386.
27 A large reproduction of this portrait can be found in Nicoletta Confalone and Robert Coldwell, *Emilia Giuliani [complete works]* (San Antonio, TX: DGA Editions, 2013). 5. The same portrait appears as Figure 2 in this article (p. 35).
28 Franz Johann Heinrich Nadorp (23 June 1794–17 September 1876) was a German painter who primarily worked and lived in Rome. Some writers associate him stylistically with the Nazarene movement.
GIULIANI’S NAPLES: (cont.)

Figure 1: Naples today, with the Spanish Quarters outlined and specific locations numbered.
Map References

1–Strada (now Via della) Cavallerizza, 18, where Mauro Giuliani died on 8 May 1829.

2–Strada di Chiaja now Via Chiaia, 30, onetime home of Maria Teresa and Giuseppa Lucci, daughters of Emanuela Giuliani and Gaetano Lucci.

3–Via Santa Caterina (now Via Calabritto), Palazzo Calabritto, where Mauro Giuliani gave his first documented performance in Naples in 1823.

4–Vico Carminiello a Toledo, now Via Carlo de Cesare, 13, where Emanuela Giuliani died on 22 November 1839.

5–Via San Carlo, 98, Real Teatro di San Carlo, where Zefirino Cerami was a cellist.

6–Piazza Municipio, Teatro del Fondo, now Teatro Mercadante, where we know that two performances of Emilia Giuliani occurred, in 1828 and 1831.

7–Vico (now Vicoletto) Secondo Politi, 27, where Michele Giuliani, Mauro's father, died in 1823.

8–Via Francesco Girardi, 59, church of Santa Maria ad Ogni Bene dei Sette Dolori, where the funeral of Michele Giuliani, Mauro's father, was held.

9–Via Montecalvario, 16, Teatro Nuovo, where Emilia Giuliani, Mauro's daughter, made her Neapolitan debut on 6 February 1828, in a joint concert with him.

10–Strada Speranzella, 133 and 138, where Maria Willmuth and Gabriele Amato lived.

11–Vicolo (now Vico) Lungo del Gelso, 50, the return address in Mauro's letter of 16 January 1824 to Domenico Artaria.

12–Vico Lungo San Matteo, 44, church of Santi Francesco e Matteo, where Luigi Guglielmi, assumed to be Emilia's eventual husband, was baptized on 12 May 1807.

13–Vico Giardinetto, 77, address of Gaetano Guglielmi and Maria Sogner, the parents of Luigi Guglielmi, in 1810.

14–Vico Chianche della Carità, now Via Giuseppe Simonelli, 45, address of Gaetano Guglielmi and Maria Sogner in 1811.

15–Vico Lungo Avvocata, now called Via Giovanni Brombeis, 52, where the first son of Luigi Guglielmi and Emilia Giuliani was born on 25 June 1835.

16–Piazza Dante, 82, church of San Domenico Soriano, where the first son of Luigi Guglielmi and Emilia Giuliani was baptized.

17–Via Roberto Bracco, 5-7-9, Teatro dei Fiorentini, today Napoli Bingo Fiorentini, where Mauro Giuliani gave an “Accademia di Lira” on 2 October 1826.

18–Strada (now Via) Toledo, 177, where the Casa Girard once stood—the Neapolitan publisher of a number of Giuliani’s works.

19–Via San Pietro a Majella, 35, Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, where Zefirino Cerami was employed as a violoncello teacher.

Figure 2: Emilia Giuliani, a pencil drawing done in Rome, 1839, signed by the artist Franz Nadorp (1794–1876). Reproduced with the kind permission of the photographer, Andreas Lechtape.
GIULIANI’S NAPLES: (cont.)

LEGEND
- Boxes with dark (bold) borders denote musicians and artists. All are serrated except for Mauro’s and Emilia’s, which are solid and double-bold for emphasis.
- Boxes with rounded corners denote women; squared corners denote men.

Figure 3: Genealogical tree of the extended Giuliani family.
GENEALOGICAL APPENDIX

to

“Giuliani’s Naples: A Walking Tour”

by Nicoletta Confalone and Grégory Leclair

The latest genealogical documentation regarding Mauro Giuliani’s extended family

The documents newly discovered by the authors are preceded by an asterisk. The following archives hold them, as marked:

ASB Archivio di Stato di Bari
ASDN Archivio storico diocesano di Napoli
ASDT Archivio storico diocesano di Trieste
ASF Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASN Archivio di Stato di Napoli
BFL Budapest Főváros Levéltára (Budapest City Archives)
SCN Stato Civile Napoleonico, part of the ASN
SCR Stato Civile della Restaurazione, part of the ASN
Wien Domarchiv St. Stephan (St. Stephen’s Cathedral Archive, Vienna)

Giuliani–Tota family

Mauro Giuliani’s parents and siblings

Michele Antonio Giuliani (Bisceglie, 13 Dec 1740–Naples, 23 or 24 Sep 1823).
Householder (possidente). Baptism cert. 14 Dec 1740, Registri degli atti di battesimo, Chiesa Cattedrale at Bisceglie, 1740–1743 (NicolaG2005, 26). Death cert. n. 772 (1823), Montecalvario, SCR, ASN. *Death cert. parish of Santa Maria ad Ogni Bene dei Sette Dolori, Libro XVIII di morti ove conservasi la Fede, Anno 1823, p. 9, ASDN.

Husband of:

Antonia Giovanna Teresa Tota (Bisceglie, 29 Nov 1739–Trieste, 10 May 1821).

Children:

Maria Giuseppa Giuliani (Bisceglie, 1767–Bisceglie, 18 Sep 1773).
Died around age 6.

Paola Giuliani (Bisceglie, 1 Sep 1769–Bisceglie, 4 July 1782).
Died at age 12. Baptism cert. 3 Sep 1769, Registri degli atti di battesimo, Parrocchia di Sant’Adoeno at Bisceglie, 1752–1769. (NicolaG2005, 38)

Emanuela Maria Giuliani (Bisceglie, 6 Mar 1776–Naples, 22 Nov 1839).
For descendants, see Lucci–Giuliani family.

Nicolas [Nicola] Filippo Giuliani (Bisceglie, 11 Oct 1778–?, ca. 1850).
A musician active mostly in Russia. For descendants, see Giuliani–Welz family. Nicolas confirmed that he and his brother were born in Bisceglie: “mon frère et moi nous sommes nés à Bisceglia [sic] . . . ” “my brother and I were born in Bisceglie and raised in Barletta, towns in the province of Bari, in the Kingdom of Naples . . . ” See Nicolas Giuliani, Introduction au code d’harmonie pratique et théorique ou nouveau système de basse fondamentale (Paris: Hector Bossange & St. Petersburg: J. Hauer, 1847).
Mauro Giuseppe Sergio Pantaleo Giuliani (Bisceglie, 27 July 1781–Naples, 8 May 1829). For descendants, see Giuliani–Del Monaco family and Giuliani–Wiesenberger household.

Lucci–Giuliani family


Husband of:

Emanuela Maria Giuliani (Bisceglie, 6 Mar 1776–Naples, 22 Nov 1839). Milliner (modista di cappelli). Baptism cert. 7 Mar 1776, Registri degli atti di battesimo, Parrocchia di Sant’Adoeno at Bisceglie, 1775–1784. (NicolaG2005, 39) Death cert. n. 763 (1839), SCR, San Ferdinando, ASN. Emanuela’s death certificate states that she was born in Barletta, but her baptismal certificate in Bisceglie confirms that she was born there.

Children:

Maria Teresa Lucci (Palermo, 1799–Naples, 17 July 1837), householder. For descendants, see Cerami [Cerame]–Lucci family.

Giuseppa Lucci (Palermo, 1812–?), householder. For descendants, see Prisco–Lucci family.

Giuliani–“Welz” family

Nicolas [Nicola] Filippo Giuliani (Bisceglie, 11 Oct 1778–?, ca. 1850). Maestro di musica. His baptism, 12 Oct 1778, was recorded in the Registri degli atti di battesimo, Parrocchia di Sant’Adoeno di Bisceglie, 1775–1784 (NicolaG2005, 39). He is believed to have spent his adult life teaching music in St. Petersburg. In a letter dated 20 Jun 1820 (Vienna, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, J.N. 69721/1) Mauro’s father, Michele, asks Domenico Artaria if Mauro’s “son (Michelino) had gone to Russia to visit his Uncle Nicolas.”

Husband of:

“Nora Welz”.

(One can tentatively decipher the name “Nora Welz” on the baptismal certificate of their son, Michele Giacomo Giuliani.)

Children:

Michele Giacomo Giuliani (Trieste, 12 Apr 1809–?). Baptized at the church of Sant Antonio da Padova, Trieste. See Liber Baptizatorum Parochiae S. Antonii Patavini, Anno 1809, p. 486. ASDT. The godmother is cited as “Josepha Del Monako” [sic], “uxor (Latin for ‘wife’) maestro di musica.” She would have been Mauro Giuliani’s legal wife, and an aunt of baby Michele. This confirms her presence in Trieste, with her in–laws and sister-in-law, and not in Vienna with Mauro at that time. It also suggests that Nicolas was in Trieste in 1808–09.

Giuliani–Del Monaco family

Mauro Giuliani’s legal, official family in Italy


Husband of:

Maria Giuseppa Del Monaco (Barletta, 19 Feb 1779–Barletta, 11 Apr 1826). Daughter of Gaetano Del Monaco and Arcangiola [Arcangela] Virgilio. Death cert. n. 178 (1826) Barletta, SCR, ASB.
APPENDIX: (cont.)

Children:

*Michele Giuseppe Giuliani* (Barletta, 16 May 1801–Paris, 8 Oct 1867).

*Gaetano Nicola Maria Giuliani* (Barletta, 17 Dec 1803–Barletta, 25 Jan 1824).
Baptism cert. 21 Dec 1803, *Registri degli atti di battesimo*, Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore at Barletta. (NicolaG2005, 42) Death cert. n. 51 (1824) Barletta, SCR, ASB.

*Anna Maria (Nina) Giuliani* (Trieste, 30 July 1807–Florence, 1888).
For descendants, see Gordigiani–Giuliani family.

Giuliani–Wiesenberger household
*Mauro Giuliani’s unofficial family in Vienna*

*Mauro Giuseppe Sergio Pantaleo Giuliani* (as above). In a long-term relationship (ca. 1807–1817) with:

*Maria Anna Elisabeth Theresia Katharina (Nina) Wiesenberger.*
(Vienna, 20 July 1784–Vienna, 1 Oct 1817), daughter of Johann Georg Wiesenberger, co–partner of the Passy trading company (Passischer Niederlags Kompagnon) and his wife Maria Anna Delacoste.

Children:

*Maria Willmuth* (Vienna, 20 Apr 1808–?, after 1838).
For descendants, see Amato–Willmuth family.

*Aloysia Victoria Maria Wilmuth* (Vienna, 13 Aug 1810–Vienna, 20 Feb 1812).

*Emilie (known as Emilia) Emmanuelle Maria Anna Giuliani* (Vienna, 23 Apr 1813–Pest, 25 Nov 1850).
Renowned for her skills as both a composer and a guitarist. For her descendants, see Giuliani–Guglielmi family below.


Cerami [Cerame]–Lucci family

Professore di musica and cellist, son of Giovanni Cerami and Rosalia Berretti. *Death cert. N. 279 (1840) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Husband of:

Householder (gentildonna). *Death cert. n. 1197 (1837) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Children:

*Rosalia Cerami* (Naples, ca. 1825–?, after 1861).
She married Salvatore Adamo (Naples, ca. 1806–?, after 1861), professore di musica and suggeritore (prompter of the Royal Theatres), in the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo, Naples, on 9 Oct 1840. *Marriage cert. n. 203 (1840) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

*Giovanna Gaetana Pasqua Cerami* (Naples, 21 Apr 1829–Naples, 10 Jan 1833).
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 430 (1829) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN. *Death cert. n. 34 (1833) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 513 (1831) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN. *Death cert. n. 106 (1832) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Giovanna Elena Cerami (Naples, 18 Apr 1833–?).
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 344 (1833) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 240 (1836) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN. *Death cert. n. 1257 (1837) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Prisco–Lucci family

Giuseppe Prisco (Naples, ca. 1813–?, after 1854).
Civil servant (impiegato civile), son of Vincenzo Prisco and Teresa Colamatteo. *Husband of:

Giuseppa Lucci (Palermo, 1812–?, after 1854).
Householder (gentildonna). They were married in the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo, Naples, 25 July 1839. *Marriage cert. n. 158 (1839) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Children:

Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 520 (1841) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN. *Death cert. n. 383 (1841) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Vincenzo Maria Gaetano Raimondo Biase Prisco (Naples, 3 Feb 1843–?).
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 124 (1843) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Emmanuela Giulia Anna Geltrude Prisco (Naples, 12 Apr 1845–?).
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 335 (1845) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Teresa Gaetana Giovanna Prisco (Naples, 15 Oct 1847–?).
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 870 (1847) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 135 (1850) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN. *Death cert. n. 53 (1853) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Gaetano Giovanni Raimondo Prisco (Naples, 12 Jan 1854–?).
Baptized at the church of Sant’Anna di Palazzo. *Birth cert. n. 52 (1854) San Ferdinando, SCR, ASN.

Giuliani–Vendramini family

Michele Giuseppe Giuliani (Barletta, 16 May 1801–Paris, 8 Oct 1867).
Singer, guitarist, composer. (NicolaG2005, 68–72, is the principal source of the information on this branch of the family.)

Husband of:

Leontine Vendramini (Saint Petersburg, ca. 1799–Florence, 7 Jan 1875).
Children:

Adriano Giuliani (1825–?).

Paolina Giuliani (1828–?).

Matilde Giuliani (Nice, 29 Dec 1832–Florence, 6 Jul 1910).

Mauro Giuliani (1845–?).

Gordigiani–Giuliani family


Husband (married 19 Oct 1828) of:

Anna Maria (Nina) Giuliani (Trieste, 30 July 1807–Florence, 18 Mar 1888). Her death date according to Nicola Giuliani, La sesta corda (2008).

Children:

Leontina Niccolina Gordigiani (Florence, 7 Sep 1829–?). Author. From the online catalog if the B.N. di Firenze: Gordigiani, Luigi. Impression : canto popolare toscano / L. Gordigiani; parole di Leontina Gordigiani (Firenze: G. G. Guidi, [after 1844]). 5 p. ; 35 cm.

Paolo Giuseppe Gordigiani (Florence, 14 Oct 1831–?).

Lorenzo Gordigiani (Florence, 25 Dec 1833–?).


Ida Gordigiani (? before 1844–?).

Sofia Luisa Gordigiani (? before 1844–?, 1855).

Amato–Willmuth [Wilmuth] family

Gabriele Angelo Amato (Naples, ca. 1790–after 1839). Jeweler (gioielliere), son of Pasquale Amato and Elisabetta Schioppa.

Husband (married 9 Jun 1836) of:

Maria Willmuth (Vienna, 20 Apr 1808–after 1838). Their marriage in Naples was recorded in *Libro IX Dei Matrimoni di questa Chiesa Parrocchiale di SS. Francesco e Matteo Dal dì 8 Gennaio 1835 fino al 30 Dicembre 1861*, fol. 17, ASDN. *Civil marriage cert. n. 132 (1836) Montecalvario, SCR, ASN.

Children:

Elisabetta Carolina Geltrude Amato (Naples, 4 Nov 1836–?). *Baptism recorded in Libro Decimquinto de’ Battesati di questa Parrocchiale Chiesa de’ SS. Francesco e Matteo dal 1° Gennaio 1822 al 26 Dicembre 1849, p. 294, ASDN. *Civil birth cert. n. 908 (1836) Montecalvario, SCR, ASN.
*Baptism certificate in Libro Decimoquinto de’ Battezzati di questa Parrocchiale Chiesa de SS. Francesco e Matteo dal 1° Gennaio 1822 al 26 Dicembre 1849, ASDN. *Civil birth cert. n. 477 (1838) Montecalvario, SCR, ASN. *Civil death cert. n. 552 (1839) Montecalvario, SCR, ASN.

Giuliani–Guglielmi family

Luigi Guglielmi (Naples, 12 May 1807–?, after ca. 1856).
Singer, voice teacher, opera composer. For his ancestors, see Guglielmi–Sogner family below. Luigi’s birth certificate could not be located in the civil registers, but only in the parish register, because he was born before the introduction of civil recordkeeping by Murat in October 1808.
*Baptism recorded in Libro XIII de’ Battezzati di questa Parrocchiale Chiesa di SS. Francesco e Matteo Dal 1° Luglio 1803 al 23 Agosto 1807, fol. 8, ASDN. According to this certificate he was 28 years old when his first child, Giovan Battista, was born (Naples, 25 Jun 1835) but in Giovan Battista’s civil birth certificate Luigi gives his age as 26. We found some discrepancies between the real age and the declared age in other civil certificates mentioned in this research, but Luigi Guglielmi was a common Italian name, so we cannot exclude a case of homonymy. In favor of the hypothesis that the Luigi Guglielmi born in Naples the 12 May 1807 really became Emilia’s husband there are the birth certificates of his third and four children, Joseph Aloys Stephan and Anna Emilia, in which one reads that he was the son of Gaetano Guglielmi and Maria Sogner. There are two celebrated opera composers of the Neapolitan school named Guglielmi: Pietro Alessandro (1728–1804) and his son Pietro Carlo (1772–1817). In Il Pirata, 98 (7 February 1848), we can read “Luigi Guglielmi, grandson of the famous composer” (Luigi Guglielmi, pronipote del celebre compositore), but the credibility of this statement is in question. Francesco Piovano also mentioned Luigi Guglielmi, albeit generically, as a grandson of Pietro Carlo, but without clarifying who his father was. See Francesco Piovano, “Notizie storico–bibliografiche sulle opere di Pietro Carlo Guglielmi (Guglielmini) con appendice su Pietro Guglielmi,” Rivista Musicale Italiana, XVI (1909–10): 243–70, 475–505, 785–820, and XVII: 59–90, 376–414, 554–89, 827–77. Even if he were not related to either of the two famous composers named Guglielmi, Luigi may have benefited professionally in some way from the coincidence of surnames and implicit kinship. Luigi could also be a relative on the maternal side of the Neapolitan composers named Sogner, because of the rarity of this surname in Naples. Tomàs Sunyer, italianized Tomaso Sogner (1762–1821) and his son Pasquale (1793–1843) both have entries in the Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, 2ème edition, Tome 8 (Paris: Firmin Didot Fères, Fils et Co, 1860–68), 58–59.

Husband of:
Emilie (known as Emilia) Emmanuelle Maria Anna Giuliani (Vienna, 23 Apr 1813–Pest, 25 Nov 1850).

Children:

Giovan Battista Mauro Carlo Guglielmi (Naples, 25 Jun 1835–?).
Baptism in the Church of San Domenico Soriano; recorded in its *Baptizatorum Liber XXVI ab anno 1830 ad annum 1841, p. 143, ASDN. *Civil birth cert. n. 448 (1835), Avvocata, SCR, ASN.


Thanks to Gerhard Penn for the following information regarding Vienna:

Josef Aloys Stefan Guglielmi (Vienna, 30 Oct 1841–Vienna, 12 Apr 1862).
Sig. 01–113, fol. 343 (Taufe 1838–43), Archives of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, Vienna. Gerhard Penn found the death date.

Anna Emilia Guglielmi (Vienna, 28 Oct 1843–after 1862).
Sig. 01–113, fol. 556 (Taufe 1838–43), Archives of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, Vienna.
Guglielmi–Sogner family

Gaetano Guglielmi.
Information from Gerhard Penn indicates that Gaetano Guglielmi doesn't appear in the genealogies of either of the two famous Neapolitan composers bearing the same name. The Gaetano Guglielmi that we have identified in the State Archives of Naples as possibly the father of Luigi Guglielmi is described as a hairdresser (pelucchiere). There is also a Gaetano Guglielmi whose profession is given as Maestro di cappella in the civil death certificate of Maria Concetta Sogner, daughter of Concetta Guglielmi. Maria Concetta has the same given names as Gaetano's possible firstborn (Death cert. n. 510 (1827) Montecalvario, SCR, ASN). Nevertheless it would be a very unusual professional move for a hairdresser to suddenly become a maestro di cappella; hence the suspicion that he isn't the same person.

Husband of:

Maria Sogner.
Information from Gerhard Penn.

Children:

Maria Concetta Giovanna Gabriela Guglielmi (Naples, 10 Dec 1805–?).
*Baptism recorded in parish of Santi Francesco e Matteo, Libro XIII De' Battezzati 1803 Dal 1° Luglio 1803 al 23 Agosto 1807, fol. 29, ASDN.

Luigi Guglielmi (Naples, 12 May 1807–?, after ca. 1856).
Singer, voice teacher, opera composer. *Baptism recorded in parish of Santi Francesco e Matteo, Libro XIII de' Battezzati 1803 Dal 1° Luglio 1803 al 23 Agosto 1807, fol. 8, ASDN.

Salvatore Gabriele Raffaele Guglielmi (Naples, 13 Apr 1810–?).
*Baptism recorded in Libro Decimoquarto de' Battezzati di questa Parrocchiale Chiesa de' SS. Francesco e Matteo Dal 25 Agosto 1807 al 31 Dicembre 1821, fol. 31, ASDN. *Civil birth cert. n. 336, fol. 168 (1810) Montecalvario, SCN, ASN.

Maria Luisa Raffaela Guglielmi (Naples, 8 Nov 1811–?).
*Baptism recorded in Libro Decimoquarto De' Battezzati di questa Parrocchiale Chiesa de' SS. Francesco e Matteo Dal 25 Agosto 1807 al 31 Dicembre 1821, fol. 55, ASDN. *Civil birth cert. n. 843, fol. 422 (1811) Montecalvario, SCN, ASN.
Christopher Page  
(Musical Performance and Reception, ed. by John Butt and Laurence Dreyfus)

A little more than a decade ago, the late James Tyler required a mere six pages to summarize the salient facts then known about the gittern (the small four-course “Renaissance” guitar) in 16th-century England.¹ Its surviving repertory consists of a few scattered manuscripts, the largest of which, the Osborn Manuscript (c. 1560) in the Beinecke Library of Yale University, contains only twenty-one pieces. In 1568–69, the printer James Rowbotham is known to have published a gittern method, the century’s only printed musical source for the instrument in England. Now lost except for a few pages, the Rowbotham print was probably a translated version of the 1551 French tutor of Adrian Le Roy. Tyler observed that its publication “indicates, at the very least, a perceived demand for guitar music in England during this period.”

Nevertheless, with an insubstantial repertory and few extant examples of the instrument itself, the guitar in Tudor England would seem an unlikely choice of subject for a scholarly monograph. But the polymath Cambridge professor Christopher Page, using the gittern as his starting point, has unearthed a great deal of new information providing insights into English culture and society during one of its most turbulent and formative periods. Taking creative advantage of previously ignored or neglected published and archival sources such as wills and probate documents in county record offices, Page casts new light on the proliferation of the instrument throughout the country, the role of music in the everyday life of the new material classes, the dissemination of foreign musical influences (especially from France), the business of music (the trade in musical instruments), Tudor song, and much more.

Page addresses the definitions of the words *gittern*, *mandore*, and *cittern*, although much of the confusion in distinguishing among these instruments dates to the period. He is able to glean a great deal of information about gittern techniques from the Osborn manuscript and continental sources. The Rowbotham print is discussed in detail; Page provides facsimiles of the extant folios and a reconstruction of a “petite fantasie” they contain. There are also appendices on octave tunings on the third and fourth courses, as well as medieval “fiddle tunings” (drone courses) which were in use on the continent. Page also examines the surviving repertoire in French sources, many of which were carried across the Channel to England. Page observes that the gittern was used to perform polyphony as well as chordal accompaniment to songs, psalms, and even to poetry such as that of Petrarch. His discussion of Tudor song reveals an unexpectedly rich and varied repertoire in which continental “Papist” Renaissance culture penetrated Puritan England, anticipating the emerging era of Shakespeare and Dowland.

In this work musicology informs the broader social history of the age, and vice-versa. The autobiography of the poet Thomas Whythorne (born ca. 1529), provides insights into fashion and social stratification. As a young man Whythorne had been an avid musician, studying both the virginal and lute and also dance and fencing. But earning a living by such pursuits classified him as a minstrel, a term of disapproval associated with vagabondage in the classes to which he aspired. Whythorne then turned to the “gittern and sittern,” both of which were “then strange [foreign] in England, and therefore the more desired and esteemed,” and more associated with gentlemen and those “of the best sort.” Page makes fascinating observations in passing: virtually all contemporaneous references to the instrument describe it being played by men. Still another anecdote describes how a cipher inscribed upon a gittern was used for court intrigues in the 1530s.

*The Guitar in Tudor England* is not the definitive tome on the four-course Renaissance Guitar; such a work would necessarily be based heavily on sources from Spain, Italy, France, Portugal, and other continental documents, and may never be written. What Christopher Page has penned instead is an elegant amalgam of social history and musicology mainly in one country. He makes creative and meticulous use of a wealth of the available research materials, many of them unique to England. He writes with elegance and insight, and provides an exhaustive bibliography. For anyone interested in building a library on the history of the guitar, this should be the essential first volume.

—Richard Long

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Adam Darr (1811–1866)

German Romantic Guitar Duets.
John Schneiderman and Hideki Yamaya, guitars
Profil / Edition Günter Hänsßler
PH13052 (2 CDs)

The popularity of the guitar in the early nineteenth century is well documented in Paris and Vienna. Any list of prominent guitarists of the era will include the Spaniard Sor, the Italian Giuliani, and a number of their countrymen. The German states were home to a lively guitar culture as well, evidenced by the number and quality of extant instruments as well as hundreds of music publications by local as well as foreign composers. A few German guitar composers, notably Kaspar Joseph Mertz (1804–1856) and Joseph Kühffner (1776–1856), have been the subjects of modern monographs, although Kühffner’s œuvre was not limited to guitar. The reputations of many other contemporaneous Germans, notably Carl Ludwig Blum (1786–1844) and Friedrich Brand (1815–1882), suggest that they deserve further study.

Another such neglected figure is Adam Darr (1811–1866), a Bavarian musician born in Schweinfurt and reportedly an accomplished singer and performer on flute, violin, and zither as well as guitar. Guitarists remember him (if at all) for compositions that were published posthumously by two guitar societies, the Freie Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Guitaremusik (Augsburg, 1904–1908) and the Gitarristische Vereinigung (Munich, 1909–1910). Brief biographies of Darr were written by several of his acquaintances and pupils, and these were summarized in guitar-oriented compilations such as the dictionaries of Bone, Zuth, and Prat; general musical references such as Fétis or Eitner failed to list him. Peter Danner published several of Darr’s works in Soundboard in 1985 and 1986, and Darr was the subject of a 2005 D.M.A. thesis by Joseph Costello at Arizona State University.

Darr’s guitar duos may have been intended for performance by the composer and his sometime duo partner Friedrich Brand (1815–1882), who was Kapellmeister at Würzburg when Darr settled there in the early 1840s. Brand’s broad musical circle included Kühffner (who was the Würzburg court conductor) and Richard Wagner (who was known to travel with a guitar).

The guitar’s popularity was declining by mid-century, and this may explain why Darr’s guitar music remained unpublished in his lifetime. The guitar’s decline may also be reflected in his later life, when he moved to Munich for a time—working as tutor and governor to the Whitbread family, which had close ties to the Bavarian court. At that time he focused his performing and composing efforts on the zither. In the last decade of his life Darr resided in Augsburg, where he taught guitar, harp, and zither, and published prolifically for the latter. Costello states that Darr composed more than four hundred works over his lifetime, including many mixed ensembles, a zither method, works for men’s choir, a work for chorus and orchestra, and an operetta. Most of these apparently date to the last years of his life; the works for guitar, unpublished until many decades after his death, cannot be dated with certainty. Darr’s life ended tragically with his suicide by drowning following a period of domestic disappointment, physical problems, and depression. Costello’s diligent research uncovered revelatory family correspondence that provides poignant insight into the last months of Darr’s otherwise poorly documented life, as well as the curious fact that, shortly before his suicide, he composed a piece for military band to be played at his own funeral.

The present two-CD collection of Darr’s guitar duets, performed by John Schneiderman and Hideki Yamaya, is the first recording to be dedicated entirely to Darr’s music and thus provides a sort of sonic monograph to supplement Costello’s study; Costello participated in this project, too, contributing to the liner notes. The first CD consists of eight concert works, some of which are unexpectedly lengthy and ambitious: Erinnerung an St. Petersburg (9’36”), Introduction & Rondo (11’03’’), and Große Adagio und Rondo (14’47’’).

Most of Darr’s guitar music was published around the turn of the 20th century in the guitar society publications mentioned above, but several of the concert pieces survive in manuscripts now in the Gitarristische Sammlung Fritz Walter und Gabriele Wiedemann of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The second CD contains all of the fourteen numbered duos published by the Freie Vereinigung, most of which are quite short, but the last is a nine-minute Duo concertant in two movements. All the duets are performed here on period guitars or facsimiles, including, when required, a terz guitar and a ten-string. One piece, the spritely Irenengalopp, requires two guitars a fourth apart, accomplished by Schneiderman on a terz guitar with Yamaya on a normal guitar tuned down a full step.

Darr’s guitar music is less representative of the early “Classical” Romanticism of Sor and Giuliani and more reflective of the mature Romantic style of mid-19th-century Germany (cf. Mertz), especially in the sensitive slow movements. In this sense, it helps fill stylistic, chronological, and geographic gaps in the guitar’s repertory. Like many of
his contemporaries, Darr often evokes Middle-European folk song and dance; many of his pieces feature attractive Ländler, waltzes, polonaises, and galops that would be at home in the Prater.

The duets tend to feature melodies on one guitar with chordal accompaniments on the other. The textures are not unlike his music for zither, much of which, written like guitar music on two treble staves, could be easily adapted to two guitars. In the numbered duos, the melodic and harmonic lines are often swapped back and forth between the guitars, but on some works there is clearly a principal guitar and an accompanying second guitar. Darr’s music requires guitarists ranging from competent/intermediate to virtuosic, and there are often cadenzas for the latter. The frequent use of glissandi perhaps reflects the influence of the zither.

The performers Schneiderman and Yamaya are both accomplished and experienced soloists and ensemble players on a variety of instruments and in styles from the Renaissance to the present. Both have made a serious study of period technique and interpretation, and they play together with precision, symmetry, and élan, merging meticulous authenticity with a tasteful and appropriate Romantic sensibility. The recording quality is excellent. Darr’s duos provide a significant piece of the jigsaw puzzle of guitar history, and are well worthy of being featured in this fashion; their presentation here is exemplary in every respect.

—RICHARD LONG

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—JASON VIEAUX
ANDREAS STEVENS has focused his research activities on the guitar’s history and repertoire in the German-speaking countries. His articles have been published mainly in German magazines (*Gitarre aktuell, Concertino, Phoibos*) and books, but also in international magazines like *Soundboard* (USA), *il 'Fronimo'* (Italy), *Classical Guitar* (UK), *Roseta* (Spain—forthcoming in 2016) and books. He is responsible for the recovery of the long-lost collection of the *Gitarristische Vereinigung* and its relocation to the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munich, where it is now known as the *Gitarristische Sammlung Fritz Walter und Gabriele Wiedemann*. Stevens was awarded the *Chitarra d’Oro* for musicological research in 2012, at the 17th *Convegno internazionale di chitarra* in Alessandria. Together with Gerhard Penn he founded (in 2007) and has continued to convene the biennial *Lake Konstanz Guitar Research Meeting*. He has given lectures in Austria, England, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. In his series *Alla tedesca: Guitar music of the German-speaking countries* (*Aurea Vox*), he has recorded two CDs of selected compositions by Heinrich Albert and Anton Stingl. His editions of scores by Heinrich Albert are published by Trekel and Zimmermann; his edition of a newly discovered work by Regondi is in the *Chanterelle/Allegra* catalog. He is head of the Department of Plucked Instruments at the Clara-Schumann-Musikschule Dusseldorf.

NICOLETTA CONFALONE is an Italian guitarist-musicologist. After completing her performance studies at the Conservatorio in Rovigo, with many masterclasses from Oscar Ghiglia, Ruggero Chiesa, and Stefano Grondona, she obtained a degree in Law at Ferrara University and a degree in Musicology at Ca’ Foscari University in Venice. She has played a pivotal role in the rediscovery and revival of the guitarist-composer Emilia Giuliani, daughter of the famous Mauro Giuliani. In 2013 the first complete edition of Emilia Giuliani’s guitar works, edited by Nicoletta Confalone and Robert Coldwell, was published by DGA Editions. For her musicological research, she was awarded the *Chitarra d’Oro* prize at the Alessandria International Guitar Conference in 2014. She has continued her research on Emilia Giuliani with the French musicologist Grégory Leclair, with whom she wrote two articles published in *Il ‘Fronimo’*. She also published an essay on Schubert and the guitar in *AAA TAG*, the musical review of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice.

GRÉGORY LECLAIR is a French guitarist with varied research interests. His educational background includes the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris, the Sorbonne, the Schola Cantorum, and the Ecole Normale de Musique de Paris, where he studied with Alberto Ponce. He has participated in masterclasses with Roland Dyens, Pablo Marquez, and David Tanenbaum, and been coached by the lutenist and baroque guitarist Sven Aberg. He counts among his chamber music partners the cellist Mateusz Kwiatkowski, the flutists Di Feng (Shanghai Opera House Orchestra, Orchestre de Flûtes Français), and Isabelle Pierre (Opéra national de Paris). He has collaborated with several composers including Michel Petrossian (Armenia, France). Grégory Leclair often appears as a soloist or a collaborative chamber musician in various countries of Europe (Sweden, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, etc.). In 2013 he was invited to perform in Chengdu, China.
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