

**father heinrich  
as kindred spirit**

**or, how the log-house composer  
of kentucky became  
the beethoven of america**

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Thine eyes shall see the light of distant skies:  
Yet, COLE! thy heart shall bear to Europe's strand  
A living image of their own bright land  
Such as on thy glorious canvas lies.  
Lone lakes—savannahs where the bison roves—  
Rocks rich with summer garlands—solemn streams—  
Skies where the desert eagle wheels and screams—  
Spring bloom and autumn blaze of boundless groves.  
Fair scenes shall greet thee where thou goest—fair  
But different—everywhere the trace of men.  
Paths, homes, graves, ruins, from the lowest glen  
To where life shrinks from the fierce Alpine air,  
Gaze on them, till the tears shall dim thy sight,  
But keep that earlier, wilder image bright.

—William Cullen Bryant, “To Cole, the  
Painter, Departing for Europe” (1829)

More than any other single painting, Asher B. Durand's *Kindred Spirits* of 1849 has come to speak for mid-nineteenth-century America (Figure 1).

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FIGURE ONE (above): Asher B. Durand, *Kindred Spirits* (1849). The painter Thomas Cole and the poet William Cullen Bryant are shown worshipping wild American Nature together from a precipice high in the Catskill Mountains.

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The work portrays three kinds of kinship: the American's kinship with Nature, the kinship of painting and poetry, and the kinship of both with "the wilder images" of specifically American landscapes. Commissioned by a patron at the time of Thomas Cole's death as a token of gratitude to William Cullen Bryant for his eulogy at Cole's funeral, the work shows Cole and Bryant admiring together the kind of images both had commemorated in their art. The setting is the wilderness area of the Hudson River Valley they had loved and once explored together, but that landscape has come to represent, over the years, the American landscape generally<sup>1</sup> (see note 1 for Figure 2). The composition of the painting is dramatic—indeed, theatrical. The dark foreground trees act as a curtain drawn aside to reveal the panorama of Nature, the central actor in the drama. The two figures are spectators who have come here on some deliberate walk into the countryside. The overarching tree enfolds them from above, framing the scene with proscenium arch as our eyes follow the stream that flows from beneath their feet, upward to the waterfall and then to the misted mountains that disappear into the radiant haze of sky. It is a vision of golden concord, and it speaks of peace and harmony at the same time that the jutting rocks, the thundering falls and the blasted trees in the foreground speak to the wilderness in Nature's drama. This *kind* of composition, evoking awestruck innocence before the New World's untamed Nature, would come to seem to certain later generations not merely dramatic but melodramatic—excessive in its enthusiasm, embarrassingly rhapsodic.

The kinship with Nature that *Kindred Spirits* speaks to was a major theme in nineteenth-century art and thought, a conclusion confirmed by a good deal of scholarship. From Perry Miller's volumes arguing for the centrality of the belief in America as Nature's Nation, through James T. Callow's demonstration in *Kindred Spirits* (1967)—a volume named after the painting—that the Knickerbocker writers influenced the Hudson River painters, to the brilliant recent writings of Barbara Novak and the ten contributors to the catalog of the 1980 *American Light* exhibit in Washington, D.C., the reappraisals of "American attitudes toward Nature and national identity during a crucial period of our country's development" have yielded a persuasive portrait<sup>2</sup>—the portrait of a nation in the thrall of Nature. The impact of this scholarship has been interesting, particularly in the field of American painting. Although a few decades ago it was not uncommon to find much of American landscape painting described as naive or melodramatic, today the works of Cole and Frederic Church, the Luminists, the Hudson River School, even Alfred Bierstadt, are all highly regarded. But what I find especially significant is that the real heroes to emerge from the two books by Novak and the *American Light* catalog (the works I would credit most with initiating the revolution in attitude) are not the landscape painters themselves, not even the new-found Luminists, but Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. As in Callow's study, it is the analogy between literature and painting, and the relation of both to the culture of the times, that validates the argument about the role of

Nature in the thinking of Americans of that time. Thus the scholarship too is founded upon the “kindred spirits” motif, the interdisciplinary perspective.

What is missing from the picture is music. Nowhere in this body of scholarship, from the influential volumes of Perry Miller to the *American Light* catalog, is there an effort to consider what American composers were contributing toward the creation of the American myth of Nature, to ask whether anyone was attempting to do in music what the Hudson River painters were doing in painting and almost all our major writers in literature. Was any composer addressing the twin themes of Nature and Nation as ardently as the several generations of writers and artists, and with as enthusiastic a following? Had such a question been asked, I contend, one answer would have come thundering back: Anthony Philip Heinrich!

It is my purpose in this essay to make the case for Heinrich (1781-1861) as the musical counterpart to the landscape writers and artists. Specifically I wish to argue that a study of Heinrich’s biography, his musical intentions and the responses of audiences to his work will help not only to assess his contribution to American music but more important, to tell us something about American culture and society in his time. My aim is to respond to a challenge offered many years ago by Oscar Sonneck, the man after whom the Sonneck Society is named: “‘Father Heinrich,’ easily the most commanding figure as a composer in America before 1860 and perhaps the first symphonic composer to utilize Indian themes and to display, however naively, nationalistic ‘American’ tendencies, is not even mentioned in the histories of American music.”<sup>3</sup> Although Heinrich has been mentioned since in the histories and some few of his works recorded, the condescension towards him is conspicuous. Like some of the landscape painters a short time ago, Heinrich is regarded as too “sensational” and “bizarre,” too “excessive,” too “embarrassing” to be taken seriously.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps it is time for Heinrich too to be rescued.

i

In the year 1826, when Thomas Cole’s “wilder images” of American Nature were just beginning to change the direction of American painting, when Cullen Bryant was engaged in teaching America that Nature had special healing powers, Anthony Philip Heinrich gave a Farewell Concert in Boston. On the program were two “musical biographical songs” whose words established his kinship with Cole and Bryant, Nature and the age. Between them, the two songs provide the outlines of the Heinrich Legend. For the Boston performance, Heinrich himself sang the first song, “The Log House: A Sylvan Bravura”; for a later performance, in 1842, he let a program note speak for him: “Descriptive of scenes in the author’s life—Composed in a wild forest of Kentucky, whither Mr. Heinrich—then a Bohemian stranger—had been driven by the storms of adverse fortune.”<sup>5</sup> That is to say, the four verses told a true story:

Far in the West an endless Wood,  
Sighs to the rushing Cataract's flood  
'Twas there an humble Log-house stood  
    To fame unknown;  
There first loved Minstrelsy I woo'd,  
    And woo'd alone.

The thundering Fall! the bubbling stream  
Murmuring midst stones, and roots between;  
Where Nature's whispers, for some theme  
    To inspire my lay—  
Trilling Arpeggios thro' my dream,  
    With wild sweet play.

Thro' gloom and mists, Heaven's glorious bow,  
*Hope*, bursting gleam'd his sunny brow,  
Bidding the wild wood minstrel go  
    Far to the East;  
And careless scatter midst her glow  
    His forest feast.

He came—a wand'ring, wayward Child;  
A Native flower, free and wild;  
With ardour fierce!—with feelings mild;  
    'Tis Genius' boon  
Then swept his Minstrel Lyre—and smiled;  
    For fear had flown.

The Boston audience had probably heard the tale that provided the basis for the song, the story of Heinrich's mystical conversion in the Kentucky forest years before, how (as he explained in a note attached to another work) he had heard the "genii of music" singing to him in the forest, how he had picked up a stick and written out the notes—"scored upon that mystic ground in the state of Kentucky—then the abode of Sylphs and Naiads" (Upton, 292)—and remembered them ever afterward, how that single experience had begun his career as American composer.

The second song on the Boston program, "The Bohemian Emigrant: Farewell Song by An Amateur," was a personal farewell to America at a time when Heinrich did not know when, if ever, he would return. It describes an image already persistent in American culture, the figure of the grateful emigrant:

    "The Bohemian Emigrant"  
    (words by Henry C. Lewis for A. P. Heinrich)  
When I think of the days of my Childhood and Home,  
Or the dream of the years that have long past away,  
The deep sigh of my heart will too often arise,  
And darken the sun of the happiest day. . . .  
Tho' thy daughters and friends are so charming and true,  
Yet my heart will still feel for my own native land.  
And I love thee, Columbia, with patriot zeal,  
Thy soil ever dear with my blood I'd defend,

Should a foe to thy freedom dare step on thy shore,  
That shore, which is always the Emigrant's friend,  
Then blame not the sigh that will sometimes arise  
For the land of my birth as thought lingers there;  
Yet no clime but my own, would induce me to roam,  
From a Country so free, and from daughters so fair!

However inferior as poetry, the verses deserve to be set beside Bryant's famous sonnet of three years later (p. 1, above) warning Cole against the lure of Europe. Heinrich's song gives us the emotions of the European emigrant yearning for his homeland yet assuring America, which tended to be nervous about such things, that he still loved her. Bryant's lines, by contrast, seek to delineate the important differences between Europe and America in a way which, while trying to be fair, betrays a distinctly pro-American preference. Between them, Heinrich's and Bryant's verses document the importance to artists of that symbolic opposition between Europe and America which had become central to American thinking by then and which would reach its fullest expression in the writing of Henry James.

It is my contention, first of all, that the kinship of the artist with wild American Nature celebrated in the "Log-House Song" is the same kind of kinship documented for literature and painting in Durand's *Kindred Spirits* and that Heinrich's musical intentions ought to be examined in this light. A key word to begin such an explanation is, of course, Romanticism. Heinrich's mystical experience in the Kentucky woods is the very stuff of Romantic legend. It finds its counterpart in the writings of Bryant and Thoreau and Whitman (think of the mystical experience with Nature in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"); it is echoed in Cole's efforts to call upon the muse of painting in his own private poems:

Ye mountains, woods and rocks, impetuous streams,  
Ye widespread heavens, speak out, O speak for me!  
Have I not held communion deep with you,  
And like to one who is enamored, gazed  
Intensely on your ever-varying charms?

Heinrich's case, like those of Cole and Bryant, Durand, Whitman and Thoreau, underscores the importance of communing with American Nature in the making of what was felt to be a "distinctly American" artistic temperament.

It underscores something more. Heinrich is the quintessential innocent in the Romantic American legend in which the grateful immigrant, rising out of obscurity and poverty, struggles with despair and overwhelming odds, devotes his talents to the greater glory of his adopted country and is rewarded by astonishing success. He out-America's Americans, overcomes them with purple prose. He translates the pilgrim journey which brought the immigrants over into an event of mythic proportion. He writes huge scores for gigantic orchestras to enlarge upon his sentiments. (As Hitchcock has noted, the Romantics loved the orchestra and reveled in

gigantism.<sup>6</sup>) The complex programs for these scores, buttressed by program notes, become his manifestoes—as useful to explaining the American mind as the preface to *Leaves of Grass*. He can take any part of the American story and create a national epic. He can, for example, transform the annual migration of passenger pigeons into a “Columbiad.” Heinrich’s program for such an epic flight, written c. 1857, is a striking example of his imaginative nationalism. Its scenario, probably inspired by his close friendship with John James Audubon, recalls a comment made by E. P. Richardson about Audubon’s portraits: “Birds were his subject, but Nature was his theme.”<sup>7</sup>

*THE COLUMBIAD: OR, MIGRATION OF AMERICAN  
WILD PASSENGER PIGEONS*

Introduction. A Mysterious Woodland Scene, the assembling of the wild passenger pigeons in the ‘far west’ for their grand flight of migration.

- I. ANDANTE ED ALLEGRO—The flitting of birds and thunder-like flappings of a passing phalanx of American wild pigeons.
- II. The aerial armies alight on the primeval forest trees, which bend and crash beneath their weight.
- III. ANDANTE ED ANDANTINO—A twilight scene. The cooing of the doves previous to their nightly repose.
- IV. ALLEGRO MOSSO—With Aurora comes the conflict of the Beechnuts.
- V. ADAGIO ED ALLEGRETTO CANTABILE—The vast conclave in grand council resolve to migrate elsewhere.
- VI. MOLTO ANIMATO—Sudden rise and flight of the myriad winged emigrants.
- VII. PIU MOSSO—The alarm of the hunters’ rifles startles the multitude. The wounded and dying birds sink tumultuously earthward.
- VIII. ALLEGRO AGITATO—In Brooding agitation the columbines continue their flight, but darkening the welkin as they utter their aerial requiem, but passing onward, ever onward to the goal of their nomadic wandering, the green savannas of the New World.
- IX. FINALE—*The Columbiad*. Marcia grande ed a passo doppio. American folk tunes: *Hail Columbia* and *Yankee Doodle*.

The image of passenger pigeons arriving triumphant in the New World to the tunes of *Hail Columbia* and *Yankee Doodle*, *marcia grande*, is hilarious! It must also have been exhilarating to patriots in the audience, especially emigrant patriots invited to identify with the birds. It was just such overblown epics that earned for Heinrich the label Enthusiast, “this country’s first—and without doubt its most wildly enthusiastic—Romantic in music.”<sup>8</sup>

To understand how Heinrich came to translate the Romantic aspirations of his age into specifically American terms requires some attention to his biography, not for its own sake but for the way it intersects with the history of American development and illuminates his musical aims.

Born in Bohemia in 1781, Heinrich at the age of nineteen inherited a large fortune and business from his uncle. As a well-to-do merchant, he was able to travel and explore new cultures (his wanderlust becoming part of the legend), even making a quick trip to America in 1805 “to take a peep at the new world.” When the Napoleonic wars threatened the stability of the Austrian empire, he decided to relocate his business in America. He arrived in Philadelphia in 1810, where he is known to have served without salary as music director of the Southward Theatre. (Theaters were the primary locus for secular music in America until long after the Civil War, their orchestras offering almost the only employment to musicians who played concert instruments.) But Heinrich’s standing as millionaire “gentleman amateur” in the city of Benjamin Franklin and Francis Hopkinson did not last long. The Austrian financial crash of 1811 wiped out his fortune in a single stroke, and Heinrich was to live for the rest of his days in poverty.

After a tragic visit to his native Bohemia in 1813 (during which a daughter was born but left behind, and after which his wife died), he returned and walked the three hundred miles from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh to take a job as music director of a theater. The theater was dingy, the job precarious, and he soon left, continuing his journey down the Ohio River until he reached the “wilds” of Kentucky. That seven-hundred-mile journey he eventually put into a piano work called “The Minstrel’s March, or Road to Kentucky,” with the following markings on the score:

A Tempo Guisto (DA FILADELFIA). Post Horn. Market Street Hill. Toll Gate. Schuylkill Bridge. Turnpike. Lancaster (stop ad lib) [because in those days, the stagecoach did not always stop at Lancaster]. March. Alleghenies. Fort Pitt. Embarcation. Salute. Passage on the Ohio. The Rapids. Standing in for Port. Casting Anchors. Side Steps. Landing and Cheers. Sign of the Harp [a tavern].<sup>9</sup>

Every stage of the journey had been inscribed in his memory at this crucial period in his personal history. The transformative influence of that long walk into wilderness country has its parallel in the career of Thomas Cole, who also came as an immigrant seeking the American promise and, when his family came upon hard times, walked his way across wilderness country on his way to becoming an artist, learning his trade and sketching the native landscape along the way.

No sooner had Heinrich arrived in Lexington than he organized a Grand Concert in which he played solo violin. (Although he had been given a few lessons as a child, he learned to play primarily by teaching

himself—like Cole—en route.) The Lexington concert included one of the first known performances in America of a Beethoven symphony, Beethoven becoming a major influence on both Heinrich and nineteenth-century American culture. Other performances in other cities followed, on piano as well as violin, and although one critic declared that his “excellence on the violin was never surpassed in the western country,” Heinrich knew he was still an amateur. Exhausted, depressed and ill, he retreated to the woods to live in a log cabin near Bardstown, Kentucky, to practice his instrument while regaining his strength. “I wandered into the wilds of Kentucky hoping there to hide my griefs from the world, or at least, to find that the solitude would impart its tranquility to my mind” (Upton, 97).

Here the legend began of the “strange musician” playing “weird midnight melodies” in his loghouse in the wilderness. Once he was visited by a “prowling negro” who offered him a “figpenny bit” to play a song he had been rehearsing, “a dead march in honor of my poor departed wife.” “This adventure with the negro, at dead of night, in the lonely forest, seemed to me rather poetical. I liked the good ear, taste and generosity of the sable visitor exceedingly.” In time the incident found its way into an illustration adorning the cover of “The Log-house Song.” While living in his loghouse, Heinrich came into intimate contact with Indians of the region, retaining all his life an intense interest in Indian rituals, customs and history. Here too he began to compose, at the age of forty, not having had a single lesson in theory or composition but inspired by the mystical wilderness experience which, if we are to believe his letters, furnished him with impressions to last a lifetime. Ever after, he would sign himself “The Loghouse Composer of Kentucky,” “The Wildwood Troubadour” and “Minstrel of the Western Wilds.”

In 1820, Heinrich published all the manuscripts he had written under the title *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or The Pleasure of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature*, *Opera Prima*, and a supplementary volume, *The Western Minstrel*, of “original, moral, patriotic and sentimental songs for the voice and pianoforte, interspersed with airs, waltzes, etc.” These works, as William Upton has said, were unique in American musical annals, often florid and overly ornamented but original and buoyant, their titles evoking both American and European themes. In the preface, he announced his intent. Should he be able by his efforts “to create but one single *Star* in the *West*, no one would ever be more proud than himself, to be called an *American Musician*.”<sup>10</sup> The collections were an immediate success, and the Loghouse Composer was soon named “The Beethoven of America,” a label that followed him the rest of his life, despite his efforts to disclaim it.<sup>11</sup> Urged by the press to leave “the wilderness where he now languishes” for an atmosphere more congenial to his talents, he moved to Boston, where a benefit concert of 1823 announced him as the “first regular or general *American* composer” (Upton, 70).

This seems a good moment to interrupt Heinrich’s biography long enough to set his story into the context of American music history. It was on the occasion of Heinrich’s arrival in Boston that the music columnist for

Boston's influential journal *Euterpeiad* was moved to meditate on the state of music in America:

It is certain that the Americans do not approach the animated interest which the natives of the Continent of Europe manifest for the arts and for artists. Whether we shall ever come to bestow laurel crowns, whether our cities will be ever eager to enjoy and to reward the works of living poets, painters, and musicians, is a point yet to be determined.

In music, however, the general and exalted estimation of arts gives the European professors such superabundant encouragement over our own, . . . we long to cast an eye into the coming on of time, and to ascertain whether it be granted to our own country to emulate them—whether nature, in the distribution of qualities, denies to one race what she has so liberally granted to another. . . .

These remarks are elicited in observing the current of public taste evinced and encouragement held out to the . . . author of *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, . . . justly styled the *Beethoven of America*, as he is actually considered by the few who have taken the trouble to ascertain his merits. This original genius is now in this city, . . . and we cannot but indulge the hope, that the liberal public will cheerfully co-operate in vindicating neglected genius, and of securing new and valuable services to our circle of musical science (August, 1823).<sup>12</sup>

It seems clear that Heinrich's appearance on the American scene coincided with the shy beginnings of a yearning for a Great American Composer, a yearning which paralleled the emerging nationalistic sentiments in the other arts. Given its history of musical traditions, Boston was the right locale for putting such sentiments to the test.

The first outburst of nationalistic sentiment in the history of American music centered around William Billings of Boston and others of the "first New England school" of composers, a group of Yankee tunesmiths whose emergence coincided with the Revolutionary War and whose assertions of independence took place within the context of religious music, their wild and lively fugeing tunes becoming the popular music of the day. A wave of reaction against these American originals in favor of "higher" European tastes coincided with the postwar period, when a public weary of patriotic excess yearned for elegance, and when the resumption of ocean travel and concert culture made the quest for elegance possible. A new Europeanism emerged, fed from two quite separate sources—professionalism infused from without, which was largely related to secular music, and reform instituted from within, related to native religious traditions, including those of Boston.

Among the emigrant professionals who came to America soon after the war were Alexander Reinagle, Raynor Taylor and Benjamin Carr to settle in Philadelphia; the James Hewitts, the Peter van Hagens and Victor Pelessier to New York; and to Boston, the flamboyant organist Dr. George K. Jackson and the man who would become "father" of the American orchestra, Gottlieb Graupner. Soon after they arrived, these professionals

by and large took charge of American musical affairs. Well trained in their profession, some arriving with doctorates in hand, these emigrants quite naturally thought in terms of formal standards of performance. As a group they tended to assume that the correct direction for music in America was the direction it had followed in Europe. For the most part they regarded American music as an underdeveloped art in an undeveloped country, and they contributed their talents toward improving matters in the direction of science and taste. It was natural that they should seek to define standards of excellence by looking to the models they knew best, first from England, later from Germany. It was no doubt to the opinions of such men that Heinrich addressed his preface to *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*.

The second source for the Europeanism that emerged in American music at this time was the effort to “reform” native religious music, an effort that reached its height under Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings some time after the founding of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in 1815. At a time when sacred and secular music were vying for dominance in America, the particular coup accomplished by the society, symbolized by its very name, was to reconcile their competing aims without ever acknowledging their antagonism. In a conspicuous tone of injury, the society’s constitution declared both that music had been ignored in America (that was the premise of the emigrant professionals) and that it merely needed reform (the premise of the native reformers), the common agreement being to focus on European masters.

*Preamble, Constitution of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston*

While in our country almost every institution, political, civil, and moral, has advanced with rapid steps, while every other science and art is cultivated with a success flattering to its advocates, the admirers of music find their beloved science far from exciting the feelings or exercising the powers to which it is accustomed in the Old World. Too long have those to whom heaven has given a voice to perform and an ear that can enjoy music neglected a science which has done much toward subduing the ferocious passions of men and giving innocent pleasure to society; and so absolute has been their neglect, that most of the works of the greatest composers of sacred music have never found those in our land who have even attempted their performance. Impressed with these sentiments, the undersigned do hereby agree to form themselves into a society, by the name of the Handel and Haydn Society, for the purpose of improving the style of performing sacred music and introducing into more general use the works of Handel and Haydn and other eminent composers. . . .<sup>13</sup>

With the founding of the Handel and Haydn Society, neglect of the European masters was declared a national sin. It was not a propitious atmosphere for advancing the cause of national music.

Boston must have found it difficult to “place” Anthony Heinrich in relation to these amorphous trends. The very year he was hailed as the Beethoven of America, the Handel and Haydn Society published its first

collection of hymns and psalms, many of them composed by the man who could be called the antithesis of Heinrich, the leading Europeanist of the age and its most influential music leader, the third-generation Yankee, Lowell Mason. Heinrich was as much an emigrant as were Graupner,

The contrast between Heinrich and Mason is not without its ironies. The Bohemian emigrant was the musical nationalist, while the native-born Yankee was the Europeanist. Kingman provides this interesting comparison: "Heinrich was the impractical dreamer, epitomising every nineteenth-century notion of the 'artist,' sacrificing everything for his art, and going from great wealth to extreme poverty; Mason was the practical man of affairs, the organizer, the builder, whose life traversed a path from modest means to comfortable fortune. It is hard even to imagine them—the Bohemian and the Yankee—both living and working in the same country. They were near contemporaries, and both were in Boston in the early 1830's. They very probably met, but we have no record of it, nor has either mentioned the other in any surviving writing that we know of. . . . Heinrich's orientation was secular, esthetic, and, by virtue of birth as well as cultural temperament, basically European. Mason's orientation to music was religious, didactic, and basically American." (Kingman, unpublished manuscript fragment, see note 8.) Yet Heinrich became America's first musical nationalist in secular music (Billings was first in religious music) and Mason her first major Europeanist.

Jackson, Hewitt, van Hagen and the rest, some of whom had displayed a similar interest in heroic American subject-matter (Hewitt, for example, in 1792 had written an overture in twelve movements "expressive of a voyage from England to America" that anticipated Heinrich's obsession with the voyage crossing). But it made all the difference that Heinrich was not an emigrant *professional*, that he was a creation of the American soil. That was the point he underscored in his preface to *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, emphasizing both his association with the wilderness and the advantage of being self-taught. Humbly yet deliberately, Heinrich distanced himself from those who were, as he said, "celebrated for their merit, especially as regards Instrumental *execution*, but who have never, like him, been thrown, as it were, by discordant events, far from the emporiums of musical science, into the isolated wilds of nature, . . . tutored *only* by ALMA MATER."<sup>14</sup> Although a religious man, Heinrich seems not to have attempted writing for the singing schools, the most ready source of income for composers and teachers in his time, and he apparently never crossed swords with—or sought assistance from—Lowell Mason. In sum, as an emigrant amateur devoted to secular nativist aims, Heinrich was *sui generis*.

Heinrich had not lived long in Boston before he announced, after a series of successful concerts, that he intended to sail for Europe, buoyed by his new reputation. He was homesick and wanted to find his lost daughter, but he also must have felt the same compunction to test himself against

Europe that motivated many other artists to take the obligatory Grand Tour. "America demands of me that I should prove myself to England as worthy of her adoption," he explained in a letter appealing for help from the American Minister in London, c. 1823 (Upton, 97).

As things turned out, Heinrich's first trip to London kept him there, in stark poverty, for five years. He was reduced to playing in the Drury Lane orchestra to earn enough money to buy music paper and hire a piano while living on milk and bread. But he continued to compose at a furious rate, piling up the manuscripts and constantly appealing for patrons. When some compositions at last were published, they were called "most strange and wild," "curiosities in music," the work of "a strong, enthusiastic, sensitive spirit, cast upon its own energies, with little of the direction, and none of the restraints, of science." Yet they were praised for displaying "felicitous traits of feeling," even of genius (Upton, 94-116).

One of the interesting documents of this period was a long poem by Benjamin Gough published in the London *Morning Advertiser*, inscribed "To a Musical Enthusiast." In it, Gough blasted all those who had failed to appreciate Heinrich, calling them "tame, grovelling groundlings, passionless and cold" who had no ear for "nature's harmonies."

But, bold Enthusiast, 'tis for such as *thee*  
To breathe Heaven's atmosphere and bow the knee, . . .  
Such, Heinrich, hast thou known, and felt its power,  
Mingling with nectar sorrow's bitterest hour,  
When hermit-like and hid from vulgar view,  
Thy spirit first its mighty impulse drew,  
Twelve weary months within a sunless cave,  
'Twas this that sweetened solitude, and gave—  
What worldly mildews never can destroy—  
A gush of fresh unutterable joy!

How the Kentucky log cabin became a sunless cave is a mystery, but the London poet obviously saw the value of Heinrich's example as a symbol for the new Romantic philosophy he himself espoused, for both literature and music. Before his poem was over, Gough spelled out the prescription:

Say what is music? Is it not the thrill  
That sorrow checks not—death can never kill,  
That dwells in thunder's deep and awful voice,  
And makes the choral gales of spring rejoice;  
The poesy of sounds—the rich—the wild—  
Creation's herald—Nature's loveliest child!  
(quoted in Upton, 95-113)

Here was a new definition of music, one in which the words *enthusiasm*, *joy*, *impulse*, *wildness* and Nature with a capital "N" counted for more than *science* and *restraint*. To European Romantics, it must have seemed logical that a primitive who found inspiration in American forests should come forth to give the definition substance.

From his first successes in Boston through the many years he lived in New York (a city more congenial to nationalism in art than the home of the

Handel and Haydn Society) until the very end of his days, Heinrich struggled with uncertainty as he sought to travel and compose. Periodically he would give concerts to raise enough money to survive and travel in Europe, only to return, often broken in spirit but able to rally to new efforts. His confidence in America often seemed strongest just before he sailed, as when he announced on a program of 1843 that he intended “to display in the chief cities of musical renown in the old world, the ‘Wild Wood Spirits’ Chant’ [an ambitious work called *The Oratorio of the Pilgrims, or the Wild Wood Spirits’ Chant*], as an achievement in the art, which may claim consideration for his adopted country, as a land of musical science as well as political freedom and high intelligence, where every dissonance is but a ‘suspension’ of unity, to be ‘resolved’ into pure harmony,” adding that his oratorio extending “to Five or Six Hundred pages” would in due time be presented “as a Legacy to the Country he has adopted, *THE LAND OF WASHINGTON!!*”<sup>15</sup> America wanted to encourage him, glad to have a Beethoven of its own, glad to bestow on him the affectionate label “Father” (because of his shock of flowing white hair). But the encouragement was mostly verbal. America was not yet ready to support a full-time composer financially, and much of Heinrich’s energy was expended on huckstering for commissions. To keep alive his faith in America and his Romantic ideals under such pressures must have been difficult. When another Farewell Concert of 1853 generated more enthusiasm than travel funds, he was forced to issue a broadside advertising his talents, pathetically appealing to patriotism by declaring that most of his compositions had been inspired by a “purely American sentiment” (Upton, 226). He was vindicated this time by triumphs in Europe; these were followed a few years later by illness and poverty, and he returned once more to New York in 1859. There he died in penury in 1861. He was buried in the Audubon family vault.

### iii

The best index to Heinrich’s views on Nature and Nation as they affected his musical aims may be found in the titles, subtitles and programs he provided for his works. Among the titles on Indian themes were *Complaint of Logan the Mingo Chief, the last of his Race*; *Pushmataha, A Venerable Chief of the Western Tribe*; *Pocahontas, Pride of the Wilderness*; *Tecumseh, or the Battle of the Thames*; *The Mastodon*; *The Indian War Council*, various Indian “fanfares,” “fantasias,” love songs and war chants; and *The Treaty of William Penn with the Indians* (subject of Benjamin West’s great painting, which the quaker Edward Hicks, Heinrich’s contemporary, also used for his series of *Peaceable Kingdoms*). The link to American Nature was explicit in such titles as *The Moan of the Forest, or the Cherokee’s Lament*; *Legends of the Wild Wood*; *The Hunters of Kentucky* and *The War of the Elements and the Thundering of Niagara*. The last of these, a “capriccio grande for full orchestra,” was especially important for its choice of subject. To the nationalistic nineteenth century, Niagara Falls *defined* American unique-

ness. It was, as David Huntington has said, the great American metaphor—"the American's mythical Deluge which washes away the memory of an Old World so that man may live at home in the New. . . ."<sup>16</sup> Niagara adorned a host of American products and artifacts (including American pianos), writers cited it constantly and a succession of great painters sought to capture its energy on canvas. Thomas Cole made a pilgrimage to Niagara before his trip to Europe in order, as he said, "to impress the features of our wild scenery . . . so strongly on my mind that in the midst of the fine scenery of other countries their grand and beautiful peculiarities cannot be erased."<sup>17</sup> In Heinrich's work, bold contrasts between lyricism and fervor attempt to capture "the impetuosity of the cataract" (Upton, XI)—the kind of dramatic contrasts Cole and Bryant sought in their portraits of American Nature, or Durand in *Kindred Spirits*, or for that matter, Frederic Church in his *Niagara*.

Typical of Heinrich's patriotic titles were *The Washingtoniad, or The Deeds of a Hero; a Yankee Doodleiad* and several different *Columbiads*. *The Jubilee*, a "grand national song of triumph" (words by William Edson), commemorated American history in the traditional way: its five movements described the arrival of the Mayflower, the disembarkation of the Pilgrims, the prayer of gratitude, the celebration of the Feast of Shells (not to be confused with another orchestral work called *The New England Feast of Shells*) and culminated in "The Prophetic Vision of the Future Glory of America." Here Heinrich was following an older "classical" pattern for patriotic expression, one that reached its climax at the time of the Greek Revival (ca. 1820), when classical architecture and history painting were the rage, and when poets and journalists poetized about the "rising glory of America."

A newer, more radical "romantic" nationalism found expression in another work on the pilgrims, a "Grand National Historic Oratorio," for which Heinrich doggedly sought, without success, government funding. Its first part was called *The Adieu of the Pilgrims*, its second *The Consummation of American Liberty*. A "grand historic fantasia" called *The Wild Wood Spirit's Chant, or, Scintillations of Yankee Doodle*, introducing the second part, was based on the premise that a wilderness spirit had chanted to the Pilgrim Fathers to inspire their love of liberty. Heinrich earnestly explained in a program note of 1842 that such hearing of voices was authenticated by poets of ancient times and his own experience. A program note of 1846 explained "The Embarkation March of the Pilgrims":

It is supposed to represent the deep and profound feelings which agitated the breasts of the noble men, who banished themselves from their native land in defense of those glorious principles—liberty of conscience and the inviolability of civil rights. . . . Any idea of the truthfulness of the composer's description can only be formed by hearing the music in the orchestra (Upton, 183-187).

The question of "truthfulness" was a matter of some importance to Heinrich. He believed program music was a viable means for giving

articulate form to American emotions and events. On a trip to Washington to seek support, he performed on piano a composition of his own—possibly intended to be part of the oratorio—for President Tyler. John Hill Hewitt has described the humiliating scene:

The composer labored hard to give full effect to his weird production, . . . occasionally explaining some incomprehensible passage, representing, as he said, the breaking up of the frozen river Niagara, the thaw of the ice, and the dash of the mass over the mighty falls. Peace and plenty were represented by soft strains of pastoral music, while the thunder of our naval war—dogs and the rattle of our army musketry—told of our prowess on sea and land.

The inspired composer had got about half-way through his wonderful production, when Mr. Tyler arose from his chair, and placing his hand gently on Heinrich's shoulder, said:

"That may all be very fine, sir, but can't you play us a good old Virginia reel?"

Had a thunderbolt fallen at the feet of the musician, he could not have been more astounded. He arose from the piano, rolled up his manuscript, and taking his hat and cane, bolted towards the door, exclaiming:

"No, sir, I never plays dance music."<sup>18</sup>

Hewitt's account is condescending (and scholars since have joined him in mockery), but to Heinrich, trying to demonstrate how American Nature might be represented in new forms of music, the repudiation must have been devastating.

Heinrich's eagerness to translate specific national subjects into musical form was also apparent in such topical titles as "Tyler's Grand Veto Quick-Step," "The Texas and Oregon Grand March" and "Jenny Lind's Journey across the Atlantic." He wrote to the mayor of Washington to ask "the venerable patriarch J. Q. Adams" to "furnish me a Poem on the Emancipation of the Slaves" for a score "whose gigantic effects may possibly reverberate more stentorian through the welkin and impressive through the World, than all the ponderous dissonant speeches of his opponents, or the Thunders of Niagara."<sup>19</sup> (Niagara again!) A study of the piano piece called *A Sylvan Scene in Kentucky: Barbecue Divertimento*, as performed by Neely Bruce on the Vanguard recording *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, reveals Heinrich's interest in giving his programs musical authenticity as well as topicality.<sup>20</sup> The work opens with a "Bugle Call of the Green Mountain Boys," then divides into two parts, a "Ploughman's Grand March" and a "Negro's Banjo Quickstep." This is genre music, comparable to the genre painting and local-color writing of the century, and the section on the banjo suggests a familiarity with the banjo style of black performers that anticipates Louis Moreau Gottschalk. This is music to make Heinrich the kindred spirit not only of Cole and Bryant but also William Sidney Mount and George Caleb Bingham, Stephen Foster and Mark Twain. What I wish to emphasize here is that in an era when "Truth to Nature" was a ruling idea guiding landscape and

genre painters alike, romantic and realist writers, Heinrich's efforts in music accurately reflect the strivings of the age.

The single most fascinating dimension of Heinrich's efforts, in my opinion, is his unconscious attempt to link the national *to* the natural, history *to* landscape. In the history of the other American arts, there is a rather dramatic turning point when writers and painters discover that the panorama of American Nature can provide them with a canvas large enough, a subject compelling enough, to give scope to their nationalistic aspirations—something American history, even when done in the grand manner, somehow could not do. "A change that is long overdue strikes with the force of a river that has smashed a dam," wrote Thomas Flexner about the impact of that turning point on American painting. "Hymns to the beauty of the North American continent flooded from hundreds of studios; they were soon joined by enthusiastic depictions of American life. . . . Historical tradition was bankrupt."<sup>21</sup> No such sudden transition can be identified in music, yet composers were exposed to the same intellectual currents, and it is interesting to see Heinrich, who appears on the scene at about the moment the river breaks through the dam, trying to join together the myths of historical tradition and the myths of American Nature.

Two examples will illustrate. The first is a Grand Overture called *To the Pilgrims* (1842), in four movements:

ADAGIO OTTETTO.—The Genius of Freedom slumbering in the Forest shades of America.

ADAGIO SECUNDO.—She is awakened into life and action by those moving melodies with which Nature regales her solitudes.

MARCIA.—The efforts of Power to clip the wings of the young Eagle of Liberty.

FINALE ALLEGRISSIMO.—The joyous reign of universal Intelligence and universal Freedom.

Clearly Heinrich's personal forest experience has here been transformed into the birth of American freedom, his personal struggle against adversity into the experience of American history. In 1845, he welded his *New England Feast of Shells*, a "divertimento pastorale oceanico" based on researches into Indian lore, to the three "musical portraitures" that made up the symphony *The Mastodon* to produce a four-part work culminating in the Thanksgiving feast:

- I. Black Thunder, the Patriarch of the Fox Tribe.
- II. The Elk Horn Pyramid, or the Indians' Offering to the Spirit of the Prairie.
- III. Shenandoah, a Celebrated Oneida Chief.
- IV. The New England Feast of Shells. Divertimento Pastorale Oceanico. [!]
  1. ANDANTO.—The Home Adieus of the Nymphs and Swains departing for the maritime festival.
  2. ANDANTINO.—The fanciful curvettings of the mermaids in the ocean surf.

3. FINALE BRILLIANTE.—The romantic love feast resulting in the destruction of the bivalves and the sacrifice of the shells (*vulgate*, “Clam bake”). [*sic*]

Here a rampant imagination has intertwined picturesque myth with historic fact: mermaids cavort in the ocean surf while New England Indians prepare for Thanksgiving with a clambake. It is the same imagination that had the Wild Wood Spirit chant the message of freedom to the Pilgrim Fathers in the national oratorio.

Even granting the premises of program music, how much of all this could really be heard in such works? That Heinrich strove for truth to historical events and emotions, particularly of the pilgrim crossing that so obsessed him, need not be doubted—but how did a composer put “liberty of conscience” and “the inviolability of civil rights” into an orchestral score? When he could lean on lyrics, as in his songs and choral settings, when he could quote “Yankee Doodle” or imitate a banjo style, listeners would have little difficulty understanding the composer’s intent. Even with battle music, as in the *Tecumseh* overture, their imaginations could follow how the passages suited the program. But could they really hear the Genius of Freedom slumbering in the forest shade and wakened to life by Nature? or the efforts of Power to clip the young eagle of liberty? or the ultimate triumph of universal Freedom and universal Intelligence? or the destruction of the bivalves and the sacrifice of the shells? Surely this was a larger challenge.

iv

That challenge leads me to my final subject, a sampling of responses by audiences and critics that illustrate Heinrich’s impact on his age. Much of that story is pure hyperbole. It is instructive, for example, to compare the responses of two critics to major works by Heinrich and Frederic Church. The work that Heinrich himself labeled his greatest, the one “nearest and dearest to his heart” (Upton, 132), was a symphony called *The Ornithological Combat of Kings, or, The Condor of the Andes and the Eagle of the Cordilleras*, possibly inspired by his association with Audubon. The four movements described: The Conflict of the Condor in the Air, The Repose of the Condor, The Combat of the Condor on Land and Victory of the Condor. When the first part of the work was performed in Germany in 1836, a critic was impelled to write:

. . . Heinrich’s music is a daughter of Nature, but not of that Nature whose quiet, idyllic grace possesses us all unconsciously. He has sought out Nature in her workshop

where she produces her mighty works,  
where great bridges of rock are thrown across streams;  
where rivers, broad as seas, flow out of undiscovered sources  
over hundreds of miles to the ocean itself;  
where great lakes plunge with deafening roar to the depth  
below,

and the tornado, with its crashing strength, lays bare the impenetrable secrets of the primeval forests.

If anyone objects to the powerful instrumentation . . . it should be remembered that . . . even in our own hemisphere, orchestral scores as broad as the falls of Niagara are no longer infrequent, and at any rate Heinrich's Symphony has not gone so far as to seek reinforcement by bells and cannon. [Indentation mine.—BC] (Upton, 144)

That rhapsodic style was a contagion of the age, easily adapted to the rhetoric of admiring critics. Compare the description to one by Adam Badeau describing Church's painting *Niagara* twenty-five years later—in equally poetic prose:

If it is inspired by Niagara, it is grand and sublime; it is natural to the nation, since Nature herself has given the type; it is wild and ungovernable, mad at times, but all power is terrible at times. It is the effect of various causes: it is a true development of the American mind; the result of democracy, of individuality, of the expansion of each, of the liberty allowed to all of ineradicable and lofty qualities in human nature.

It is inspired not only by the irresistible cataract, but by the mighty forest,

by the thousands of miles of river,  
by the broad continent we call our own,  
by the onward march of civilization,  
by the conquering of savage areas;  
characteristic alike of the western backwoodsman,  
of the Arctic explorer,  
the southern filibuster,  
and the northern merchant.

So, of course, it gets expression in our art.<sup>22</sup>  
[Indentation mine.—BC]

Apparently audiences of the day were quite capable not only of accepting the subjects artists announced for their works of art, but also of “reading in” meanings of their own. The fundamental conviction was that American Nature—and in Badeau's case, American political ideals—inevitably affected the minds of the citizens of the nation, so that one could “read” the influence of Nature and culture in the work of art, whether or not the artist intended to put it there. No doubt Church's critic would have been pleased to know that the Germans had already *heard* Niagara in the music of Heinrich—Niagara and the Mississippi, tornadoes and bridges and primeval forests—all in a work about a condor's battle with an eagle! Both critics based their conclusions on the assumption that a work of art all unconsciously expresses the national character. Their declarations reveal the age's cast of mind and illustrate why programmatic music was so useful to express its emerging sentiments.

Hyperbole also characterized the responses of audiences to Heinrich's concerts, especially the two benefit concerts of 1846—one in New York, one in Boston—that marked the climax of his career. The New York papers

described the event as “the most remarkable, exciting and never-to-be forgotten entertainment we have ever witnessed.” The audience rendered its opinion with “yelling, screaming, cheering, laughing and stamping,” with “showers of bouquets and wreaths” tossed to the composer at concert’s end. Poems were written in his honor, two of them revealing how well his listeners had absorbed his lessons: “How shall we crown the minstrel,/ Who has brought us from the wild,/ The melody that nature/ Taught her free-souled mountain child?” asked one poet, declaring that Heinrich had “Learned the glorious song of liberty/ From the voices of the breeze.” “What if unheeded by the heartless throng?” another asked Heinrich. “What if at times no hopeful, sun-warm gleams/ Beam on thy clouded path? . . .” And answered: “Then cheer thee, master of thy heaven-born art!/ Thy strains shall float down through the endless years,/ . . . Thy name will find a home in every land,/ . . . In far-off ages will there proudly stand,/ To thy great soul, a sacred, cherished shrine” (Upton, 189).

Of course, things did not turn out that way, and one man sitting in the Boston audience knew they wouldn’t. His response provides us with the other side of the portrait of the age—the side ill at ease with both program music and nationalistic expression. John Sullivan Dwight pronounced Heinrich’s 1846 concerts a failure, and his review in the Brook Farm journal *The Harbinger* came to influence opinion during “the endless years” and “far-off ages” more than the opinion of the crowds.

Mr. Heinrich belongs to the romantic class, who wish to attach a story to everything they do. Mere outward scenes and histories seem to have occupied the mind of the composer too much, and to have disturbed the pure spontaneous inspiration of his melodies. We are sorry to see such circumstances dragged into music as the “Indian War Council,” the “Advance of the Americans,” “the Skirmish” and “Fall of Tecumseh.” Music, aiming at no subject,—music composed with no consciousness of anything in the world *but* music, is sure to tell of greater things than these (Upton, 200-201).

Dwight’s sentiments rose out of his opposition to literalness, the too-specific attachment of art to its subject. As much a Romantic as Heinrich, as much an admirer of Beethoven, Dwight was willing that music be inspired by Nature and idealized. He appreciated the fact that Heinrich was a “warm-hearted and liberty-loving enthusiast” (although he also described him, in tones of toleration, as “this eccentric noble-hearted man, now quite advanced in years, whom it was the fashion to call music-mad”). Dwight thought it well for Heinrich’s music that everything about America and American history was “ideal” to him, that Heinrich had been inspired in the forest by the Genius of Freedom, that the “vanishing hosts of the Red Man” had ministered to his “passion for the picturesque.” All this might have “cooperated finely with his musical labors” had he only composed from “the sentiment with which they filled him,” instead of trying to compose tone-narratives and tableaux. His opposition to

Heinrich was based on his idea of what music, to his mind, *was*:

In efforts to describe things, to paint pictures to the hearer's imagination, music leaves its natural channels, and forfeits that true unity which would come from within *as music*. Beethoven had no *programme* to his symphonies, intended no description, with the single exception of the Pastorale; yet, how full of meaning are they!

On other occasions, Dwight found reason to praise Heinrich's works, but he never backed down on his biases.<sup>23</sup>

In a letter to a friend, Heinrich permitted his bitterness toward Dwight (and toward the incapacities of the Boston orchestra, which Dwight had admitted) to tumble out in sarcasm. He called Dwight "the Musical Philosopher of the placid Brookfarm, where no cymbals or the rolling of drums disturb the music of Nature, except, perhaps the many peals of their gong for their social frugal dinners."

Mr. Dwight is a happywight for he lives in sunny, serene solitude at Brookfarm among the chirpings of some innocent insects and the Concerts of the Bullfrogs, the latter like the symphonies of Beethoven needing no programmes, as speaking for themselves . . . alike Swedenbourg with the Angels. . . . Mr. Dwight is really very distantly located from full good orchestras and has probably heard very little of orchestral effects, combinations and professional tactics. . . . Mr. Dwight judges a great deal by faith and musical superstition. He discovers so much meaning in Beethoven. I congratulate him upon so important a discovery at my expense (Upton, 203).

Under the surface of sarcasm was a line of rebuttal against the "musical superstition" that all orchestral music ought to "speak for itself." Heinrich wished to affirm the legitimacy of program music and his right to use complex innovative effects to achieve what his program called for. That argument had been made before him by William Billings; it would be made after him by Charles Ives. For this and other reasons, Billings and Ives are, in the end, the two composers with whom Heinrich is most logically compared—and with whom he connects, in either direction, to create a native American musical tradition.

There is more we need to know about Heinrich to complete this story. Before sketching him in beside Bryant and Cole on the precipice of Durand's painting, we will need to hear more of his works performed and subjected to comparative analysis.<sup>24</sup> We should know more about his religion—whether he accepted, as Cole and Bryant did, the idea of God's immanence in Nature, and how that idea affected his music. We should know more of what he thought about Indians and how his contact with them affected his musical procedures. We should know if he accepted the theory of "the sublime" in Nature and what he was reaching for in some of his innovative "eccentric" passages.<sup>25</sup>

But we know enough already to accord him a more important place in American history than he has been granted. Heinrich is not a minor figure

worth only passing notice for his excesses and flair. He is the one composer who tried to do for American music what the landscape painters did for painting, the Nature writers for literature, and to make that attempt with the orchestra. His mystical conversion in the forest, his contacts with Indians and blacks and native birds, his ability to respond more directly to such native influences than his emigrant colleagues because he was self-taught, his sensitivity to the dialectic between America and Europe, and his efforts to connect the myths of American history to the myths of American Nature—all contributed to make him unique. Surely Heinrich deserves to be called American music's Kindred Spirit.

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### notes

1. So successful has Durand's painting been in conveying a positive attitude toward communion with American wilderness that a contemporary advertiser, the Boise Cascade Company, has virtually plagiarized from it in order to associate itself with the image (See Figure 2, below). Boise Cascade would have us believe, so the ad copy tells us, that it is doing right by the wilderness as it cuts up trees to produce the paper it wants to sell us. Such ads are one index to the impact of the environmental movement upon our attitudes toward Nature, one reason for the renewed interest in nineteenth-century landscape.

On the kinship of Bryant and Cole, see Donald A. Ringe, "Bryant and Cole: Kindred Spirits," *American Quarterly*, 6 (Fall, 1954), 233-244, and "Painting as Poem in the Hudson River Aesthetic," *American Quarterly*, 12 (Spring, 1960) 71-83; William Cullen Bryant II, "Poetry and Painting: A Love Affair of Long Ago," *American Quarterly*, 22 (Winter, 1970), 859-882; and James T. Callow, *Kindred Spirits: Knickerbocker Writers and American Artists, 1807-1855* (Chapel Hill, 1967). On the kinship between other poets and painters of the era, see also *American Quarterly*, 32 (Summer, 1980), 144-185.



FIGURE TWO: Magazine advertisement illustration for Boise Cascade Paper Company. Reprinted courtesy of Boise Cascade Corporation.

2. Perry Miller, *Nature's Nation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967) and see the essay inscribed to Miller by Albert Gelpi in *American Light: The Luminist Movement, 1850-1875*, John Wilmerding, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1980). The phrase I have quoted is Wilmerding's, announcing the purpose of the *American Light* catalog and exhibit. Barbara Novak's influential books are *American Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1969) and *Nature and Culture* (New York, 1980).

3. William Treat Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America* (New York, 1967 [1939]) is the source for most primary material on Heinrich; it is dedicated to Sonneck's memory, and Sonneck is quoted on p. xi. Unless otherwise indicated, all direct quotations from Heinrich and from program notes are from this edition, cited in the text as "Upton."

4. The worst offender, in terms of condescension, is John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music* (New York, 1965 [1929]), 226-227: "Histories of American music have quite neglected Father Heinrich, and if he is to be judged on the lasting merits of his work, he is hardly entitled to much of a place among our composers. . . . His friends hailed him as the Beethoven of America, but the only similarity was that he may have written as many notes." On the album cover of the recording *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky* (Vanguard VSD-118, n.d.), Heinrich is demoted to "The Beethoven of Louisville," although he was never so known. Bruce Neely, who performed the works and wrote the liner notes for this album, tells me he provided no justification for such a title; apparently the Vanguard management could not believe he really was known as the Beethoven of America. An esteemed colleague, Daniel Kingman, conductor of Sacramento's Camellia Orchestra and author of *American Music: A Panorama* (New York, 1969), has admitted he finds Heinrich's music too melodramatic and eccentric to be performed "without embarrassment"; H. Wiley Hitchcock told us that New York solved that problem by including Heinrich on a program called "Excessive Music"! Hitchcock, author of *Music in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969), wrote the introduction to the Da Capo Press reprint of Heinrich's *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky* (New York, 1967 [1820]).

5. On the program note for the Boston concert, Heinrich apologized for his poor voice and foreign accent but explained that he would represent himself in the four verses "musically in the characters of the 'Melancholist,' 'Enthusiast,' and the 'Romantic'" and that he would "terminate with a flying cadence." He referred so often to the wilderness experience in letters and programs throughout his life that there is every reason to believe he felt the music he had heard spoke directly to him—as well as to the Pilgrims when they came to America. See Upton, 82-84, 97, 144-145, 172, 221.

6. *Music in the United States*, 84ff.

7. Richardson, *A Short History of Painting in America* (New York, 1963 [1956]), 120.

8. Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 78, and "Introduction" to Heinrich's *Dawning* collection. I am also indebted to Dan Kingman for sharing his unpublished manuscript for a short biography on Heinrich originally intended for his *America's Music*.

9. From the liner notes to the Vanguard recording; see Note 4.

10. For instance, he concluded a letter to the Baltimore *Ohio and Musical Gazette*, February 21, 1850, aimed at correcting misstatements about his personal life, "I conclude by subscribing myself not the 'Beethoven of the age,' but simply the log-house composer of Kentucky." When the term was first used is not known, but it was first quoted by Boston's *Euterpeiad*, April 13, 1822, and afterward repeated at home and abroad. See Upton, 66-67, 75, 87, 93, 111, 143, 159.

11. In Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York, 1964), 203-211.

12. See *The Euterpeiad*, or *Musical Intelligencer*, John Rowe Parker, ed. (New York, 1977 [Boston, 1820-1823]), for April 1822.

13. In Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Massachusetts* (New York, 1977 [1883, 1913]).

14. In Lowens, 203-211.

15. I located these programs of 1843 in a file accompanying Heinrich's personal scrapbook in the Library of Congress, Music Division, file #ML 95 .H45. There is a general account of his comings and goings, his impressive list of acquaintances, and a summary list of his works in David Barron's essay in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sodie, ed. (Macmillan, 1980), 441-444.

16. Huntington, *The Landscapes of Frederic Church* (New York, 1966), 65.

17. Cole in L. L. Noble, *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole* (Cambridge, 1964 [1853]).

18. The entire anecdote from Hewitt's *Shadows on the Wall* is included by Howard, 230-232 (hostile to Heinrich), but omitted by Upton (sympathetic to Heinrich).

19. In a letter to the Mayor of Washington, in *The American Composer Speaks: A Historical Anthology*, Gilbert Chase, ed. (Baton Rouge, 1966), 41-45. Topical titles for occasional pieces referring to current events were commonplace during the nineteenth century.

20. This and other works, including the "Log-House Song" (Figure #2), appear in Heinrich's collection *The Sylviad, or Minstrelsy of Nature in the Wilds of North America*, described in Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America, 1801-1825: A Bibliography* (New York Public Library, 1964), 992-993.

21. Flexner's, *The Light of Distant Skies* (New York, 1954) is a companion volume to his *That Wilder Image* (Boston, 1962), both titles taken from Bryant's ode to Cole. It contrasts the

historical tradition (Americans who painted in Europe) with the landscape tradition (Americans who painted in America).

22. Adam Badeau and other rhapsodists are quoted at length in Huntington, 1, 64-72.

23. Upton, 199. Dwight's favorable comments are quoted by David Barron in the liner notes to *The Ornithological Combat of Kings*, Syracuse Symphony Orchestra (New World Records #208). See also my "Fry versus Dwight: American Music's Debate over Nationality," in a forthcoming issue of *American Music*, Allen Britton, ed.

24. The only recordings to date are the two cited in Notes 4 and 23, above. Forthcoming from A-R editions is Heinrich, *Songs and Choral Music*, David Barron, ed., part of the series *Recent Researches in American Music*, H. Wiley Hitchcock, ed. (Madison, n.d.).

25. J. Bunker Clark has also contributed to that analysis in his paper, "An American Original: Anthony Philip Heinrich's Piano Sonata LA BUONA MATTINA," delivered to the Sonneck Society's annual meeting, Philadelphia, March 4, 1983. See also the three dissertations that have been written on Heinrich: Neely Bruce, "The Piano Music of Anthony Philip Heinrich Contained in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky* and *The Western Minstrel* (D.M.A., University of Illinois, 1971); David Barron, "The Early Vocal Works of Anthony Philip Heinrich" (Ph.D., University of Illinois, 1972); and Wilbur Richard Maust, "The Symphonies of Anthony Philip Heinrich Based on American Themes" (Ph.D., Indiana University, 1973).