

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (*Cincinnati*) *Weekly Register*, 8 Dec 1853.

<sup>2</sup> 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; Phillip F. Gura, *C.F. Martin and His Guitars, 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: *La Guitaromanie. Recueil de rondeaux, walses, contredanses, chasse, fanfare, polonoise, marches, boléro, sonatine, air varié et préludes d'une exécution brillante* [pour guitare seule] [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.

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

<sup>4</sup> 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 Cincinnati 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.140) 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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).<sup>7</sup> 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."<sup>8</sup>

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).<sup>9</sup>

Such private academies were not only prime venues for the education of girls and young women in Worrall's day,



**Figure 1:** Ohio Female College, c.1840–55.

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.)<sup>10</sup>

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"<sup>11</sup>

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**).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "Henry Worrall Has Passed Away"; Mary Sayre Haverstock, Jeannette Mahoney Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt, *Artists in Ohio, 1787–1900: A Biographical Dictionary*, s.v. "Worrall, Henry" (Kent, OH: Kent Univ. Press, 2000), 969; Donald R. MacKenzie, "The Itinerant Artist in Early Ohio," *Ohio History* 73, no. 1 (Winter 1964): 42.

<sup>6</sup> Terese M. Volk, "The Growth and Development of Music Education in the Public Schools of Buffalo, New York, 1843–1988," *Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 9, no. 2 (July 1988): 91–93; C.V. Buttlerman, "A Century of Music in Buffalo Schools," *Music Educators Journal* 23, no. 5 (Mar. 1937): 26; James A. Keene, *A History of Music Education in the United States* (Hanover, NH: Univ. Press of New England, 1982), 120–124; Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 130–133.

<sup>7</sup> 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](http://www.kansasmemory.org/locate.php?query=Henry+Worrall).

<sup>8</sup> (*Cincinnati Weekly Register*, 8 Dec 1853 [italics original]).

<sup>9</sup> "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](http://www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02).

<sup>10</sup> **Figure 2** is viewable at [www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02](http://www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02).

<sup>11</sup> Concert programs, **HWC** (see note 4).

<sup>12</sup> 1850 US Census; Beverly Yount, *Marriage Records, Wayne County, Indiana, March 11, 1811 to March 23, 1860* (Richmond, IN: Beverly Yount, 1974), 161.



## HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

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:



Figure 3: Henry Worrall and his wife, Mary Elizabeth Harvey c.1890s

Aug 6 <sup>th</sup> Horace Waters					\$ 187
2-2	1	1	1	1	32.
2-1	1	1	1	1	27.
2-1	1	1	1	1	34.
1-8/1	1	1	1	1	26.
1-1	1	1	1	1	
Aug 18 <sup>th</sup> Peters & Sons					
0-2	1	1	1	1	54.
1-1	1	1	1	1	26.
1-1	1	1	1	1	21.
Aug 18 <sup>th</sup> J.C. Worrall					
0-1	1	1	1	1	Present
2-1	1	1	1	1	Present
Aug 21 <sup>st</sup> Alexander & White					
3-1	1	1	1	1	17.
2-1	1	1	1	1	51.
2-2	1	1	1	1	36.
2-2	1	1	1	1	40.
2-2	1	1	1	1	40.

Figure 4: C. F. Martin ledger naming Worrall the recipient of a “present”—a complimentary guitar

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 [underline original; grammatical errors retained].<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup>

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.

<sup>13</sup> Valentine to Taft, 5 Jan 1945, Robert Taft Collection (hereafter cited as RTC), Kansas State Historical Society.

<sup>14</sup> Correspondence with Dick Boak, Director of Exhibitions and Archives for C.F. Martin & Co., 22 Aug 2011.

Worrall concludes his letter: “Please present my respects to your family with the assurance that I remember my pleasant little visit to Cherry Hill.”<sup>15</sup> (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**).<sup>16</sup>

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.)<sup>17</sup>

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.”<sup>18</sup>

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.”<sup>19</sup> 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



**Figure 6:** Worrall posing with a guitar of unknown provenance

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.”<sup>20</sup>

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.”<sup>21</sup> 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

<sup>15</sup> 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](http://www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02).

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> *Annual Catalogue of the Cincinnati Wesleyan College, for Young Women*

(Cincinnati: [Wesleyan] College, 1857–1862). **Figure 7** is viewable online at [www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02](http://www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02).

<sup>18</sup> Naturalization papers, HWC.

<sup>19</sup> “The Sketch Club,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 6 Aug 1861; Chas. T. Webber, “Pioneer Art in Cincinnati,” in Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati: State of Ohio, 1904), I: 856; Charles Theodore Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical, 1904), I: 846; Haverstock et al., *Artists in Ohio*, s.v. “Cincinnati Sketch Club,” 983–984; *The Sketch Club* 1, no. 1 (31 Mar 1860): 4.

<sup>20</sup> *The Sketch Club* 1, no. 3 (5 May 1860): 4.

<sup>21</sup> *The Sketch Club* 1, no. 1 (31 Mar 1860): 1.

<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>

### 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*.<sup>24</sup> 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 Topeka concert. The event took place 18 January 1869. "A concert was given 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."<sup>25</sup>

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."<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup>

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

<sup>23</sup> Family account book, HWC; "Passengers Arrived," *New York Times*, 1 Mar 1863; R.V. Jackson, "The Structure of Pay in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 40, no. 4 (1987): 563; 1860, 1870, 1900 US Census; MacKenzie, 44–45. On the economic difficulties of artists in mid-nineteenth-century Cincinnati, see Kathleen M. Dillon, "Painters and Patrons: The Fine Arts in Cincinnati, 1820–1860," *Ohio History* 96 (Winter/Spring 1987): 8, 20, 24–26, 28–32; Charles W. Calomiris and Larry Schweikart, "The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment," *Journal of Economic History* 51, no. 4 (1991): 807; Valentine to Taft, 5 Jan 1945, RTC (see note 13).

<sup>24</sup> The Kansas State Historical Society has mounted on its website a color reproduction of "Drouthy Kansas," hyperbolically showing the state's agricultural diversity, <http://www.kshs.org/cool2/graphics/drouthyks.jpg>. *Drouthy* is a Scots word

related to *drought*, meaning dry or thirsty. Worrall's picture shows farmers in the foreground, a rain squall in the background.

<sup>25</sup> (*Topeka*) *State Record*, 18 Jan 1869; Musical Union mission statement is in *Radges' Biennial Directory... of Topeka* (Topeka: Samuel Radges, 1882), 248; *State Record*, 28 Apr 1869; *Ibid.* 12 Oct 1869.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 23 Nov 1869.

<sup>27</sup> *Radges' Biennial Directory...*, 1872–73, 195; W. E. Webb, *Buffalo Land: An Authentic Narrative of the Adventures and Misadventures of a Late Scientific and Sporting Party upon the Great Plains of the West* (Cincinnati: E. Hannaford, 1872), passim; Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade* (Kansas City, MO: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1874), passim; Taft, *Artists and Illustrators*, 123.

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.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> 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.



**Figure 8:** Worrall’s “Dance-House”

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.”<sup>30</sup>

## 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 proscenium 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

<sup>28</sup> McCoy, *Historic Sketches*, 141.

<sup>29</sup> 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, **HWC**; *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.”

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**.

<sup>30</sup> “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**.

## 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 fantasia 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."<sup>31</sup>

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 Gitarrespiel*, 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 fingering. 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).<sup>32</sup> 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).



Figure 9a



Figure 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."<sup>33</sup> 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

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Postleware, "Extending Right-Hand Technique to Include the Little Finger," *Soundboard* 28/4 (Spring 2002): 7–13. I thank Erik Stenstadovold for providing the Staehlin and Molitor references.

<sup>33</sup> Juan Bermudo, in *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555), bk. IV, ch. 26, describes a Spanish 5-course "guitarra nueva" tuning of Gdgbd'. In bk. IV, ch. 60, Bermudo refers to an unconventional tuning for 6-course vihuela of GBdgbd'. These

and other open-G scordaturas, including that of *Spanish Fandango*, also surfaced in Iberoamerica 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 its name to, the tuning upon which it is based.



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.<sup>34</sup>

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."<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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**).<sup>37</sup>

## 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



**Figure 11:**  
Worrall performing a  
parody on stage, 1869

<sup>34</sup> Steve James, *Roots and Blues Fingerstyle Guitar* (San Anselmo, CA: String Letter, 1999), 13, 27–31, 70; Jas Obrecht, "A Century of Blues Guitar," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 89; Keith Richards with James Fox, *Life* (New York: Little, Brown, 2010), 242–245. Some scholars attribute early blues open tunings to coeval Hawaiian slack-key practice but fail to recognize the former's more immediate link to the parlor guitar repertory and to Worrall specifically.

<sup>35</sup> James Ballard, *The Elements of Guitar-Playing* (New York: Geib & Walker, 1838), 16, quoted in Peter Danner, "A Noteworthy Early American Guitar Treatise: James Ballard's 'Elements' of 1838," *Soundboard* 8, no. 4 (Nov. 1981): 275.

<sup>36</sup> Gilbert Chase, *America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 297.

<sup>37</sup> **Figure 10** is viewable online at [www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02](http://www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02).



## 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 Elocution” in America, it is not entirely clear that Worrall’s performances, this one included, involved music in every instance.<sup>38</sup>

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 Tronduanmiphilapenostrausiomomento 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).<sup>39</sup>

### 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).<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup>

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).

<sup>38</sup> *State Record*, 1 Jul 1870; *Ibid.*, 28 Apr 1869; (*Kinsley, KS*) *Valley Republican*, 23 Feb 1878; (*Topeka*) *Commonwealth*, 4 Aug 1869; Constance Rourke, *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (1931; reprint, New York: New York Review Books, 2004), 31, 44, 65, 141; Donald Hall, “Ballad of the Republic,” in *Principal Products of Portugal* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), 5–11.

<sup>39</sup> Jeffrey J. Noonan, “The Guitar in America As Reflected in Topical Periodicals, 1882–1933,” PhD diss. (Washington Univ., 2004), 48, and *Guitar in America: Victorian Era*, 14; *Cincinnati Commercial*, clipping, HWC, n.d.; Rourke, *American Humor*, 58; newspaper clippings, HWC; Valentine to Taft, 4 Jan 1946, RTC.

<sup>40</sup> 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=DwjH4djtM\\_E](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwjH4djtM_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).

<sup>41</sup> Danner, “Noteworthy,” 270–271; Ophia Smith, “Joseph Tosso, the Arkansaw Traveler,” *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (Jan. 1947): 32, 41, 43; Worrall’s own arrangement of “Arkansas Traveller” appears on p. 52 of his *Eclectic Guitar Instructor*.

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.<sup>42</sup> 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

**SMITH & NIXON'S HALL!**

**MR. J. TOSSO'S**  
**GRAND**  
**CONCERT**

ON  
**Thursday Evening, May 19, '59,**

On which occasion the following favorite Artists have kindly volunteered their services:

**Mad. Caroline Rive,**  
**Miss Henrietta Staub,**  
**Miss Sophie Werner,**  
**Mr. Henry Worrall.**

---

**PROGRAMME.**

**PART FIRST.**

1. SOLO, Violin, De Berlioz.....J. TOSSO
2. ARIA, From Linds.....Miss H. STAUB
3. FANTAZIA on Lucretia Borgia, by Asher.....SOPHIE WERNER
4. L'ELISIRE D'AMOUR.....MAD. C. RIVE
5. SOLO, Guitarr.....HENRY WORRALL
6. SOLO, Violin, "Exile of Switzerland, and his return to his native land".....J. TOSSO

---

**PART SECOND.**

1. SOLO, Violin, Grand Waltz with Variations; also, by request, the Two Pittsburgh Clerks.....J. TOSSO
2. SONG, "Within a mile of Edwinton".....Miss H. STAUB
3. FANTAZIA on Lucia, by Prudent.....SOPHIE WERNER
4. SONG, "Annie Laurie".....MAD. RIVE
5. DUET, "Last Rose of Summer".....MAD. RIVE and MISS STAUB
6. ARKANSAS TRAVELER, by particular request.....J. TOSSO

**Mr. Werner will preside at the Piano.**

**Admittance, - - 50 Cents.**

TICKETS TO BE HAD AT ALL THE MUSIC STORES.

Concert to commence at 8 o'clk.

ENQUIRER FIRST.

Figure 12



Figure 13: Tosso and Worrall in concert, in 1886

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."<sup>43</sup> Many years later, in 1886, Webber photographed Tosso and Worrall playing together (Figure 13).

In short, given his Liverpoolian roots and the predominantly German and Irish population of Cincinnati,

<sup>42</sup> For instance, in *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock 'n' Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), Elijah Wald writes that rural guitarists "typically played at least one formal parlor piece, 'Spanish Fandango,' which had been composed as a beginning guitar exercise by Henry Worrall" (p. 20).

<sup>43</sup> Smith, "Joseph Tosso," 17, 18, 22, 37; concert program, HWC. Worrall to C. F. Martin, C. F. Martin & Co. archives (Figure 5, online). Quote is from Webber, "Former Well-Known."



## 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 $\flat$ -major against a drone C-major triad on the three open treble strings. In 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.<sup>44</sup>

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.'"<sup>45</sup>

*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.<sup>46</sup> 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

<sup>44</sup> C. D. Schettler, "Reflections of a Guitarist," *Cadenza* 5, no. 2 (Nov./Dec. 1898): 7, quoted in Noonan, "The Guitar in America As Reflected," 490–91.

<sup>45</sup> Webber, "Former Well-Known."

<sup>46</sup> "Impromptu Musicale," (*Iowa City*) *Daily Citizen*, 2 Mar 1893.

musical products of Fracker's fellow directors and teachers in the turn-of-the-century Banjo, Mandolin, and Guitar movement provide an especially salient example.

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.<sup>47</sup> 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 Claverhouse entered the hall, he heard Cecile playing "Spanish Retreat" with great taste and skill.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> Worrall's arrangement appeared in 1866. In it, he again makes use of the standard bugle and percussion allusions, including an onomatopoeic 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.

<sup>47</sup> "Worrall Dead" claimed that "the sale of that single piece alone has passed the \$200,000 mark."

<sup>48</sup> Harriet Maria Gordon Smythies, *A Lover's Quarrel: or, The County Ball* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1858), 1:58.

<sup>49</sup> Erik Stenstad, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760–1860* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2010), 23 and WorldCat (OCLC 931402620); Alexander Sosson, *The Spanish Retreat, arranged for the Spanish Guitar* (London, 1830?); "New

Musical Works Published within the Last Month," *The Harmonicon* (London), new series, 1st pt. (Jan. 1828): 314; Flamini Duvernay, *The Spanish Retreat for The Guitar*, 2nd ed. (London: Johanning, [c.1837–1841]); Duvernay's professional appellation appears on the title page of his *A Complete Instruction Book for the Guitar* (London, 1827). See Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (1974; reprint, Westport, CT: Bold Strummer, 1991), 102.



## 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*.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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 duetts, 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.<sup>52</sup> 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

<sup>50</sup> 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*.

<sup>51</sup> Taft, *Artists and Illustrators*, 119–21.

<sup>52</sup> Greve, 920.

Mason (1792–1872), most notably in Mason’s influential *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music on the System of Pestalozzi* (1834).<sup>53</sup>

**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,”<sup>54</sup> 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 *c* 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.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> 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

<sup>53</sup> Lowell Mason and Timothy Mason, *The Sacred Harp or Eclectic Harmony* (Cincinnati: Truman & Smith, 1836), [5]; Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (1801), trans. Lucy E. Holland and Frances C. Turner, ed. Ebenezer Cooke, 2nd ed. (Syracuse, NY: C.W. Bardeen, 1898), 132–33; Keene, 79–90, 106–109; Mark and Gary, 112–116; Woodbridge is quoted in Howard Eber Ellis, “The Influence of Pestalozzianism on Instruction in Music,” PhD diss. (Univ. of Michigan, 1957), 138–139; Lowell Mason, *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music on the System of Pestalozzi* (Boston: Carter, Hendee, 1834)

<sup>54</sup> Phil D. Perrin, “Pedagogical Philosophy, Methods, and Materials of American Tune Book Introductions: 1801–1860,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 67; Keene, 188; William Woodbridge, “On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education” (1830), quoted in Ellis, 138–139.

<sup>55</sup> Paul Wathan Cox, “Classic Guitar Technique and Its Evolution as Reflected in the Method Books ca. 1770–1850,” PhD diss. (Indiana Univ., 1978), 169–172.

<sup>56</sup> 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 propagandized, 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.”<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup>

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 interest in vernacular idioms, including folk beliefs, stories, crafts, customs, and songs, as well as popular modes of expression in literature and (notated) music.

Worrall drew from traditional sources to some extent, but his music always occupied that middle landscape where

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.<sup>59</sup>

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).<sup>60</sup> 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.

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

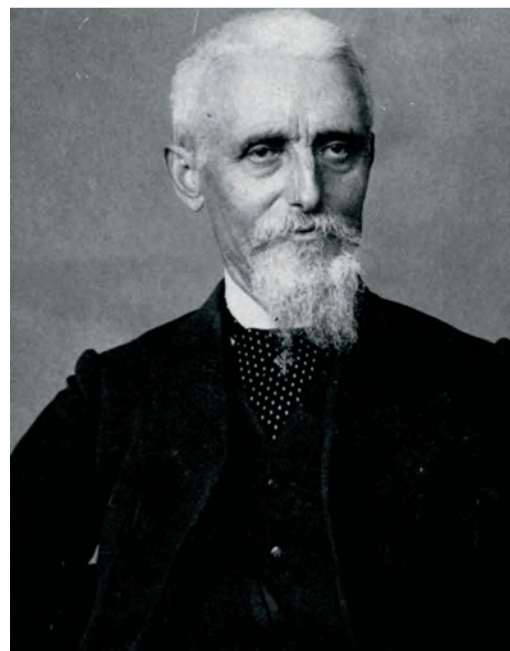


Figure 14: Henry Worrall, photographed in the 1870s

<sup>57</sup> Arthur Efland, “Art and Music in the Pestalozzian Tradition,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 31, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 174; Perrin, 66, 69; Allen P. Britton, “Music Education: An American Specialty,” in *One Hundred Years of Music in America*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: G. Schirmer, 1961), 214.

<sup>58</sup> Constance Rourke, *Charles Sheeler: Artist in the American Tradition* (1938; reprint, New York: Kennedy Galleries & Da Capo, 1969), 71.

<sup>59</sup> George and Barbara Perkins, *The American Tradition in Literature*, 11th ed., shorter ed. in one vol. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2007), 561; M.H. Abrams, “English

Romanticism: The Spirit of the Age,” in *Romanticism Reconsidered: Selected Papers from the English Institute*, ed. Northrop Frye (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1963), 61, 69; René Wellek, “Romanticism Re-Examined,” in *Romanticism Reconsidered*, 113, 124, 132.

<sup>60</sup> Oscar Sonneck, “A Survey of Music in America,” paper read before the Schola Cantorum, New York City, 11 April 1913, anthologized in *Suum Cuique: Essays in Music* (1916; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1969), 131.

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

*Violet Waltz with Variations*. Cincinnati: W. C. Peters & Sons, 1853.

*Select Guitar Melodies*. Cincinnati: W. C. Peters & Sons, 1856.

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

*The Eclectic Guitar Instructor*. Cincinnati: W.C. Peters & Sons, 1856.

*Floating Gems for Guitar*. St. Louis: J. L. Peters & Bro., 1860.

#### 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

*Sebastopol*. Cincinnati: A. C. & J. L. Peters, 1860.

*The Eclectic Guitar Instructor* (rev). Cincinnati: A. C. Peters & Bro., 1862.

*Spanish Fandango*. Cincinnati: A. C. & J. L. Peters, 1866.

*Capretio on a Mexican Air*. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1866.

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

*Carmencita: Mexican Dances*. Topeka: E. B. Guild, 1896.

- 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*.

*Capretio*.

Untitled [*Carmencita*]

## Sources and descriptions of the illustrations

(Figures with asterisks have been web-copublished at [www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02](http://www.guitarfoundation.org/page/SbS02)).

1. \*Ohio Female College, c.1840–56. Courtesy of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.
2. \*Somerville Literary Society program, 1856. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.
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.
5. \*Autograph of Worrall's letter to C. F. Martin, 1856. Courtesy of C. F. Martin & Co. Archives.
6. Worrall posing with guitar, c.1855–68. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.
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.



## HENRY WORRALL: (cont.)

- 9a. Worrall's "four-stroke ruff" motif from *Sebastopol*, 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.
10. \*Worrall's ticket for the Centennial Exhibition, 1876. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.
11. J. Lee Knight's photograph of Worrall's solo burlesque performance, Topeka, 1869. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.
12. Concert program: Tosso and Worrall, 1859. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.
13. C.T. Webber's photograph of Worrall and Tosso, 1886. *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, 29 June 1902, 4:3. Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection, N 385 v. 329.
14. Henry Worrall, 1870s. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.

## RETURN WITH US NOW...

### 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).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 givens 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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."

<sup>2</sup> José de Anguera, *The Celebrated Spanish Retreat: Quick Step* [arr. piano forte] (Boston: Henry Prentiss, 1841); *The Celebrated Spanish Retreat* (Boston: E. H. Wade, 1843), rescored in Douglas Back, *Hispanic-American Guitar* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 2003), 102–107.



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