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***“Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten und gleiche Gemisse”:*  
Henry Albrecht’s Utopian Vision of the  
Germania Musical Society**

On 12 September 1854 the Germania Musical Society resolved to dissolve their association, an orchestra of about two dozen men that had concertized widely in the United States and Canada for the six preceding years. Within a few days of their decision, John Sullivan Dwight published a report about the members’ future plans in his *Journal of Music*. The two musicians who had assumed conducting posts, Carl Bergmann and Carl Zerrahn, were afforded a few lines each. The intentions of the others, most of whom had joined various performing organizations, were described in several long sentences. The majority of the report, however, was devoted to Henry Albrecht:

Mr. ALBRECHT, the second clarinetist, one of the most modest members of the body, but who has been perhaps its most complete impersonation of that devotion to an ideal, artistic and social, and that fraternal self-sacrificing sentiment; which has kept them so long and heartily united, seeks a new sphere for the exercise of that same spirit in M. Cabet’s Icarian Community in Nauvoo, Ill. There much account is made of music, as a type and furtherer of their ideal social harmony . . . . Mr. Albrecht, as well as others of the Germanians, has long been deeply interested in the pacific plans of social harmony. . . . His library of music and of musical books, for one collected by so young a man, is really quite a wonder.<sup>1</sup>

Who was Henry Albrecht, and why was Dwight interested in his plans? Although the Germania Musical Society is widely acknowledged to have been one of the most important traveling orchestras to visit the United States in the

nineteenth century, Albrecht is not a figure who has left many traces in the historical record. As he neither conducted nor performed in important musical organizations after the orchestra disbanded, his strictly "musical" activities have offered little to the musicological record. The difficulty of recognizing Albrecht's accomplishments is compounded by the fact that, although historians generally recognize that the tremendous influx of German immigrants to the United States around 1848 included many musicians, there has been little recent research on the individual participants of this migration and their impact on American musical life.

Henry Albrecht's emergence from historical obscurity, however, helps to illuminate the Germania Musical Society's presence at many of the important junctures, both musical and social, around 1848. Albrecht was the only member of the orchestra to publish a firsthand account of the ensemble's activities. The significance of this memoir is its articulation of a specific attempt, by a group of musicians in Berlin on the eve of the March Revolution, to organize themselves outside the prevailing patronage system. In the midst of a burgeoning commercial musical culture, these instrumentalists gave serious attention to what the shift from patrons to market meant for their own social and musical relations. Albrecht chronicled their inimitable attempt at self-determination in a pamphlet entitled, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania*, published fifteen years after the group disbanded.<sup>2</sup> As this essay will show, the nature of this articulation has been only partially understood in the musicological literature.

The Germania Musical Society was organized in Berlin in January and February of 1848 as an orchestra of twenty-four men with the immediate intention of concertizing abroad. During their six years in the United States, they performed nearly nine hundred concerts and reached more than a million listeners.<sup>3</sup> The group concertized primarily along the Eastern seaboard, and also made two substantial tours as far west as St. Louis. The Germania Musical Society premiered numerous compositions by contemporary European composers, including Mendelssohn, Spohr, and Wagner, for American audiences.<sup>4</sup> Many of these works subsequently became a regular part of the concert repertory. The group impressed Americans with the high standard of its orchestral playing; according to contemporary accounts, the integration of the ensemble was admired and emulated by other orchestral groups. The Germanians performed with many of the prominent touring artists of the day, including Jenny Lind, Henriette Sontag, Fortunata Tedesco, Ole Bull, Camille Urso, and Alfred Jaell,<sup>5</sup> as well as with resident music organizations, such as Boston's Handel and Haydn Society. All the members of the Germania settled in the United States after the group disbanded, and several individuals became prominent figures in their respective local music scenes. The most musically active of these men were: Carl Bergmann (1821-76), conductor of the Germania Musical Society from 1850-54, and conductor of the New York Philharmonic from 1855-76;<sup>6</sup> Carl Lenschow (1820-90), the original conductor of the Germania, and director of the Balti-



more *Liederkrantz* from 1850 and the *Germania Männerchor* from 1869; Wilhelm Schultze (1828-88), first violinist of the Mendelssohn Quintet Club, 1858-77, and director of the newly-formed music department at Syracuse University from 1877-88; Carl Sentz, cofounder of the Germania Orchestra of Philadelphia, 1856; and Carl Zerrahn (1826-1909), conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society, 1854-98, the Harvard Musical Association, 1866-82, and the Worcester County Musical Association Choral Conventions, 1866-97.

### Henry Albrecht and the Situation to 1848

Two members of the Germania, Bergmann and Zerrahn, were included in A. E. Zucker's "Biographical Dictionary of the Forty-Eighters." Both were characterized as having fled Europe because they had been "involved in the Revolution." Carl Wittke's description of the "Germania Orchestra" is likewise limited to the names of these two individuals.<sup>7</sup> One of the few sources for biographical information on Albrecht is Frédéric Ritter, a multifaceted musician from Alsace who nearly qualifies as a Forty-Eighter himself. His *Music in America* includes a chapter that is almost entirely devoted to the Germania Musical Society, and as with Dwight's account, contains a relatively lengthy section on Henry Albrecht.<sup>8</sup>

As the excerpts below demonstrate, Ritter's account of Albrecht's life and idealism is both moving and sympathetic; it is also anomalous in a book otherwise devoted to strictly musical accomplishments. A personal connection may well have existed between the two men; at very least, the two knew of each other through Joseph W. Drexel, member of the wealthy Philadelphia family.<sup>9</sup> This connection is substantiated through a letter to Ritter dated 23 April 1875, in which Drexel mentions Albrecht's departure for Germany.<sup>10</sup> What the three men shared was a passion for the collection of musical literature.

Albrecht, Ritter, and Drexel hold the distinction of possessing the largest musical libraries in the United States during the 1850s. A large portion of Dwight's account of the break-up of the Germania was devoted to a report on Albrecht's library, which was recognized in 1854 as "the most complete in America."<sup>11</sup> Albrecht's unfinished, handwritten catalogue indicates that his collection consisted, at that time, of "477 works in 661 volumes."<sup>12</sup> When Ritter arrived in Cincinnati in 1856, he was in possession of "a valuable musical library," which was "then the second best in this country."<sup>13</sup> Drexel began his library with the purchase of Albrecht's collection in 1858.<sup>14</sup> Drexel also seems to have retained Albrecht to manage his holdings, which were soon expanded through further purchases; Ritter states that Drexel gave Albrecht "*carte blanche* to complete the collection."<sup>15</sup> Drexel's correspondence to Ritter reveals that he made his extensive library available for the latter's scholarly projects, even purchasing items specifically for that purpose.<sup>16</sup> Ritter dedicated the first edition of *Music in America* to Drexel in 1883.

The eldest of the three men, Henry Albrecht was born on 13 March 1822 in Grevesmühlen, Mecklenburg-Schwerin.<sup>17</sup> The son of a physician, he was trained



as a musician in his youth and evidenced a strong interest in the literature of music even as a young adult. Drexel reports that Albrecht began collecting musical writings in 1845, at the age of twenty-three.<sup>18</sup> According to Ritter, this interest had earned Albrecht the friendship of Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn by 1847. The latter was well-known in Berlin as a music theorist and teacher, and as the editor of *Cäcilia: Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt*. In his capacity as curator of the music section of the Royal Library in Berlin, Dehn offered Albrecht an appointment as his assistant, which Albrecht declined.<sup>19</sup>

Albrecht was probably a member of Joseph Gungl's orchestra at this time.<sup>20</sup> Many of the original members of the Germania Musical Society came from Gungl's group.<sup>21</sup> In their earliest newspaper notices in the United States, the Germania advertised itself as "formerly of Jos. Gungl," thus capitalizing both on Gungl's prior reputation and his much-heralded arrival in the United States a few weeks later.<sup>22</sup> Gungl's thirty-six-member *Privatorchester* had been founded in Berlin in 1843 with the encouragement of his exclusive publisher, Gustav Bock. Leadership of the orchestra provided ready-made publicity for Gungl's numerous compositions.

Groups such as the private orchestras are significant for the social history of music in that they operated outside the patronage system, i.e., as a form of private enterprise. Organizers of private orchestras seem to have taken as their model the ensemble of Johann Strauss, Sr., who had visited Berlin from Vienna with his thirty-member orchestra in 1834.<sup>23</sup> Similar groups proliferated in Berlin during the 1840s. Private orchestras were considered "modern" by contemporaries in several respects, including the fact that their repertory ranged from dance music to classical symphonies to new compositions.<sup>24</sup> The court orchestra in Berlin had become increasingly conservative about playing new works, largely as a result of A. B. Marx's campaign in the late 1820s to establish the German, classical symphony as the cornerstone of Berlin concert life.<sup>25</sup> The static quality of the court's musical offerings, however, proved to be a boon for the eventual members of the Germania Musical Society. Albrecht relates with considerable pride that the orchestra members could play without written parts, and Ritter viewed their ability "to play a Beethoven symphony by heart" a mark of their artistry.<sup>26</sup> Repeated performances of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven symphonies, of which they undoubtedly availed themselves during their early adulthoods in Berlin, served them well in their mission to convince the people of the United States of the pleasures and value of the symphony orchestra.

As Berlin's court and private orchestras, along with the military bands, were in general competition for the same listenership, all had very high standards of musicianship. Ticket prices, however, were higher for court performances, making the audiences more exclusive; many tickets were undoubtedly by invitation only. There was also a significant difference in the performance venues of the various types of ensembles, reflecting the prerogatives of the court. In addition to the court orchestra's monopoly on the royal theater and opera house, access to the large royal concert halls was either prohibitively expensive



or altogether restricted.<sup>27</sup> Instead, private orchestras played in smaller halls, restaurants, inns, and outdoors. Gungl's orchestra, like that of Strauss, also travelled extensively.

This was the environment, during the final period of the *Vormärz*, in which German musicians began to hold meetings to discuss their situation. At the beginning of 1847, Franz Brendel, editor of the Leipzig music journal, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, called for a musicians' assembly, to be modeled on other national scholarly conferences that had recently taken place in Germany. Berlin had actually formed a *Tonkünstler-Verein* a few years earlier, but it had only about twenty members and no national pretensions. The first *Tonkünstler-Versammlung*, which attracted 141 participants, was held 13-14 August 1847 at the Leipzig *Gewandhaus*. A national *Tonkünstler-Verein* was formed as a consequence of this meeting, with local chapters throughout Germany.<sup>28</sup>

According to Ritter, 1847 was also when Albrecht read Etienne Cabet's utopian novel, *Voyage en Icarie*.<sup>29</sup>

The poverty and misery of the lower classes of the German people, aggravated in the year 1847 by a quasi-famine, touched his [Albrecht's] heart to such a degree that he began to devote his thoughts to projects for the amelioration of the lot of the poorer classes. Then it was that Cabet's book, "Voyage en Icarie," fell in his hands. He became devoted to communism as the only possible means that would enable him to carry out his humanitarian aims.<sup>30</sup>

Albrecht began a lifelong engagement with "Icarian communism" after reading Cabet's novel. This six-hundred-page tome contains the blueprint for a social utopia founded by a benevolent dictator, Icar, and administered through egalitarian democracy. Cabet envisioned a "society without private property or money, devoid of political corruption, unemployment, immorality, and crime."<sup>31</sup> To compensate for the lack of private accumulation, the *communauté de biens* (*ikarischen Gütergemeinschaft*) distributes necessities and luxuries, providing for each according to his or her needs. Agriculture and manufacturing are managed scientifically, education is stimulating and universal, and diverse entertainments and recreation provide ample amusement and edification.

Cabet's original intention seems to have been to establish "Icaria" in France; his hope was that a "community of goods" could be implemented in his native country. As a propagandist for such a cause, Cabet was undeniably effective, and his following was extensive. The initial appeal of Icarian communism was mainly among "the urban working classes, above all from among distressed artisans (such as tailors and shoemakers) whose livelihood was threatened less by the direct impact of machinery than by concentration of ownership, increasing division of labor, and generally more efficient means of organization in their still largely handicraft occupations."<sup>32</sup> The influence of Icarian communism

reached its height in France in 1846–47. While it is difficult to assess the exact extent of such a movement, one indication of Cabet's following can be seen in subscriptions for Cabet's monthly newspaper. *Le Populaire* averaged 3,500 copies per issue in 1846, representing as many as 70,000 readers.<sup>33</sup> A press run of this magnitude makes *Le Populaire* comparable in size (excepting the Paris daily *Le Siècle*) to most of the other national and major regional newspapers in France at the time.<sup>34</sup> Christopher Johnson asserts that "there can be little doubt that Cabet exercised a more profound influence on the workers of France than any other writer in the pre-1848 period."<sup>35</sup> He was especially important in creating a worker's movement that was not limited to secret societies and clandestine clubs. Cabet, a tireless writer and publicist, "desired to bring communism out into the open."<sup>36</sup> Change was to be sought through legal channels and passive resistance (*courage civil*) rather than through conspiracy and violence.

Copies of *Voyage en Icarie* were circulated by Cabet as early as 1838, and five editions were published in Paris between 1840 and 1848.<sup>37</sup> While it is possible that Albrecht read the novel in French, the appearance of a German translation in 1847 leads to a consideration of Cabet's influence among German speakers more generally. The novel was translated by August Hermann Ewerbeck, under the pseudonym Dr. Wendell Hippler, as *Reise nach Ikarie*.<sup>38</sup> The edition was published in Paris, where Ewerbeck, a young physician from Danzig, was living at the time. Paris was home to upwards of 80,000 Germans in the late 1830s and 1840s, mainly workers and artisans who had come for economic opportunity, but also intellectuals and political refugees.<sup>39</sup> Veit Valentin considered Ewerbeck "the most intelligent and energetic of the middlemen between French and German social–revolutionaries."<sup>40</sup> He was Cabet's most important spokesman in the League of the Just (*Bund der Gerechten*), a secret political society founded in 1836 in Paris. Ewerbeck's promotion of Icarian communism had a strong influence on Wilhelm Weitling, who became prominent in the League, and whose own brand of communism is indebted to Cabet.<sup>41</sup> Another Weitling acquaintance, the religious "prophet" Christian Albrecht, had translated Cabet's *Credo communiste* into German in 1842.<sup>42</sup>

Cabet's primary influence among German speakers seems to have been through the exiles living abroad, especially in France, Switzerland, and London.<sup>43</sup> The most significant of these figures were Marx and Engels, whose estimation of Cabet ranged from praise "for his practical attitude toward the proletariat"<sup>44</sup> to castigating the "dogmatic abstractions" of his utopian vision.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, when Marx and Engels began the *Communist Manifesto* by saying that the specter of communism was haunting Europe, they tacitly acknowledged that "no one was more important in making it so than Cabet."<sup>46</sup>

As Ritter's description of Albrecht's reaction to *Voyage* indicates, Cabet's appeal was due in part to the worsening conditions throughout Europe. The political situation was exacerbated by poor harvests, leading to food shortages; declining prices, which meant lower wages, deteriorating working conditions, and increased unemployment; and a financial and banking crisis.<sup>47</sup> The situation



for musicians, whose position was analogous to that of artisans in several ways, had also declined. For both groups, general population increases during the previous several decades had led to decreased opportunities for advancement. At the same time, their relatively high level of skill and education meant that these individuals could avail themselves of a burgeoning literature devoted to social and political reform. Where censorship prohibited the circulation of such materials, the geographical mobility of journeymen and musicians resulted in access to ideas that were impossible to obtain otherwise. For many, of course, the hope that a better life might be found elsewhere found its realization in emigration.

The deteriorating economic and political situation may have led Cabet to the recognition that his message of *courage civil* was increasingly ineffectual, at least in France. Heightened class antagonism, including the suspicion and persecution of communists, indicated that the implementation of Icaria in his native country was an impossible goal. On 9 May 1847 Cabet announced a plan to establish his utopia in the United States in the pages of *Le Populaire*. By the following November he had arranged, through the English environmental social utopian, Robert Owen, that this colony would be in Texas. An *avant-garde* of sixty-nine men departed from Le Havre on 3 February 1848.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, Henry Albrecht and the twenty-three other members of the Germania Musical Society were considering the viability of forming their own orchestra.

Während der Monate Januar und Februar d. J. 1848 fanden in Berlin öfter Versammlungen von Musikern statt, die in dieser Residenz, welche bekanntlich als der Mittelpunkt der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften Norddeutschlands betrachtet wird, seit längerer Zeit als Mitglieder eines Privat-Orchesters fungirt hatten. Durch jahrelanges Zusammenwirken hatten sie sich gegenseitig achten und lieben gelernt, so dass in Wahrheit das Band brüderlicher Freundschaft sie umschlang.

Von dem Wunsche beseelt, eine in individueller Beziehung gänzlich unabhängige Lebensweise zu führen, kamen sie zu dem Entschlusse, ein Concert-Orchester zu bilden, welches nicht nur in musikalischer, sondern auch in socialer Hinsicht als ein Musterbild zu betrachten sei. (Musiker, die irgend eine lasterhafte Angewohnheit besaßen, oder über deren untadelhaften Charakter nur der geringste Zweifel obwaltete, konnten unter keiner Bedingung Aufnahme finden.)<sup>49</sup>

With the outbreak of Revolution in March, the orchestra members accelerated their departure for the United States. They gave a farewell concert in Berlin on 4 May 1848. In addition to works by Beethoven and Carl Maria von Weber, they played a Festival Overture by their conductor, Carl Lenschow, and a sym-

phony (in manuscript) by the English ambassador, the Earl of Westmoreland, who was in attendance.<sup>50</sup> Other listeners included the ambassador of the United States, "der königl. Kapellmeister Taubert, der General-Musikdirector Wieprecht, die Kammer-Musiker Böhmer, Griebel und andere Mitglieder der königl. Capelle, sowie auch die ersten Kunstkritiker Berlins."<sup>51</sup> A mixture of sociomusical relations can be seen in this group, in which aristocrats functioning as bureaucrats, musicians with court appointments, and professional journalists mingled, linked as *Musikfreunde*. The subsequent careers of two participants also illustrate the fluctuations of contemporary musical life. Wilhelm Wieprecht (1802-72), for example, organized his own *Privatorchester*, the Euterpe, the following year (1849). He held several court appointments and engaged in various types of private musical enterprise, including the manufacture of valved brass instruments, during the next two decades. Ferdinand Griebel (ca.1819-58), after hearing the Germania, abandoned his position in the royal orchestra and joined the Germania as first violinist for a short time, eventually emigrating to Canada.

After the concert, Wilhelm Taubert (soon to become known to Americans as the composer of Jenny Lind's *Bird Song*) praised the young musicians in a speech full of admiration and good wishes. More importantly, the royal *Kapellmeister* sent along "a considerable quantity of recommendations . . . addressed to highly-placed people in England" from himself and the Earl of Westmoreland. Such letters were an essential feature of the old social relations among musicians and their patrons, as they virtually guaranteed performing opportunities, replete with assistance from local musicians.<sup>52</sup>

Armed with these valuable recommendations, the Germanians left for London four days later. The orchestra spent the summer in England, where it soon became clear that many musicians from the Continent were waiting out the political turbulence. The letters proved quite useful, and the orchestra quickly earned the favor of the Duke of Cambridge, "welcher als ein enthusiastischer Musikfreund und guter Violinspieler allgemein bekannt war." On one occasion, the Duke, perhaps relying on the conventions of privilege, took a seat next to the first violin for Weber's *Jubel* Overture. The Duke revealed his modern sentiments when a draft blew the music to the ground. "[D]er Herzog in seiner jovialen Liebenswürdigkeit eiligst [die erste Violinstimme] von der Erde aufnahm, und sie eigenhändig bis zum Schluss der Ouvertüre festhielt." Such behavior did not go unnoticed. "Diese in den Augen der hohen Aristokratie ganz unerhörte Ehrenbezeugung erregte unter den anwesenden Lords so große Sensation, dass vielseitig die Meinung laut wurde: 'der Herzog müsse nie bevor ein so ausgezeichnetes Orchester gehört haben.'" The Duke indirectly admonished the other guests by telling the orchestra, in a loud voice, that they had exceeded his expectations, having been recommended by his friend in Berlin, the Earl of Westmoreland.<sup>53</sup>

Despite their precarious position at the mercy of such "society," the Germanians were tempted to stay in London, especially after dining sumptuously at the Baring Brothers' villa. They also received an invitation to play



before Queen Victoria during the next season. Nevertheless, they remained steadfast in their determination to come to the United States, and arrived in New York on 28 September 1848.

### **A Beacon for the World to See: The Icarians and Germanians in the United States**

Secondary literature on the Germania Musical Society is surprisingly scarce. The most substantial treatment appeared in a 1953 *Musical Quarterly* article by H. Earle Johnson (cited in note 4). This article is largely based on Albrecht's *Skizzen*, and is faithful on most accounts. Johnson follows Albrecht in describing the constitution adopted by the members, which stipulated, "Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten und gleiche Genüsse." A motto, "Einer für Alle und Alle für Einen," was also adopted. "Es wurde gleichzeitig beschlossen, so bald als möglich eine Reise nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika anzutreten, um in den Herzen dieses politisch freien Volkes, durch zahlreiche Aufführungen der Meisterwerke unserer größten Instrumental-Componisten, als Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, sowie auch Liszt, Berlioz, Wagner u.s.w., die Liebe zu der Schönen Kunst der Töne zu entflammen und zu fördern."<sup>54</sup>

H. Earle Johnson says, "Their decision to form a new orchestra was taken with purposeful awareness that democracy was"—and here he quotes Albrecht—"the most complete principle of human society."<sup>55</sup> In contrast, Albrecht's actual sentiments were as follows:

Die damaligen politische Unruhen, welche im Februar und März sich in allgemeine Völker-Revolutionen verwandelten, beschleunigten die Bildung und baldige Abreise der Musikgesellschaft. Bei Entwerfung der Statuten dieses Vereins wurde das kommunistische Prinzip zur Grundlage erwählt, indem sämtliche Mitglieder der Germania die Überzeugung hegten, dass der Kommunismus das vollkommenste Gesellschaftsprinzip ist. (Dass es keine Illusionen waren, hat die Musikgesellschaft Germania durch die That bewiesen.)<sup>56</sup>

The impression that the Germania Musical Society was organized according to democratic, rather than communistic, principles has been perpetuated in music history texts since Johnson's 1953 article whenever the Germania is mentioned.<sup>57</sup> Whatever the reasons for Johnson's rephrasing of Albrecht's words, and his complete neglect of anything pertaining to Cabet, the historical record is certainly made richer when it is rendered accurately.<sup>58</sup> Fortunately, it is still possible to recover the context in which the Germania was organized.<sup>59</sup>

A fundamental aspect of the Germania's organization is indicated by Albrecht's play on the term *Gesellschaft*.<sup>60</sup> The orchestra was envisioned as a



The Germania Musical Society, ca. 1853. Henry Albrecht is standing third from the right. (Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.)



microcosm of society at large; likewise, the Icarians felt their "experiment" offered a model for the world to see. According to Albert Shaw, whose ethnography of the Icarians was published while the settlement was still viable, the work of the Icarian doctrine "was to teach the world the philosophy of a better social system, and to demonstrate the practicality of that philosophy."<sup>61</sup> This sense of purpose was admired by Shaw, and he credits it with enabling the Icarians to persevere in the face of tremendous material deprivation. A less sympathetic observer, Charles Nordhoff, was nonetheless impressed with their perseverance, which he likened to religious faith: "communism was their religion."<sup>62</sup> Similarly, Albrecht asserted that it was the orchestra members' faith in their organization that allowed them to persist through circumstances that ruined other orchestras.

Durch die Gewährung gleicher Rechte und durch gleichmäßige Vertheilung des pecuniären Gewinnes standen sämmtliche Mitglieder in persönlicher Beziehung auf gleicher Stufe. Das gemeinschaftliche Interesse bewirkte, dass die Gesellschaft mit ungetheilter Kraft ihr Ziel verfolgen konnte. Hauptsächlich dieser weisen Einrichtung hat die Germania ihren außerordentlichen Erfolg während ihrer sechsjährigen Kunstreisen in Amerika zu verdanken. Ihre Gesetze verliehen ihr die Kraft, alle Hindernisse und Gefahren, die sich ihr entgegenthürmten, und welche alle ähnlichen Concert-Orchester in wenigen Monaten ruinirt haben, mit leichter Mühe zu beseitigen.<sup>63</sup>

Key to both organizations was the communal principle, the submission of the individual ego to the good of the whole. Cabot frequently spoke of the debilitating effects of *égoïsme* on the individual and on the social whole. Both the bourgeois elite and the aristocracy erred by condoning individualism and not embracing *la Communauté*.<sup>64</sup> Albrecht translated this concept into musical terms, comparing the Germania's musical achievements to the deleterious effects of egoism on musical life generally:

Der glückliche Umstand, dass die Organisation der Gesellschaft auf echt socialistische Prinzipien basirt war, zeigte sich in musikalischer Beziehung eben so wirksam als im socialen Leben dieser jungen Künstlerschar. Beim Vortrage von Orchesterwerken erkannte jedes Mitglied als heiligste Pflicht, niemals eine besondere, individuelle Künstlermanier geltend zu machen. In den fürstlichen Capellen Europa's, die bekanntlich aus Virtuosen ersten Ranges bestehen, sucht im Orchester (mit wenigen Ausnahmen) Jeder durch Geltendmachung besonderer Kunstmanieren im Vortrage sich

hervorzuthun, wodurch natürlicher Weise selten eine Aufführung ganz untadelhaft erscheint.<sup>65</sup>

By contrast, the Germania Musical Society was known for the total integration of the ensemble. Their signature piece became Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which requires that the orchestra function in a truly unified manner.<sup>66</sup> Demand for this piece was so great that they performed it more than a thousand times. Albrecht offers an inherently social explanation for the Germania's musical achievements: "Wie im Leben, so in der Kunst, waren sie ein Herz und eine Seele. Hieraus erklärt sich die Übereinstimmung im Vortrage, wo stets sämtliche Orchesterinstrumente als ein einziges, mächtig wirkendes Concert-Instrument erschienen."<sup>67</sup>

Inevitably, the Germania Musical Society endured both highs and lows on its six-year concert tour. Financial success, even if all rewards were shared equally, was elusive at first. They were warmly received by musicians in New York—especially Henry Timm (president of the New York Philharmonic Society), Henry and Antoinette Otto, and William Scharfenberg—but receipts were mediocre. Philadelphia was worse, with a New Year's Eve concert netting less than \$10. The decision had already been made to disband when an invitation came to play for Zachary Taylor's inauguration. It is difficult to determine the origin of this offer, but Joseph Gungl's band, which was still concertizing in the United States, played for the Whig's victory ball.<sup>68</sup> Both groups gave concerts in Baltimore as well. Pastor Henry Scheib of Zion Church promoted the Germania Musical Society, and a group of unidentified ladies rounded up subscriptions. In April the orchestra ventured to New England, giving concerts in Worcester, Providence and Boston. Somehow they were invited to spend the summer in Newport, Rhode Island, which became a much-appreciated obligation for the orchestra. Subsequent summers were spent at this seaside resort town.

The Germania spent much of their second autumn and the following spring (1850) in Baltimore. Their conductor, Carl Lenschow, decided to settle in that city, and shortly after his resignation Carl Bergmann assumed the position of director. The orchestra toured with Jenny Lind for about thirty concerts soon after meeting her in Baltimore (December 1850). Two trips as far west as the Mississippi were undertaken in the Spring of 1853 and 1854. German audiences were especially receptive, and a review by Heinrich Börnstein, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, demonstrates that the orchestra had the capacity to evoke elaborate metaphors of political unity among its listeners.<sup>69</sup> The majority of their last three years together were concentrated in Boston, where they played a leading role in the city's musical life.

As a prerequisite for incorporating the orchestra, which took place on 25 April 1853 in Massachusetts, the members became citizens of the United States. Ironically, it was just a year after the incorporation that the possibility of dissolving the orchestra after the close of the season in Newport was raised. It is difficult to determine the exact reasons for the break-up, but there seems to have



been differences between the remaining original members, who had endured considerable struggle, and the new recruits. Dwight provided his own list of reasons for the orchestra's dissolution:

The natural love of change; the desire on the part of individuals to exchange a wandering for a settled life (and in some cases, doubtless, for the sweets of a domestic sphere); and the consideration of hard times, the increased expense of concert-giving, and the doubtful chance of continued pecuniary profit in the years to come, have led them, in spite of their strong fraternal feeling and the rich experiences that have bound them together so long, to this step.<sup>70</sup>

On the evening of 13 September 1854 the fourteen original members of the Germania met "in secret conclave" at Downing's Yacht House, Newport, had a "bounteous supper," and ended their formal association.<sup>71</sup>

While the Germania concertized, Cabet's adherents attempted to implement Icaria in the United States. The initial group of settlers (the *avant-garde* of 1848) soon discovered that the land Cabet had purchased in Texas was completely unsuitable. The Icarians were tremendously discouraged and returned to New Orleans, where they met with Cabet and over four hundred adherents in January 1849. Two hundred voted to leave after hearing about the failure in Texas. Many returned to France, where a large contingent sued Cabet for taking their money and deceiving them.<sup>72</sup> The followers who remained loyal soon became aware that the Mormons were trying to sell the land and buildings they had left behind in Nauvoo, Illinois, a few years earlier. The Mormons' settlement could easily be adapted to Cabet's vision of communal work and living arrangements, and the necessary steps were taken for the journey up the Mississippi to Illinois. The Nauvoo Icaria thrived initially, attracting sufficient recruits within a few years to increase the number of adherents to more than four hundred again. Unlike the Mormons, the Icarians' conventional conjugal relations were satisfactory to the local inhabitants; Cabet believed that everyone ought to be married and monogamous. Although the Icarians were somewhat restricted by their beliefs and by their use of the French language from mixing with neighboring people, much of their organization was admired by outsiders. Their library of over four thousand volumes was the largest in Illinois at the time, and local people came to their orchestra concerts, dances, and theatrical events.<sup>73</sup>

Albrecht took the opportunity to visit various communal societies while the Germania toured the United States.<sup>74</sup> On 30 August 1854 Cabet printed a series of letters he had received from Albrecht at the beginning of that month inquiring about admission to the colony in Nauvoo, Illinois. It was not uncommon for German speakers to be interested in joining. Cabet had made a special effort to recruit them, issuing a leaflet to that effect, *Aufruf an die Deutschen in*

*Amerika*, in 1852.<sup>75</sup> A report published in the Icarian newspaper at Nauvoo, *Colonie Icarienne*, indicates that nearly 10 percent of the settlement was German by the summer of 1854.<sup>76</sup> At the time that Albrecht contacted Cabet, the Icarians were in the midst of preparations to establish a second colony in Adams County, a remote section of southwestern Iowa. Cabet was also trying to forestall what would become the first major schism among the Icarians, and Albrecht arrived just in time to participate in the drama.

In his initial letter to Cabet, Albrecht presented himself as a man of high morals and moderate habits, "a stranger to the wicked habits that one would call vices," such as the use of tobacco, hard liquor, and playing cards. Cabet was ardently opposed to tobacco and liquor, and a great deal of strife in the community was caused by his attempts to eliminate these gratifications.<sup>77</sup> Albrecht goes on to say:

The Germania Musical Society, of which I am a member, has as its principle: all for one and one for all; equality in rights and in duties. Each member thus renounces freely and voluntarily all financial advantages, because laws that would not be based on these social principles would not be able to assure the liberty and the independence of the associated, considering that where there is inequality of wealth, true liberty is an illusion, or rather, a falsehood. It is the brotherhood of men, and not egoism, which is the greatest stimulant of all useful activities.<sup>78</sup>

That Cabet recognized his own reflection in these words is clear from his reply. "It seems that the Germania Musical Society has a communist sentiment, even an Icarian feel: I would hear of this with pleasure."<sup>79</sup>

Cabet probably also appreciated Albrecht's modification of the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, "A chacun suivant sa capacité, à chaque capacité suivant ses oeuvres," along more egalitarian and compassionate lines. In Saint-Simon's vision, differences between people are rewarded in proportion to their social utility.<sup>80</sup> The 1848 printing of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* included the slogan, "A chacun suivant ses besoins, de chacun suivant ses forces," on the title page.<sup>81</sup> Cabet's rephrasing of the St. Simonian maxim is indicative of the paternal image that Cabet cultivated among his followers; Icaria was the place that one would be cared for, despite infirmity or old age. Albrecht echoed this sentiment in his later writing, envisioning a future society that would have asylums—instead of prisons—for the weak and disabled.<sup>82</sup> As we have seen, Albrecht related in *Skizzen* that the phrase, "Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten, und gleiche Genüsse," formed the basis of the Germania's statutes. In a footnote, he explained, "Hinsichtlich der Rechte, eine absolute Gleichheit; hinsichtlich der Pflichten und Genüsse, eine relative; d.h. Jeder nach seinen Fähigkeiten und Bedürfnissen."<sup>83</sup> Like Cabet, Albrecht assumed that individuals would operate in an altruistic fashion, work-



ing to the best of their ability for the group, and sacrificing their own interest for the good of the whole.

In addition to his request for admission, Albrecht presented several challenging questions to Cabet. He observed that the Rappists, whose colony in Economy, Pennsylvania, he had visited twice, were much wealthier than the Icarians. He also asked if provisions had been made for the continuation of Icaria after Cabet was no longer able to govern. Cabet took Albrecht's challenges as an opportunity to expound on his vision of a more prosperous Icarian future. He soon printed his lengthy response, along with Albrecht's correspondence, in a pamphlet entitled, *Ce que je ferais si j'avais cinq cent mille dollars*.<sup>84</sup>

If Albrecht reproached Cabet with the material success of George Rapp's Harmony Society, which they agreed was valued at nine million dollars, he also asserted that the moral burden of such vast wealth rested with the Rappists.<sup>85</sup>

Are not the rich communists of Economy obligated, at least morally, to aid through their cooperation the enterprise of Mr. Cabet, who has [only] the goal of happiness for wretched humanity? And if they want to be the true successors to Jesus Christ, if his doctrine and his religion in their primitive purity is their first principle, have they not committed a type of crime against humanity by not employing the excess of their riches in the interest of humanity?"<sup>86</sup>

Albrecht took it upon himself to try to direct some of the Harmony Society's wealth to the cause of Icaria.<sup>87</sup> In a letter dated 18 September 1854, Albrecht asked the Rappists' current leader, Jacob Henrici, to consider lending the Icarians the sum Cabet desired, \$500,000, for the development of the second colony in Adams County, Iowa. Albrecht assured the Harmony Society that the Icarians would be able to repay this amount within a period of ten years. He also argued that the Rappists, who were aging and without heirs, would gain everlasting gratitude from humanity by providing these funds:

Es wird Ihnen hierdurch Gelegenheit geboten, Ihren edlen Charakter und Ihre humanen Gesinnungen gegen Ihren Mitmenschen, durch die That zeigen zu können. . . . Sie würden sich durch diese große, wahrhaft edelmüthige That, die Liebe und Verehrung aller civilisirten Völker erwerben, und nicht bloß von der gegenwärtigen Generation, sondern auch von der Nachwelt als würdige Nachfolger unseres Heilandes "Jesus Christus" bezeichnet werden.<sup>88</sup>

Henrici's reply of 7 October was negative; he reported that all the Harmonists' funds were currently invested. Henrici also cautioned Albrecht on his enthusiasm for communism, because "for fallen and non-regenerated man

there is no system under which he could be truly happy, just as for the truly regenerated, loyal follower of Jesus there can be no condition under which he can be really unhappy." Henrici felt obligated to take a stand on Cabet's philosophy as well, and commented that "we have no faith whatever in the religious principles of Icaria," with which we are "fairly well acquainted."

Although Albrecht did not inquire directly about joining the Rappists, his letter to Henrici was filled with fond and flattering recollections of his two visits to the Harmony Society. "Ich gestehe es offen, dass der edle Charakter sämtlicher Mitglieder der Gemeinde, einen so unbeschreiblichen Eindruck auf mich machte, dass ich mit Thränen in den Augen mich selbst fragte: 'Bist du wirklich noch auf derselben Erde, wo du bisher gelebt hast?'"<sup>89</sup> In several respects, Economy would have been a suitable residence for Albrecht. Not only were the Rappists German speaking, but they were well-known for the high quality of their musical activities.<sup>90</sup> However, the Harmonists accepted very few new members after the death of their founder, George Rapp, in 1847. One assumes that this was for the best, since Albrecht's general antagonism to religion would probably have been a source of conflict with this messianic sect.<sup>91</sup> On 22 November 1854 Cabet published an account of the Harmony Society by Albrecht that questioned the sagacity of the elders' demand that celibacy be observed by members.<sup>92</sup>

Having demonstrated his engagement with, and commitment to, Cabet's philosophy in his letters—prerequisites for admission to the community—Albrecht made arrangements to join the Icarians in Nauvoo. Cabet agreed to Albrecht's proposal that he visit in September 1854, but he may not have arrived until later that autumn. His name does not appear on a list of performers in the Icarian orchestra printed in the *Colonie Icarienne* on 27 September. Henrici's letter of 7 October, rejecting Albrecht's appeal to the Harmony Society, was addressed to him, "care of Louis Stave," in Chicago.<sup>93</sup> The earliest indication of Albrecht's presence in Icaria is found in the February 1855 issue of the *Revue Icarienne*, which reported that Albrecht had already arrived and had asked for definite admission to the colony.<sup>94</sup>

Dissent within the colony intensified over the next year, and on 17 March 1856 a group opposing Cabet named Albrecht to a commission monitoring Icarian publications.<sup>95</sup> Cabet, who had acted in an increasingly dictatorial manner since suffering a minor stroke the previous autumn, was accused (among other things) of mishandling the community's finances. On 12-13 May 1856, a knock-down, drag-out meeting was held to decide the future administration of the community. Albrecht's name was included with those of the majority, who voted against Cabet. Shortly after this, Albrecht left Nauvoo, at least temporarily.<sup>96</sup> He may have gone to Newport for the summer, as he reports that the core of the Germania honored their obligations there for two successive seasons after the orchestra officially disbanded.<sup>97</sup>

For a few months after the schism, the community tried to live together. Hostilities escalated, however, as the majority attempted to install a new admin-



istration. On 27 September 1856 the tense situation was remedied with Cabet's formal expulsion from Icaria. He and his remaining followers (about 180) attempted to form a new Icaria in St. Louis, but Cabet did not survive the ordeal. On 8 November 1856 he died from complications following another stroke.<sup>98</sup>

For the next three years, the Nauvoo settlement worked to develop the land in Adams County, to which they gradually relocated. Conditions were extremely difficult after the schism, the majority having lost significant labor power, supplies, and funds. The community had enormous debts, and the new land was isolated and difficult to cultivate. It is not clear whether Albrecht returned to Icaria after his departure in the summer of 1856.

Albrecht's musical library, which Dwight had reported was going with him to Nauvoo in 1854, was retrieved and sold to Joseph Drexel of Philadelphia in 1858.<sup>99</sup> How Albrecht and Drexel met, and the extent of their contact over the next two decades, is difficult to determine. Albrecht moved to Philadelphia, where he was involved in the increase and maintenance of Drexel's library. From 1860 through 1875, Albrecht is listed as a musician in Philadelphia city directories such as *McElroy's* and *Gopsill's*. His surname is sometimes anglicized to "Allbricht" or "Albright."

In 1869 Drexel published a catalogue of his music library, which by then consisted of "over 1,500 works, and about 2,200 volumes."<sup>100</sup> The title page indicates the nature of Drexel's collection, which included "Musical Writings, Autographs of Celebrated Musicians, Prints Relating to Music (Including Portraits of Composers, &c.) and Music for the Church, Theatre, Concert Room, &c."

The preface, which was printed in German with an English paraphrase, states:

Ohne Zweifel wird es vielen Musikfreunden willkommen sein, wenn wir über die Entstehung und Vermehrung obiger Sammlung noch einige Worte hinzufügen. Diese musikalische Bibliothek wurde im Frühjahr 1858 gegründet, durch Erwerb einer sehr reichhaltigen Sammlung musikalischer Schriften, Autographen berühmter Musiker und Abbildungen, die auf Musik Bezug haben. Dieselbe war derzeit Eigenthum des Musikers H. F. Albrecht, Mitglied der ehemaligen Musikgesellschaft Germania, und von ihm den Jahren 1845 bis '58 in Europa und Amerika gesammelt. Mehr als die Hälfte der in gegenwärtigem Catalog angeführten Werke gehörten dieser Sammlung an, sowie auch sämtliche Abbildungen und Autographen.<sup>101</sup>

The English paraphrase gives a further tribute to Albrecht, adding that, "it is to his untiring Energy that the present Collection is due." Both Albrecht's chronicle, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania*, and Drexel's catalogue

**Gegenwart und Zukunft.**

**Unsere sozialen Zustände**

vor dem

**Richterstuhl der gesunden Menschenvernunft,**

nebst Andeutungen, auf welche Weise ein

**Vernünftig organisiertes Gesellschaftsleben**

erreichbar ist.

„Was der Vernunft widerspricht,  
ist Irrthum und Thorheit.“

(Lb. Payne.)

Von

**S. F. Albrecht,**

Mitglied der Mariischen Östergemeinschaft in „Maria“, Adams Co., Iowa.

**Mit einem Anhang:**

„Die soziale Organisation Mariens“ von E. Cabet, sowie auch eine kleine  
aphoristische Beschreibung der Kolonie **Mariens** enthaltend.

**Philadelphia.**

Wirdruckt und zu haben bei **J. W. Thomas und Söhne.**

Title page of Henry Albrecht's *Gegenwart und Zukunft* (ca. 1873). (Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.)



were published by King and Baird of Philadelphia in 1869. Albrecht's text was dedicated to Drexel, "in hochachtungsvoller und freundschaftlicher Zuneigung der Verfasser."<sup>102</sup>

The organization of Drexel's catalogue is very similar to that used by Albrecht in the manuscript catalogue of his own collection: an alphabetical listing "preceded by a tabular breakdown by language and subject."<sup>103</sup> Drexel died in 1888, and his library, which by that time consisted of about 6,000 items, was donated to the Lenox Library. In 1895, the Lenox merged with the Astor Library and the Tilden Trust to form the New York Public Library. Albrecht's library is thus preserved as part of the Drexel Collection at Lincoln Center.

Although he appears to have been a resident of Philadelphia throughout the 1860s, Albrecht described himself as "Mitglied der ikarischen Gütergemeinschaft in 'Icaria,' Adams County, Iowa" in the 1869 *Skizzen*. The same phrase appears on the title page of his 1873 pamphlet, *Gegenwart und Zukunft*. This philosophical tribute to Icarian communism was printed for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the community. Albrecht's "Sachregister," which affords a glimpse into his idealistic nature, appears at the conclusion of this article. Whether Albrecht was actually a member in the community's eyes during this period is doubtful, however. What is known is that his attempts to be re-admitted to the Adams County settlement in 1870 led to a larger conflict that ultimately split Icaria once again. When Albrecht made his request, the current president, perhaps relying too heavily on Albrecht's being "loved and esteemed by all," side-stepped procedures. This action aggravated burgeoning tensions over how admissions were decided.<sup>104</sup> Albrecht was not re-admitted, and the president, the German artist J. C. Schroeder, quit his post. Soon after, these tensions developed into actual conflicts over the admission of the "Internationalists," several politically active people who had been involved in the Paris Commune.<sup>105</sup> Eventually, differences over the direction of the community resulted in a split between young and old, and the Adams County community was dissolved in 1878.

By this time Albrecht was long gone. Ritter claims, however, that he had never become disillusioned.

Though disappointed in his communistic experiences, he was not weary of his noble idealism. But he was out of his element; his great sense of justice was continually wounded . . . his inborn kindness of heart was exploited by sharpers. . . . [O]ur idealist sighed for a home . . . where he might dream out his communistic dream, far removed from all the cares of prosaic existence. With the means he possessed, he bought a small property in his native town. He took passage on the steamer, "Schiller"; and, when that ill-fated vessel went down, Albrecht, with his wife and three children, found a watery grave in the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>106</sup>

The date was 7 May 1875. The shipwreck of the *Schiller* was a terrible disaster in which over three hundred people were drowned. The symbolism of a dreamer like Albrecht losing his life on a vessel bearing the name of one of the most celebrated poets of human freedom and solidarity would surely have registered with Ritter and a great number of his readers. It is mysterious, however, that Albrecht's name was not included in the passenger lists published in the *New York Times* the week of the disaster.<sup>107</sup> Equally puzzling is that traces of Albrecht's further activities cease at this time. If it is immaterial after all these years to ask what became of him, might we still consider what became of Albrecht's vision?

## Conclusion

A few years after Albrecht's disappearance, John Sullivan Dwight would reminisce that "the old Germania" had "a communistic character, in a pure sense."<sup>108</sup> Dwight had been a member of Brook Farm in the 1840s, and despite the general antagonisms between Fourier's and Cabet's respective social theories, Dwight seemed to find fulfilled in the Germania Musical Society something he and his friends there had tried to achieve: "There was a romantic flavor in the mutual devotion of the Germanians. They were young men, friends, who had been drawn together in a little social orchestra in Berlin. . . . It was the fraternal spirit of their union, with their self-sacrificing zeal for art . . . it was this 'art religion,' so to speak, that gave them an immense advantage over all the larger orchestras in every city." In the Harvard Musical Association, and later in his *Journal*, Dwight proselytized tirelessly for music that could be appreciated "for its own sake," as the phrase goes, without the restrictions of organized religion, patrons, or commerce. Musicians, however, perhaps forgetting that they had only recently been released from various types of servitude, ultimately and perhaps necessarily joined the ranks of the middle class. The struggle to form a musicians' union during the 1890s, as well as the rationalization of musical composition and production in Tin Pan Alley and the Hollywood movie studios, would demonstrate once again the difficulties of self-determination. Eventually, the Frankfurt School's analysis of the Culture Industry—exerting a more profound influence than Albrecht could have ever hoped to achieve—produced a powerful articulation of the musician's plight as worker.<sup>109</sup> Like Albrecht's sketches of the Germania Musical Society, this articulation includes a plea for the preservation of music's utopian potential.

*Brown University*  
Providence, Rhode Island



## Appendix

### Translation of Albrecht's "Sachregister"

*Gegenwart und Zukunft.* Unsere sozialen Zustände vor dem Richterstuhl der gesunden Menschenvernunft, nebst Andeutungen, auf welche Weise ein vernünftig organisirtes Gesellschaftsleben erreichbar ist.

*Present and Future.* Our social conditions before the judgment seat of common sense, along with suggestions of the way in which a rationally organized social life can be achieved.

**Index.** The following catalogue contains a selection of the most essential, vital questions that have been touched upon in the present writing; at the same time, this survey permits a view into the "mirror of truth unveiled." Therein one perceives the panorama of this world of fools, and sees mankind as it truly is, and as it should be according to reason.

Instead of wrong social conditions, — a rationally organized social life.

Instead of private property, the root of all evils, — joint property, the source of all life's joys.

Instead of the squandering of human labor and the means of sustenance, — wise economy as a result of mutual production and consumption.

Instead of wealth and poverty, — general prosperity.

Instead of masters and slaves, — social equality and individual freedom.

Instead of ignorance and crudeness, — education, decency and ethical behavior.

Instead of wrong, unnatural child-rearing, — rational methods of teaching and cultivation.

Instead of blind church-belief, — religion according to reason, that is, general love for mankind and pure ethical life.

Instead of churches and prayer houses, — lecture halls for the people's enlightenment and education.

Instead of theology and priests, — scientists, life philosophers, and hard-working teachers.

Instead of falsehood and deceit, — truth and honesty.

Instead of vice and crime, — virtue and justice.

Instead of penitentiaries and prisons, — asylums for people weakened by age and unable to work.

Instead of judges and lawyers or pettifoggers, — teachers of ethics, duties, and virtue.

Instead of doctors, quacks, and early death, — teachers of healthiness and hundred-year life.

Instead of commerce and speculation, — fair exchange of goods and works created with one's own hands.

Instead of idle people and production of unnecessary things, — industrious and usefully active people.

Instead of squalor and misery, — unclouded human happiness.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>"The Germania Musical Society," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5,24 (16 September 1854). The following article is excerpted from my forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, "Good Music for a Free People: The Germania Musical Society and Transatlantic Musical Culture of the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Brown University). My research has been generously supported by the Graduate School of Brown University, the American Antiquarian Society, the John Nicholas Brown Center for the Study of American Civilization, and the Dena Epstein Award for Archival and Library Research in American Music. Thanks to Jane Fulcher, Ralph Locke, Matt Malsky, Sanna Pederson, Ora Frishberg Saloman, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, and William Weber for their thoughtful responses to earlier versions of this article.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Albrecht, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869), 20 pp. A copy of this rare document is in the New York Public Library.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>4</sup>H. Earle Johnson, "The Germania Musical Society," *Musical Quarterly* 39,1 (January 1953): 75-93. For specific premieres, see Johnson's *First Performances in America to 1900: Works with Orchestra*, Bibliographies in American Music (Detroit: College Music Society, 1979).

<sup>5</sup>The Germania performed with numerous soloists, including the singers Lind (1820-87), Sontag (1806-54), Tedesco (1826-after 1866), and August Kreissman (1823-79); the violinists Bull (1810-80), Urso (18420-1902), and Miska Hauser (1822-87); and the pianists Jaell (1832-82), Maurice Strakosch (1825-87), and Otto Dresel (1826-90).

<sup>6</sup>Bergmann was also an advocate for Wagner's music in the United States, premiering many of the composer's works with the Germania and later with his own orchestra. See Joseph Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 38-47 and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup>A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 278 and 356; Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 295-96.

<sup>8</sup>Frédéric Louis Ritter (1834-91) was born in Strasbourg, emigrated to the United States in 1856, founded Cincinnati's Cecilia and Philharmonic Societies, and achieved prominence as a com-



poser, choral conductor, and historian. In 1867, he was appointed professor of music at Vassar College, where he remained until his death. *Music in America* was the first comprehensive history of music in the United States (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883); see esp. chap. 17, "Travelling Orchestras," 2d ed. (1890), 334-48.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph W. Drexel (1833-88) was the youngest son of Francis M. Drexel, founder of the Philadelphia banking house, Drexel & Co. (1837). Along with his older brothers, Joseph assumed leadership of the company after the father's death in 1863. In 1871 he moved to New York to help his brothers and J. Pierpont Morgan manage the newly formed Drexel, Morgan & Co. A proficient musical amateur, Joseph became a well-known figure among New York music lovers after his retirement from business in 1877. He served as president of the New York Philharmonic Society from 1881-88. Like several other members of the family, he devoted himself to numerous philanthropic and cultural activities. See Susan T. Sommer, "Joseph W. Drexel and His Musical Library," in *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (New York: Norton & Co., 1984), 270-78.

<sup>10</sup> Vassar College Library holds more than twenty letters from Drexel to Ritter, dating from 1875 to 1888. Thanks to Nancy Mackechnie, Special Collections, for making this correspondence available to me.

<sup>11</sup> *Newport Daily News*, as quoted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5,24 (16 September 1854); also, Christian Essellen, "Literarische Notiz," *Atlantis* 1 (1854): 318-19.

<sup>12</sup> "Alphabetisch geordnetes Verzeichnis einer Sammlung musikalischer Schriften," (Newport, RI, 1854), 31 pp. This manuscript is held by The New York Public Library.

<sup>13</sup> Ritter, *Music in America*, 410. Ritter's library is presently in the possession of Tufts University. A "Catalogue of the Music Library of the Late Frédéric Louis Ritter, Mus. Doc.," was printed in the 1890s.

<sup>14</sup> Preface to *Catalogue of Joseph W. Drexel's Musical Library*, pt. 1, *Musical Writings* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869).

<sup>15</sup> "Drexel's Musical Library," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 28,23 (30 January 1869); Ritter, *Music in America*, 346.

<sup>16</sup> For example, correspondence of 11 August 1877; 13 June 1879; and 7 June 1882. Ritter Papers, Vassar College.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Albrecht to Etienne Cabet, printed in *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. Thanks to Marla Vizdal of the Center for Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University (Macomb, IL), for her generous and thoughtful assistance with this research.

<sup>18</sup> Preface to *Catalogue of Drexel's Musical Library*.

<sup>19</sup> Ritter, *Music in America*, 344. Dehn (1799-1858) numbered several prominent musicians among his students, including Peter Cornelius, Mikhail Glinka, and Anton Rubinstein. Recent discussions of Dehn's significance as a theorist include *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 1: *Fugue, Form and Style*, ed. Ian Bent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 97-107 and Carl Dahlhaus, "Geschichte als Problem der Musiktheorie: Über einige Berliner Musiktheoretiker des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1980), 405-13. Albrecht's private musical library included Dehn's 1837 translation of Henry Delmotte's *Notice biographique sur Roland Delattre* (Paris, 1836).

<sup>20</sup> Gungl (1810-89) was a Hungarian bandmaster and composer. Several of his works are still in the repertory, including *Träume auf dem Ozean*, opus 80 (Berlin: Bock, 1849), a waltz written to commemorate his tour of the United States in 1848-49.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Bunting, "The Old Germania Orchestra," *Scribner's Monthly* 11,1 (1875): 98-107. This article was purportedly based on the journal of Germania first violinist Wilhelm Schultze. However, I have not been able to locate such a document.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 24 October 1848. On Gungl's first concert in the United States, see the same paper, 16-17 November 1848.

<sup>23</sup> Hans Fantel describes Strauss's first visit to Berlin and other German (in contrast to Austrian) towns in vivid terms. See *The Waltz Kings: Johann Strauss, Father & Son, and Their Romantic Age* (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1972), 54-58.

<sup>24</sup> Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Berlin: 'Music in the Air,'" in Alexander Ringer, ed. *The Early Romantic Era: Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall,

1990), 132-40.

<sup>25</sup> Sanna Pederson, "A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *19th Century Music* 18,2 (Fall 1994): 87-107.

<sup>26</sup> *Skizzen*, 15; *Music in America*, 342.

<sup>27</sup> Mahling, "Berlin," 116. William Weber (California State University, Long Beach) is working on the question of how access to performance venues was controlled during the transition to professional concert management from the earlier patronage system over the course of the nineteenth century. See "The Rise of Concert Managers," forthcoming in the proceedings of "Le Concert et le Public, 1780-1914," Max Planck Institute for History, Göttingen, June 1996.

<sup>28</sup> Sanna Pederson, "Enlightened and Romantic Music Criticism, 1800-1850" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995), 227. Chap. 6, "The Liberal Politics of *Vormärz* Music Criticism" (pp. 226-47), describes the viewpoints of several music critics, as well as the annual *Tonkünstler-Versammlungen* 1847-49.

<sup>29</sup> Cabet (1788-1856) was trained in law at the University of Dijon. In 1820 he moved to Paris, where he became involved with one faction of the *Charbonnerie*. He was appointed *procureur-général* of Corsica in 1831 for his support of the July Revolution, but within a few months was elected to the chamber of deputies in Dijon. Dissatisfied with the broken promises of the new administration, he published attacks on the government. In 1834, he was sent into exile for violation of the press laws. Cabet then spent five years in England, where he came under the influence of Robert Owen and wrote his magnum opus, *Voyage en Icarie*. Robert Sutton, *Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 5-22.

<sup>30</sup> *Music in America*, 344-45.

<sup>31</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 3. For a more extensive description of Icaria, see chap. 2, "Icaria Conceived," pp. 16-30.

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 16.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-49. Also, Christopher Johnson, "Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian Experience," *American Historical Review* 76,3 (June 1971): 642-89.

<sup>34</sup> Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 58.

<sup>35</sup> Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 296.

<sup>36</sup> Christopher Johnson, "Etienne Cabet and the Problem of Class Antagonism," *International Review of Social History* 11 (1966): 408. Also, Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 66-82.

<sup>37</sup> The publication history and framing story of the novel are complex; both represent Cabet's attempts to distance himself from authorship. Apparently Cabet felt this was necessary in order to avoid being arrested (again) for violation of the press laws. See Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 21 and 31-32. A bibliography of Cabet's numerous writings appears in Jules Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur, Etienne Cabet* (Paris: F. Rieder, 1926).

<sup>38</sup> Christopher Johnson, "Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement in France, 1839-1848" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 353 and 361. Ewerbeck also translated (under the same pseudonym) Cabet's *Comment je suis communiste* and *Mon credo communiste*, which appeared as a single volume, *Wie ich Kommunist bin und mein kommunistisches Glaubensbekenntnis* (Paris, 1847).

<sup>39</sup> Carl Wittke, *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 19.

<sup>40</sup> *1848: Chapters of German History*, trans. Ethel Scheffauer (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1940), 412.

<sup>41</sup> Wittke, *Weitling*, 17-22 and *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> Christian Albrecht's translation was entitled, *Das kommunistische Glaubensbekenntnis* (Vevey: Michod, 1842). Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement*, 353; Gian Mario Bravo, *Wilhelm Weitling: e il comunismo tedesco prima del Quarantotto* (Edizioni Giappichelli Torino, 1963), 149. Jules Prudhommeaux's generally reliable *Icarie et son Fondateur* is the source of some confusion concerning the two Albrechts. The index entry fails to distinguish between the prophet (Christian) and the musician (Henry), who are conflated under a single heading, "Albrecht, Henri." For more on the prophet Albrecht, who was from Altenburg and was jailed in Germany in the



1830s, see Wittke, *Weitling*, 37-38. Henry Albrecht (the musician) was a mere child in the 1830s. I have seen nothing to indicate any family relation between the two. Nor have I seen anything that links Henry Albrecht directly to Weitling, though he was undoubtedly aware of Weitling's activities in the United States in the 1850s.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement*, 352-74, provides a survey of Cabet's European influence outside of France.

<sup>44</sup> Letter to J. B. Schweitzer, 24 January 1865, as quoted in Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 20.

<sup>45</sup> Marx to Arnold Ruge, "For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing," originally published in the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher* (1844). As reprinted in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2d ed., ed. Robert Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), 12-13.

<sup>46</sup> Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 260-63.

<sup>47</sup> Sperber, *The European Revolutions*, 105-7.

<sup>48</sup> Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 235-42; Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 44-50. Karl Marx, among others, never forgave Cabet for resorting to such escapism. See Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, reprinted in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 497-99.

<sup>49</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 5. "During the months of January and February 1848, frequent meetings of musicians took place in Berlin, which, as everybody knows, was viewed as the central point of the fine arts and sciences in North Germany. These musicians had functioned for a long time as members of a private orchestra. Through years of working together, they had learned respect and love for each other, so that in truth the ribbon of brotherly friendship entwined them. Inspired by the wish to lead a way of life completely independent in individual relations, they came to the resolution to form a concert orchestra, which would be viewed as a paragon not only in musical, but also in social respects. (Musicians who possessed a few wicked customs, or about whose flawless character even the smallest doubt prevailed, could under no condition become members.)"

<sup>50</sup> The Eleventh Earl of Westmoreland (Lord John Fane Burghersh, 1784-1859), in addition to being ambassador at Berlin from 1841-51, was a composer of instrumental and operatic works in a predominantly Italian style. He was also among the founders of the Royal Academy of Music in London, and was its president for thirty-seven years (1822-59).

<sup>51</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 6-7.

<sup>52</sup> On working conditions for musicians in London, see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>53</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 9. The Duke "was known to everyone as an enthusiastic friend of music and a good violin player. . . . The Duke, in his jovial amiability, picked [the first violin part] up from the ground most speedily, and held it fast with his own hands until the conclusion of the Overture. This completely unprecedented mark of respect—in the eyes of the high aristocracy—aroused such a great sensation among the lords present that on many sides the opinion became loud: 'the Duke must never before have heard such a distinguished orchestra.'"

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6. "It was decided, at the same time, to set out on a trip to the United States as soon as possible, in order to enflame and stimulate in the hearts of these politically free people, through numerous performances of our greatest instrumental composers, such as Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, as well as Liszt, Berlioz, Wagner and so forth, love for the fine art of music."

<sup>55</sup> H. Earle Johnson, "Germania Musical Society," 75.

<sup>56</sup> *Skizzen*, 5. "The contemporary political disturbances, which in February and March transformed into a general people's revolution, accelerated the formation and early departure of the Music Society. When the statutes of this union were drafted, the communist principle was chosen as the foundation, since all members of the Germania held the conviction that communism was the most perfect principle of society. (The deeds of the Germania Musical Society have proven that this was no illusion.)"

<sup>57</sup> It is misleading, rather than incorrect, to say that the group was democratic, as there is overlap between the two terms. Cabet, for example, has frequently been described as a proponent of "a secular, rational democracy" by writers describing communistic societies. See, for example, Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965 [1875]), 339, and Albert Shaw, *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), vii-ix.



<sup>58</sup> On the difficulties of such an imperative, see Rose R. Subotnik, "The Role of Ideology in the Study of Western Music," in her *Developing Variations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 3-14.

<sup>59</sup> Several studies on the influence of the French Utopian Socialists on musical life, while not dealing directly with Cabet, have set a precedent for such an investigation. A general examination of the ideological and musical issues can be found in Jane Fulcher's "Music and the Communal Order: The Vision of Utopian Socialism in France," *Current Musicology* 27 (1979): 27-35. The impact of Saint-Simon's teachings on musicians, especially on the composer Félicien David, is the subject of Ralph Locke's *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). Discussions of Fourier's influence on Brook Farm member John Sullivan Dwight can be found in Ora Frishberg Saloman, *Beethoven's Symphonies and J. S. Dwight* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995) and Sterling Delano, "The Harbinger" and *New England Transcendentalism: A Portrait of Associationism in America* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983).

<sup>60</sup> Thanks to Katharine Topf-Medeiros, who pointed out this word play and much else about Albrecht's text.

<sup>61</sup> Shaw, *Icaria*, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies*, 39.

<sup>63</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 6. "Through the granting of equal rights and through equal distribution of financial rewards, all the members stood at the same level in their personal relations. Their mutual interest had the effect that the Society could pursue its goal with undivided strength. The Germania owes its extraordinary success during its six year concert tour of America principally to this wise organization. [The Germania's] statutes granted it the power to abolish with little trouble all hindrances and dangers that rose against it, and by which all comparable concert orchestras have been ruined in a few months." (Please note that I have rendered the feminine "Die Germania" with the conventional English neuter.)

<sup>64</sup> For example, see *Voyage en Icarie*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1848), 561-66; Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement*, 153, 513-14, and 525.

<sup>65</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 6. "The fortunate circumstance, that the organization of the Society was based on genuine socialist principles, showed itself in musical respects even as effectively as in the social life of this young artistic group. In the performance of orchestral works, every member realized that it was his holiest duty to never exhibit an exceptional, individual artistic mannerism. In the princely musical courts of Europe, which as everyone knows consists of virtuosi of the first rank, everybody in the orchestra (with few exceptions) seeks to expose himself through the assertion of distinctive mannerisms in performance; because of this, of course, a performance rarely appears totally flawless."

<sup>66</sup> For an amusing account of the Boston Academy of Music's attempt to play this work, and their reaction to the Germania's superior rendition, see Thomas Ryan, *Recollections of an Old Musician* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1899), 43-48.

<sup>67</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 19. "As in life, so in art, they were one heart and one soul. This accounts for their concordance in performance, where always all orchestral instruments seemed to be a single, powerfully effective concert instrument."

<sup>68</sup> Reports of the preparations for the inauguration can be found in the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC) for the week preceding 5 March 1849. Gungl's program for the Grand Inauguration Ball was printed in the *Baltimore American*, 7 March 1849.

<sup>69</sup> Börnstein prefaced his review with a complaint about the "want of unity among the Germans, which chokes and deranges everything." He continues: "And for this very reason was the Germania Society a noteworthy and refreshing phenomenon to us. *Three and twenty Germans*, who for five years now in this 'free' land have kept together faithful and united,— that is indeed a rarity, deserving to be held up as an example to be imitated,— a phenomenon which shows us in a refreshing manner what Germans *could* accomplish here in every respect, *if* they would only remain faithful and united." Emphases in the original; reprinted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 3,14 (9 July 1853). A short biography of this colorful character appears in Rowan's introductory essay to Börnstein's *Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866*, trans. and ed. Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997 [1881]), 3-25.

<sup>70</sup> *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5,24 (16 September 1854).



<sup>71</sup> Bunting, "The Old Germania," 106. Albrecht gives 12 September as the date of dissolution, and does not mention the dinner. The perceived need for secrecy is reminiscent of the older members' youth, a time of democratic clubs and secret societies.

<sup>72</sup> See Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989 [1981]), 349-416, for a postmodern interpretation of the Icarians' thwarted desires.

<sup>73</sup> Sutton, *Les Icaris*, 43-84, gives a concise portrait of the failure in Texas and the subsequent flourishing of the colony in Nauvoo.

<sup>74</sup> "Depuis 6 ans mon étude de prédilection a été l'étude de tous les systèmes socialistes et communistes. J'ai visité dans ce but, toutes les Colonies communistes, et je n'ai pas manqué de faire de la propagande pour le principe de la Communauté." (For the last 6 years my study of choice [preference] has been the study of all socialist and communist systems. I have visited, toward this goal, all the communist colonies, and I did not miss the opportunity to campaign for the principle of Community.) *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. Thanks to Laura Doyle Gates for several fruitful conversations about the French sources for Albrecht's contact with Cabet.

<sup>75</sup> On the *Aufruf* and other German-language publications by and about Cabet, see Robert Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 680-82.

<sup>76</sup> *Colonie Icarienne*, 26 July 1854, as cited by Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 284. The colony numbered 405 at this time.

<sup>77</sup> *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. "Depuis mon enfance, j'ai tâché de me perfectionner; et pour être heureux, j'ai adopté pour première règle la modération dans la jouissance. Je suis étranger aux mauvaises habitudes qu'on pourrait appeler des vices, telles que l'usage du *tabac* (à fumer, à priser et à chiquer), des *liqueurs fortes*, des jeux de cartes, etc." For Cabet's attitude toward liquor and tobacco, see Sutton, *Les Icaris*, 83.

<sup>78</sup> *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. "La société musicale, *Germania*, dont je suis membre, a pour principe: *chacun pour tous et tous pour chacun*; égalité en droits et en devoirs. Chaque membre renonce donc librement et volontairement à tous les avantages pécuniaires, parce que des lois qui ne seraient pas fondées sur ces principes sociaux ne pourraient point assurer la liberté et l'indépendance des associés, attendu que là où est l'inégalité de fortune la vraie liberté est une illusion ou plutôt un mensonge. C'est la *fraternité des hommes*, et non l'égoïsme, qui est le plus grand stimulant de toute activité utile."

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, "Il semble qu'elle a le sentiment Communiste, même Icarien: je l'apprendrais avec bien du plaisir."

<sup>80</sup> The *Doctrine* can be paraphrased as, "To each one according to his capacity, and to each [capacity] according to his works." Frank E. Manuel, "Toward a Psychological History of Utopia," in *Utopias and Utopian Thought*, ed. Frank E. Manuel (Boston: The Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), 69-98.

<sup>81</sup> 5th ed. (Paris, 1848). "To each according to his needs, from each according to his strength."

<sup>82</sup> *Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Philadelphia: F. W. Thomas und Sohne, ca. 1873). See Albrecht's "Sachregister" for this text, a translation of which appears at the end of this article.

<sup>83</sup> *Skizzen*, 5-6. "Equal rights, equal duties, and equal rewards." Footnote: "In respect to rights, an absolute equality; in respect to duties and rewards, a relative one, that is, each according to his capabilities and needs."

<sup>84</sup> Etienne Cabet, *Ce que je ferais . . .* (Paris: Bureau de Populaire, December 1854), 30 pp. According to Prudhommeaux, this pamphlet was printed in English (*If I Had \$500,000*) and German (*Wenn ich \$500,000 hätte*). A general discussion of this text can be found in Janet Fischer Palmer, "The Community at Work: The Promise of Icaria" (Ph. D. diss., Syracuse University, 1995), 191-95. Charles Nordhoff, whose regard for Cabet was not very high, found it reprehensible that, "four years after he [Cabet] came to Nauvoo he should still have spent his time in such an impracticable dream, [which] shows, I think, that he was not a fit leader for the enterprise." In the place of such scheming, Nordhoff advocated "the patient accumulation of property by the labors of the members" (*Communitistic Societies*, 334-35).

<sup>85</sup> While the Rappists were undeniably prosperous, rumors of their worth seem to have been exaggerated. Weitling reported that Economy was valued at twelve to fourteen million dollars in late 1851 (Wittke, *Weitling*, 179). Nordhoff (*Communitistic Societies*, 93) says that an 1854 investiga-



tion by the Pennsylvania courts revealed the settlement to be worth over a million, i.e., nowhere near the sums Weitling, Albrecht and Cabet imagined.

<sup>86</sup> *Ce que je ferai* . . . , 4-5. "Les riches communistes d'*Economie* ne sont-ils pas obligés, du moins moralement, d'aider par leur concours l'entreprise de M. Cabet, qui a pour but le bonheur de l'Humanité malheureuse? Et s'ils veulent être les vrais successeurs de Jésus-Christ, si sa doctrine et sa religion dans leur pureté primitive sont leur premier principe, ne commettent-ils pas une espèce de crime envers l'Humanité en n'employant par le superflu de leur richesse dans l'intérêt de l'Humanité?"

<sup>87</sup> Albrecht may well have been aware that the Harmony Society had in the past lent money to various enterprises, including government agencies. See, for example, a description of a loan to the state of Indiana in Karl Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, rev. ed. (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1972 [1965]), 171-72. Also, see Karl Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1971), 121-40, for a description of the Harmonists' later generosity toward other causes.

<sup>88</sup> "It [this action] will provide to you the opportunity to show your noble character and your humane sentiments toward your fellow-man. . . . You would earn through this great, truly nobly gallant action, the love and respect of all civilized peoples, and will be designated as worthy emulators of our holy Jesus Christ, not merely on the part of the present generation, but also by posterity." Transcriptions of Albrecht's letter (German only) and Henrici's reply (German and English) appear in Karl Arndt, editor, *George Rapp's Re-Established Harmony Society: Letters and Documents of the Baker-Henrici Trusteeship, 1848-1868* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993), 287-90, and 292-94.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 288. "I admit it openly, that the noble character of all the members of the congregation made such an indescribable impression on me, that with tears in my eyes I asked myself: 'Are you still on the same earth, where you till now have lived?'"

<sup>90</sup> Richard Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1805-1906* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), 94-95.

<sup>91</sup> In *Gegenwart und Zukunft* (p. 9), Albrecht criticized the isolation of religious communities, their lack of influence on the world, and their narrow-minded neglect of intellectual pursuits for the sake of their rituals.

<sup>92</sup> "Les Rappistes," *Colonie Icarienne*, 22 November 1854.

<sup>93</sup> City directories do not indicate that Albrecht took up residence in Chicago during this period.

<sup>94</sup> This journal had recently replaced the *Colonie Icarienne* as the community newspaper. "Albrecht, dont la *Colonie Icarienne* No. 7 a rapporté plusieurs lettres, et qui est arrivé séparément, a aussi formé sa demande pour être admis définitivement." *Revue Icarienne* 1,2 (February 1855). Albrecht had arrived "separately" from a large group of new recruits that had joined the Nauvoo Icaria in November 1854.

<sup>95</sup> Etienne Cabet, *Guerre de l'opposition contre le citoyen Cabet, fondateur d'Icarie* (Paris: 1856), 12.

<sup>96</sup> In July 1856, Cabet wrote, "Albrecht, Hardoin, Winkelmann viennent de partir." *Guerre de l'opposition*, 37-38. Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 393-98.

<sup>97</sup> *Skizzen*, 14.

<sup>98</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 85-102.

<sup>99</sup> *Dwight's Journal* 5,24 (16 September 1854): 189; Christian Essellen, "Literarische Notiz," *Atlantis* 1 (1854): 318-19.

<sup>100</sup> "Drexel's Musical Library," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 28,23 (30 January 1869).

<sup>101</sup> "Without doubt, it will be welcomed by many friends of music if we add a few words about the origin and increase of the collection. This musical library was founded in the Spring of 1858 through the acquisition of a very rich collection of musical writings, autographs of famous musicians, and prints, which are relevant to music. The same [collection] was at that time the property of H. F. Albrecht, member of the former Germania Musical Society, and gathered by him from 1845 until '58 in Europe and America. More than half of the items in the present catalogue belonged to this collection, as well as all the prints and autographs." Joseph Drexel, *Catalogue of Joseph W. Drexel's Musical Library*, pt. 1, *Musical Writings* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869). Part 2, "Autograph letters, documents and music," and part 3, "Music for the church, theatre, concert room and



chamber" are listed as manuscripts in the *New York Public Library Dictionary Catalogue of the Music Collection*.

<sup>102</sup> " . . . in the most respectful and friendly affection of the author." Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 3.

<sup>103</sup> Sommer, *Drexel's Musical Library*, 275.

<sup>104</sup> Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 506-12. Also, J. B. Gérard, *Quelques vérités sur la dernière crise icarienne* (Coring, IA: 1880), 21.

<sup>105</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 126-33; Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 506-7. Albert Shaw, who interviewed Icarian residents shortly after this time, presents his understanding of this second schism in chap. 6, "The Sons vs. the Fathers," *Icaria*, 91-109.

<sup>106</sup> *Music in America*, 345-46.

<sup>107</sup> The wreck was front page news for several days, and the names of the cabin and steerage passengers, as well as the crew, were printed in *The New York Times*, 9-13 May 1875. Albrecht was not mentioned in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* or *New York Tribune* reports either.

<sup>108</sup> "The History of Music in Boston," in *The Memorial History of Boston, 1630-1880*, vol. 4, pt. 2, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1882), 429-30.

<sup>109</sup> Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1989 [1944]), 120-67.

