Louis Moreau Gottschalk and His Network of New World Creole Composers

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> I grew accustomed from earliest youth to considering the entire Western Hemisphere, irrespective of language and latitude, as the common fatherland of all who desire progress and liberty…Were only my limited abilities the equal of my boundless desires and my limitless patriotic impulse, the art of the New World would soar to new heights.[1]
>
> —L.M. Gottschalk

The role of Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) as a central figure in a network of Pan American musicians and composers with distinct styles is a significant legacy. While national identities were forming in the mid-nineteenth century, post-colonial Western Hemisphere, Louis Moreau Gottschalk maintained a musical ideology which he described as "New World". His vision of this singular art is valid, derived from the parallel cultural matrices of the spaces across the region shared by artists. Their work reflects the socio-cultural soundscapes of New World societies in a process of creolization.[2] This reading considers the experiences that shaped Gottschalk's art, his network of Pan American musicians, and the commonalities in their work. Venezuelan Teresa Carreño (1853-1917), Chilean Federico Guzman (1836-1885), and Cuban Jose White (1836-1918), all offered dedications to Gottschalk and performed his music throughout their careers. These musicians are particularly significant as students of Gottschalk who became renowned musicians and whose achievements crossed barriers of gender and race.

As a young concert pianist inspired by Liszt and Chopin, Gottschalk borrowed their common compositional device incorporating vernacular musical styles from their homelands. The vernacular Gottschalk incorporated into his compositions was the sound

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[1] S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!: The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 406.

[2] I am reluctant to use the terminology "New World" throughout this paper to refer to North and South America and the Caribbean, but do so because Gottschalk used this expression. "American" and "Latin American" generate ambiguity, here they are used to define the same region as "New World."

of the creolized music of early nineteenth-century New Orleans. The works he composed attracted and impressed European audiences excited about the exotic music of the young Louisiana creole; however, his originality received mixed reviews by some critics in the United States. His music was dismissed as melodramatic and lowbrow, but his accessible music was well received by the general public. He chose not to emulate *meisterwerke* of the Austro-Germanic pantheon, but composing from a cosmopolitan creole identity, he created an original New World style. Gilbert Chase classifies this style as Romantic Exoticism, and dubs Gottschalk the quintessentially Romantic musician of the New World.[3] His works reflected the New World. He did not return to Europe as an "Other" during his brief life and instead chose to tour Latin America, with a lifestyle he found preferable, and where his compositions were expanded by the local music he encountered. He composed and concertized music reflecting a New World culture with a creole identity. Creole, in this context is used to define the unique music and culture of Gottschalk and his contemporaries from Latin America.

Between the first accounts of New World composers in the sixteenth century and before twentieth-century composers of the Western hemisphere had established organizations like the Pan American Association of Composers, Gottschalk and a group of Pan American musicians shared common qualities in their compositions. These mid-nineteenth century musicians, influenced by diverse cultural and musical traditions, shared sources drawn from similar African, European, and indigenous elements. The period marks the appearance of New World concert musicians who composed and

[3] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present,* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co, 1966), 289.

performed Creolized music. Whether Gottschalk was the primary impetus for this group of musicians to creolize concert music, or they were moved by a common, incipient Americanism is less significant than addressing the existence of this network. The musicians in this network were cosmopolitan; they contributed to musical globalization by studying, teaching, performing, and composing for periods of their lives throughout Europe and the New World.

Although the accounts offered here are not comprehensive, they do suggest Gottschalk as a significant influence in several regards: his concept of incorporating the American musical vernacular; and his support in developing young musicians from throughout Latin America by concertizing with them, and encouraging and helping to facilitate their European training.

This study includes examples from works by these composers which reveal a substratum of Western art music, with particular Romantic influence, syncretized with regional melodies, and syncopations, thus creating a unique multicultural music, a "creole music." James Perone acknowledges Gottschalk's variety of works, "although he would compose in every European-based genre, orchestral music, chamber music, choral music, operas, and song would never receive the amount of attention his performance medium would."[4] Gottschalk's larger orchestral and operatic works are not addressed here, although their innovations are noteworthy.[5] His performances which primarily featured

[4] James E. Perone, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk: A Bio-Bibliography,* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 3.

[5] Gottschalk's orchestral works are innovative in their inclusion of non-traditional instruments (Afro-Cuban drum sections,) and utilizing their rhythmic aspects, using grand ensembles (sometimes

his piano compositions were successful throughout Europe during his first and only trip, following which he lived the remainder of his life touring throughout the New World.

The term "Creole" signifies the music of the composers in this discussion; however, the term poses idiomatic complications without offering sufficient context. Gottschalk, like all the composers included in this study, was considered Creole according to his region and era's definition of the term, which generally included people born in the New World. To some this means any first-generation person born in the New World, and would eventually encompass a broad spectrum of ethnicities. Although the term is thought to have origins in the Portuguese slave trade, it became prevalent throughout the French and Spanish colonies as well. Despite its current racial implications and its procurement by linguists, the term is one with which Gottschalk himself identified. This is significant in its potential impact on Gottschalk's identity as a composer and his kinship with other musicians from the New World, who by definition were fellow creoles.

New Orleans Connection With the Creole New World

The city of New Orleans (and the middle third of the country) was acquired by the United States in 1803 as part of the Louisiana Purchase, following a century of French and Spanish rule. The city's port on the Mississippi River was vastly important as a point of

including forty pianists,) and his superimposition of familiar melodic content (these devices were later credited to American composers like George Gershwin and Charles Ives.)

trade, particularly with Latin America. People, culture, and musical traditions were exchanged at the port of New Orleans for nearly a century before the purchase.

Despite slavery, cultural divisions, and vast socio-economic disparity, it was necessary for many walks of life to interact in the Vieux Carré, where Gottschalk spent his childhood.[6] When Gottschalk was born in 1829, cultural interchange was deeply embedded in New Orleans. This may have influenced the multicultural quality present in his earliest music. The period following Gottschalk's return from Europe marks an emergence of a community of Latin American composers whose works similarly reflect this quality. Gottschalk experienced the political growing pains of the New World touring through its wars and revolutions, performing and encountering a network of fellow creole musicians.[7]

European Musical Training of Creole Composers

It is important to note Gottschalk's early training in Europe as it greatly influenced his career, music, and the careers of other composers He encouraged young gifted creole composers to study in Europe, as he had. European education was fashionable for wealthy creoles throughout the New World in the nineteenth-century. From his writings,

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[6] An interesting account (although from a privileged view) of New Orleans life at the time of Gottschalk's birth is offered in *New Orleans as I Found It* by Edward Henry Durell (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1845) published under the pen name Henry Didimus. Durrell later became the city's mayor.

[7] Gottschalk lived in a period of uprisings and revolutions in which he often found himself in the center. He toured the United States detouring his performances for battles during the Civil War, fled Paris for the 1848 Revolution, travelled through the region of South America involved in the War of the Triple Alliance, and shuttered his windows in his hotel to survive uprisings in Peru.

it is possible to deduce Gottschalk's view was that European training could equip creole musicians with skills to compose and perform New World music, not to emulate that of the old. The epigraph of this paper clearly states Gottschalk's patriotism to the entire New World, not simply the United States.

In 1841, at the age of eleven, Gottschalk set out from New Orleans to study at the Paris Conservatoire. He was ultimately denied an audition, but remained in Paris and quickly transformed himself from prodigy pianist into a famous concert performer. Berlioz, Liszt, Chopin, Thalberg, Saint-Saens, and Offenbach became acquaintances of the unique "Gottschalk de la Louisiane."[8] As Chopin and Liszt utilized the dance rhythms of *mazurkas* and *czardas* familiar to them from their homelands, so did Gottschalk incorporate into his compositions familiar creole and African American melodies from his New Orleans childhood. Although formal studies were not undertaken at the Conservatoire, his ability to create a unique musical persona and niche in Paris brought him a period of success.

Despite identifying himself as "de la Louisiane," he did not return to a home base in New Orleans or anywhere else in the United States after returning from Europe. He also never returned to Paris where by all accounts he was a star; additionally, his family had permanently relocated there soon after he left. He instead chose to live throughout

[8] Gottschalk added "de la Louisiane" to his name and featured this designation on his promotions during his early career.

the New World not for a life of fame and fortune, but to elevate the art of the New World to new heights.

Gottschalk composed the first two of his songs with titles reflecting his Louisiana creole experience after he left Paris in the summer of 1848 during the political uprising there. The songs referred to above, *La Savane* and *Bamboula* for solo piano were airs on Creole melodies, conceptually similar to his airs on familiar operatic arias, which were well received.[9] The cover of an early publication of *La Savane, Ballade Creole* is shown in figure 1.

Figure 1. Cover of Gottschalk's score to his 1846 composition *La Savane: Ballade Creole* (Philadelphia: J.E. Gould & Co., 1855). The subtitle clearly states the incorporation of a creole style, the New Orleans vernacular of his home.

Gottschalk's Compositions

On a quiet estate outside of Paris while convalescing from typhoid fever, Gottschalk completed the creole inspired pieces that caused a sensation in the salons of Paris and at

[9] I would argue that descriptions of Gottschalk's impromptu airs on familiar melodies incorporating Latin and African American elements warrant serious consideration for his relevance in jazz scholarship.

his debut at the Salle Pleyel. *La Savane* and *Bamboula* served to heighten interest in American exotica.[10] The other pieces written during this time containing a Louisiana program are *Le Bananier*, inspired by the Creole song *En Avan Grenadie* and *Le Mancenillier*, inspired by the Creole melody *Chanson de Lizette*, as well as several other melodies most likely introduced to Gottschalk through his maternal Saint-Domingue heritage. These works, which Gilbert Chase later dubbed the *Louisiana Trilogy*,[11] were incredibly popular in Paris, and Gottschalk's publisher, Escudiers, sold unusually large numbers of copies throughout Europe. This demonstrated to Gottschalk the market for American influenced concert music in Europe, and therefore offered insight into his awareness that the creole musicians he prompted to pursue European conservatory studies had the potential as performers to achieve the same success.

In 1851, Hector Berlioz, in an attempt to define the young pianist/composer's American musical identity, remarked:

> Mr. Gottschalk was born in America, whence he has brought a host of curious chants from the Creoles and Negroes; he has made from them the themes of his most delicious compositions. Everybody in Europe now knows *Bamboula*, *Le Bananier*, *Le Mancenillier*, *La Savane* and twenty other ingenious fantasies.[12]

Berlioz goes on to detail the enchanting effect of Gottschalk's *morceau* which were given exotic titles. The curiosity with other cultures at the periphery of colonial empires increased the prevalence of musical exoticism and was a popular compositional

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[10] Starr, *Bamboula,* 59.

[11] Chase, *America's Music,* 290.

[12] Richard Jackson, "Introduction to Louis Moreau Gottschalk" in *Piano Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk: 26 Pieces from Original Editions*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), v.

device used in nineteenth-century Europe.[13] New World themes were less common than Asian, thereby increasing Gottschalk's novelty throughout Europe. Gottschalk and his contemporary Latin American composers were the "Other" they incorporated in their music, differentiating them from the European Orientalist composers. Being Creole was advantageous for its novelty in Europe, but resulted in a denial of consideration for placement alongside European composers. Their work being absent from performances is evidence of this.

Gottschalk drew inspiration from the streets of New Orleans during his childhood, which by all accounts were alive with a variety of music. He was familiar with incorporating non-Western influences in concert music, and he heard this exoticism in Meyerbeer's works which were popular in New Orleans opera houses. The possibility of successful multicultural concert music was familiar to Gottschalk as a child, much of which was focused on operatic themes of the period.

Gottschalk's programmatic use of vernacular music is a device found in *Bamboula.* The sound environment of the French Quarter of New Orleans has a history of diverse musical textures. As it exists in the twenty-first century, one can imagine Gottschalk's experience of the neighborhood without the drone of air conditioners and automobiles. One can hear the faint pulse of a street parade whose melody became increasingly defined as the band approached. This musical experience can be heard in

[13] Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 127-33.

reverse as one slowly approached a street festival. The stark introduction of *Bamboula* creates an effect reminiscent of these musical experiences for the listener. After a brief introduction, simple melodic phrases enter and repeat, creating a *sans souci* air of warmth and joy, and recall the sound of street vendors' songs as they sold their wares.

Gottschalk's impressions of the Creole song "Quan patate le cuit'" provides the melodic content of *Bamboula,* and the rhythmic content includes both *tresillo* and *cinquillo* (see ex. 1). The following rhythms present in Gottschalk's early program pieces are also common to music of the other composers noted in this study and are significant to the creole quality of their music.

Tresillo  (also referred to as *bamboula* in New Orleans in the 19th century)

Cinquillo 

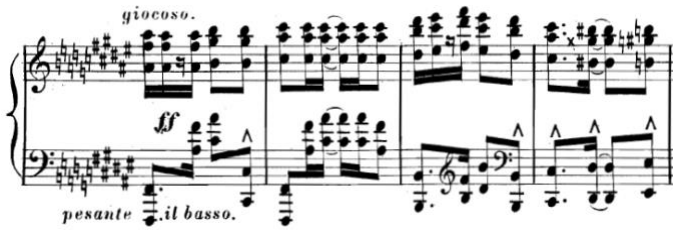
Cinquillo (ver. 2) 

Example 1. Common Rhythmic Figures in Creole Works.

Bamboula is documented as the name for an African dance, drum, and rhythm in New Orleans' Congo Square in the eighteenth century.[14] A complaint about *bamboula* performed on the Sabbath in New Orleans produced the first documented use of the word

[14] Ned Sublette, *The World that Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2008), 190-4.

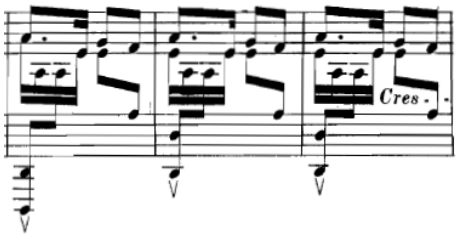
tango. In June of 1786, governor Estevan Miró issued the *Banda de Buen Gobierno* "which ordered that *los tangos, o bailes de Negros* be delayed until after vespers."[15]



Example 2. Souvenir de Porto Rico, op. 31 (mm. 148-151).

In example 2 above, the right hand contains *cinquillo* version 1 in the first measure and version 2 in the second measure.

The name for the continuously repeated rhythm of the right hand in *Bamboula* is habanera (see ex. 3).



Example 3. Habanera Rhythms in *Bamboula*, (mm. 14-16).

Identical rhythms were given regional terms throughout the Caribbean and South America as in the *Tango*/*Bamboula* (see ex. 4).

Habanera  (also referred to as *Tango, Bamboula,* and *Espalha fatoso* in Brazil)

Example 4. Habanera Rhythm. as present in *Bamboula*

The government account also supports the prevalence of regional descriptors to describe common musical devices present throughout the creole music of the New World. It is plausible *tresillo* and variations similar to the *habanera* rhythm provided the rhythmic basis of music heard in Congo Square.

> My Black brothers and sisters,
> Nimble slaves in New Orleans,
> Dancing to your own music,
> Your art,..
> You did not know that Gottschalk was watching, was hearing,
> Slouched in the offing, he was, Crouching most shamefully…[16]

This excerpt by Gwendolyn Brooks seems to imply Gottschalk shamefully misappropriated African American music from Congo Square. This seems an implausible act for Gottschalk who was eleven years old when he left New Orleans. Several years later he composed his Creole pieces and even then I would suggest his incorporation of familiar Creole melodies as more evidence of nostalgia than plagiarism. The notion that Gottschalk misappropriated African rhythms and melodies from a divided culture stems from a conception of a culturally segregated life in New Orleans. Gilbert Chase refers to the lyrics from a creole song "black and white both danced the bamboula," which gives the impression of racial inclusivity.[17] This is not to deny segregation, but the Creole world of Gottschalk's youth began in an amalgamation of cultures under a system of

[16] Gwendolyn Brooks, "Gottschalk and the Grand Tarantelle," in *Gottschalk and the Grand Tarantelle,* (Chicago: The David Company, 1988), 9-10.
[17] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966).

racial oppression. Similar culture existed throughout Latin America where despite socioeconomic and racial disparities, intercultural activity occurred.

1853 was a year of achievement for Gottschalk upon his return to the United States, including his well-received New York debut. He was welcomed warmly when he returned to New Orleans, where his successes in Paris were chronicled in the newspapers. His reputation in New Orleans as a virtuoso pianist was amplified by his being a dignified cultural ambassador who brought the musical impressions of New Orleans to Europe:

> He is far above all preconceived ideas of musical excellence, his style is so eminently original, and his performance marked by such admirable taste, vigor, genius and fire, that we can only repeat our former expressions, and again pronounce him the most perfect artist we have ever heard. We need hardly add that Gottschalk created last night, as usual, a complete furor of enthusiasm and delight.[18]

This quote describes his hometown reception, a sentiment that suggests the audience heard themselves in these musical impressions of their world as Gottschalk enthusiastically performed for them. The *Picayune* of April 14, 1853 additionally states that "Such an enthusiastic appreciation of an artist we never before saw or heard."

The map in figure 2 is an overview of Gottschalk's travel in Latin America and the network of musicians with whom he is linked. The two extended periods of travel are sketched in gold and red lines. Between 1854 and 1861, Gottschalk travelled in the Caribbean, spending the majority of his time in Cuba. In the period between 1865 and his death in 1869, his travels began in Lima, continued south into Argentina and then north into Uruguay and Brazil.

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[18] From the *New Orleans Bee,* April, 15, 1853 as noted by Willie Prophit, "The Crescent City's Charismatic Celebrity: Louis Moreau Gottschalk's New Orleans Concerts, Spring 1853," *Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1971): 248.

The six composers are marked with colored blocks in regions representing their home cities. In the legend, their activity in three cities (Paris, Rio de Janeiro, and New York) is shown to demonstrate parallels of their cosmopolitan nineteenth-century careers. Like Gottschalk, the composers also performed throughout Latin America and Europe. Gottschalk's travel is shown with lines following routes roughly based on his journals.[19]

Figure 2.

Several European virtuoso pianists toured Latin America prior to Gottschalk, and the region had a history of composers dating to the sixteenth century. [20] Therefore the

[19] He traveled constantly during these periods and a detailed map including all available performance date and other information is a deserving project.

[20] Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory,* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968), 187-192

individuals in this study had precedents, but the distinct creole quality of their music differentiated them. Pianist Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871) preceded Gottschalk in South America with performances in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires in 1855, while Jules Fontana (1810-1869), a Polish pianist, performed successfully in Cuba in 1842. Unlike Gottschalk, who was charming audiences with his impromptus based on familiar local melodies and national themes, the pianists were concertizing music of the European canon. Fontana later composed pieces incorporating elements of Cuban music, however they did not gain him the acclaim that Gottschalk experienced using similar devices. A reverence for Gottschalk is manifested in a number of dedications by prominent Cuban musicians of the period.

Gottschalk influenced a whole generation of New World composers. The following section details his pupils that share similar qualities, syncretizing elements of music from their own regions as Gottschalk had with his from New Orleans. Additionally these composers, like Gottschalk, composed works based on other New World forms which were disseminated throughout Latin America through the cultural interchange previously mentioned. The musicians detailed from his first extended period in the Caribbean between 1854 and 1861 include the Cuban born José White Lafitte and Ignacio Cervantes. The musicians detailed from the second extended period of Gottschalk in South America between 1865 and 1869 include Chilean Federico Guzman Frias, Brazilian Ernesto Nazareth, and Venezuelan Teresa Carreño. Gottschalk's fellow New Orleanian, Charles Lucien Lambert is discussed because of his direct link with Gottschalk, but also because his influential position at the Conservatory in Rio de Janeiro

facilitated the Pan American interchange of Creole musical ideas. Although not a student of Gottschalk, Jelly Roll Morton, the self-proclaimed originator of jazz, is also discussed.

Gottschalk in the Caribbean 1854-1861

Following a series of successful concerts marking his homecoming to New Orleans, Gottschalk first appeared in Cuba in 1854. Earlier during his time in Europe he dedicated *Bamboula* to Queen Isabella II of Spain for whom he performed and by whom he was knighted. However, the United States' strained relationship with Cuba diminished Gottschalk's letter of introduction from Spanish royalty.

His debut in Havana featured a variation on Stephen Foster's *Old Folks at Home* and an impromptu on the popular Cuban song *El Cocoyé* as reported in the *Diario de la Marina.*[21] Gottschalk often extemporized on popular and familiar pieces, providing him enthusiastic standing ovations throughout his tours. He frequently performed impromptus that were not scored, and like many of his works are present in programs but the manuscripts are lost. The improvisatory nature of his music remains a mystery because although Gottschalk wrote extensively about his life, his creative process was not

[21] It is of note that Stephen Foster and Gottschalk were composers from the United States living concurrently who innovated music by incorporating African American themes. They differ in that Foster's venue was the minstrel show for which he wrote popular song and Gottschalk performed in and wrote music for the concert hall.

described. During his stay in Cuba, he also composed pieces based on popular dances like the *zapateo* and *contradanza.*

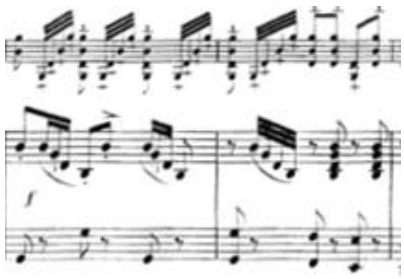
José White Lafitte (1836-1918)

It was by obliging an invitation from a musical society in Matanzas that Gottschalk met eighteen-year-old José White Lafitte. The young prodigy violinist impressed Gottschalk and he gave his formal debut accompanied by Gottschalk during this time. Gottschalk encouraged White to study in Paris and sponsored fundraisers in order to accommodate this. White was admitted to the Paris Conservatoire the following year in 1855. Although Gottschalk was denied the opportunity to study at the Conservatoire, his renown led to *Bamboula* becoming a "contest piece" at this institution while he was still in Paris years earlier. [22] The irony of this was that Gottschalk sat on the jury for pianists at the Conservatoire alongside Pierre Zimmerman (1785-1853), who had earlier barred him from studying there.

White involved himself in Parisian music societies and won the Conservatoire's First Grand Prize for violin in 1856. He remained in Paris earning a "reputation (there) as a master teacher" and his compositions and performances were commended.[23] He

[22] Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2004), 148.
[23] Josephine Wright, "José White in Paris, 1855-1875," *Black Music Research Journal* 10, no. 2 (Autumn 1990): 213-232.

incorporated American elements into several of his noted pieces. The following is an example taken from White's *Zamacueca.*[24]



Example 5. White, *Zamacueca*, op. 30 (mm. 9-10)

The duet in example 5 contains a marked pizzicato violin part combined with a guitaristic effect in the piano, which give the piece Creole qualities. Although Gottschalk and others had previously emulated the qualities of Spanish guitar music in compositions, its transformations in the New World as documented by White are unique. The subtitle of White's *Zamacueca* is "Danse Chilienne," and an early publication features an exotic tropical design similar to those found in early Gottschalk publications. White, a Cuban composer, composing in a Chilean song form is an example of how New World composers' incorporated creole qualities from throughout the Americas. The harmonic simplicity and rhythmic devices have parallels with those found in Gottschalk's *The Banjo,* which emulates rolls and other techniques of the African American string instrument.

[24] Paris: Ulysse T. du Wast, 1897. Plate U.T.W. 354.

These devices were not common in concert music of the period, and were innovative in their incorporation of the vernacular. Numerous European composers did so later in the nineteenth-century and twentieth century, and the concepts were sometimes considered novel at this later time.

Gottschalk primarily wrote single movement works for piano, but his *Symphony romantique: la nuit des tropiques* was innovative in its inclusion of folkloric percussion instruments with American rhythms. A parallel can be drawn to similar devices in *alla turca* works of many European composers, among them Mozart and Beethoven. However, Gottschalk included New World elements.

The *zamacueca* is a dance form with origins in Chile and Peru. Differing from the duple-metered syncopation of *bamboula* and *danza,* the zamacueca is in triple meter. Its syncopated rhythm is found in the music of western regions of South America and throughout Central America, as in the Venezuelan *joropo* and the Mexican *son callentano.* This polyrhythmic style in triple meter features an indigenous influence as it is applied to European waltzes. In his *feuilleton* description, Gottschalk states "stormy *zamacuecas* and other indigenous dances that, although very picturesque, are not such as prudent mothers permit their daughters indulge in." [25] His sentiment did not prevent him from utilizing the rhythm to support Peruvian national themes in his Lima concerts.

White's Afro-Cuban heritage is significant because of his accomplishments as a concert musician. At his debut playing the Mendelssohn Concerto with the New York

[25] Gottschalk's essays were compiled by his sister Clara into„ *Notes of a Pianist,* ed. Jeanne Behrend (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 358.

Philharmonic in December of 1875, White was "believed to have been the first black person ever to appear with the Philharmonic."[26] It is also of note that only one other American composer of African heritage is known to have published a concerto prior to 1900.[27] It is likely Gottschalk, as a noted abolitionist, recognized the significance of his student's racial profile as a concert musician.[28]

Gottschalk returned to Cuba in 1856. It was during this period he began his journals in the manner of Berlioz; these would later be edited and published by his sister as *Notes of a Pianist*.[29] Another Berlioz trademark Gottschalk introduced to Latin America was "monster" concerts featuring large numbers of musicians. The "tradition of gigantism" in American concert halls was begun by French conductor Louis Jullien's concerts in New York in 1853, and Gottschalk offered this type of presentation in Puerto Rico, Martinique, Cuba, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile with ensembles up to 650 musicians. The sketches below (fig. 3) are from 1869 editions of *A Vida Fluminense*, a newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, and detail the spectacle and scale of the performances.

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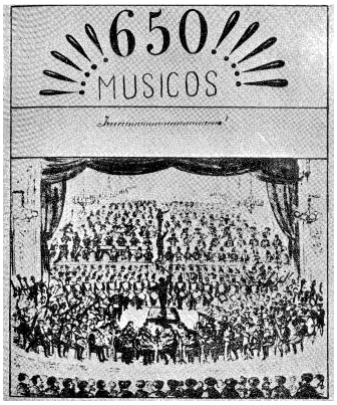
[26] Lon Tuck, "In Celebration of Black Composers: In New York, The Philharmonic …,"*Washington Post* (August 28, 1977), 169.
[27] Dominique-Rene de Lerma, "Review of *La Jota Aragonesa: Caprice for Violin and Piano, op. 5 by Jose White; Paul Glass," Black Perspectives in Music* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 121-2.
[28] Richard Jackson introduction in *Piano Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk,* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), x.
[29] Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist,* ed. Jeanne Behrend (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006),



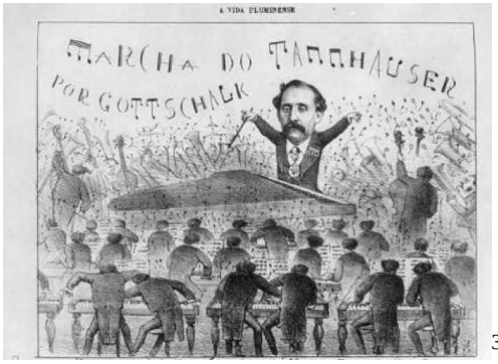


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Figure 3. Sketches of Gottschalk Concerts.

In 1860 Gottschalk premiered his *La nuit des tropiques*; in which the orchestra featured "68 clarinets, 48 violinists, 29 French horn players, 33 tubists, 38 trombones, 45 drummers, 198 choristers, and 2 triangle players." The innovation of note is his inclusion of a *Tumba Francesa* society from Santiago for the performance.[31] Ned Sublette describes this event, " a French speaking American Jew put Santiago's *Tumba Francesa* in front of the grandest orchestra Havana had ever seen… Gottschalk for the first time anywhere used black drums in symphonic music."[32]

Ignácio Cervantes (1847-1905)

[30] *A Vida Fluminense*, December 4 and October 2, 1869.

[31] *Tumba Francesa* was a style of drumming groups that originated in Cuba in the eighteenth century and said to have Haitian origins.

[32] Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music,* 152.

Gottschalk directly influenced Ignacio Cervantes, who was his pupil from 1859 to 1861 in Havana. Gottschalk encouraged Cervantes' parents to allow the gifted young pianist to study in Paris, and like White, he attended the Paris Conservatoire winning First Grand Prize for piano in 1866, and for accompaniment in 1868. Cervantes returned to Cuba in 1870, but both he and White fled Cuba in 1875 amidst political turmoil. He lived in New York City between 1875 and 1895, during which time he composed the majority of his *danzas*. He temporarily lived in Mexico at the turn of the century.[33]

Cervantes is known for his works in the style of *danza*, which became prevalent in Mexico and throughout Latin America as an example of the New World composer's cosmopolitan existence. As a result, the cross-pollination of New World styles occurred.

The Cuban *danza* is thought to have evolved from *contradanza Criolla*, brought to Cuba from Santo Domingo during the Haitian Revolution in the late eighteenth-century, the same exodus that brought Gottschalk's maternal family to Louisiana. Like Manuel Saumell (1818-1870), Cervantes contributed to the development of the *contradanza* and other Cuban forms. Saumell also participated in Gottschalk's Havana "monster" concerts.[34]

Example 7 is taken from the third of Cervantes's *Six Cuban Dances*, which includes an example of *habanera* (left hand) and *cinquillo* (right hand) in both measures.

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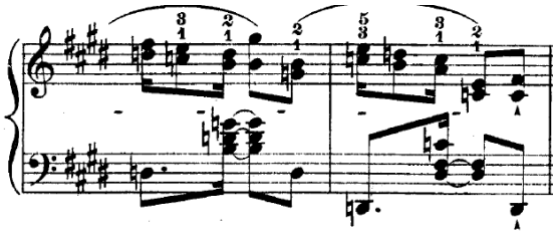
[33] Peter Manuel, *Creolizing Contradance in the Caribbean* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), 84-88.

[34] Alejo Carpentier, *Music in Cuba,* ed. Timothy Brennan, trans. Alan West-Durain (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 198.



Example 7. Cervantes, *Six Cuban Dances*, (mm. 23-24).

In addition to Gottschalk, Nicolás Ruiz Espadero (1832-1890), a noted Cuban concert pianist and composer, taught Cervantes. Espadero's reclusive nature prevented him from touring and European studies, yet his compositions feature a more classical sensibility than the other Americans here (who did study in Europe.) This is due to the lack of repetition, rhythmic devices, and the strong use of European melodic models in his works. Gottschalk met Espadero on his first trip to Cuba in 1854, and they later performed Gottschalk's piano duos together in Havana in 1857. In 1859 Gottschalk performed an improvised *tarantella* with Espadero and violinist José White at the *Liceo Artístico y Literario* in Havana. That extemporization would evolve over the years until it reached its final form as the Grande Tarantelle, op. 67 for piano and orchestra. Gottschalk named Espadero literary executor of his estate, and he published an edition of Gottschalk's works posthumously that resulted in disputes over publishing rights.

Gottschalk in South America 1865-1869

Gottschalk arrived in Lima in 1865, a time of political turmoil in Peru. He dedicated his *Souvenir de Lima* to a former president of Peru ten years prior to this, however the air of

political turmoil in Peru denied him a grand welcome. Due to a scandal in the United States that prompted him to leave San Francisco in haste for South America, Gottschalk left without his Chickering pianos. As so frequently occurred, his concert schedule was delayed and revised not only to wait for appropriate pianos but also to avoid wars. The War of the Triple Alliance, (Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay against Paraguay) and the War of the Quadruple Alliance (Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia against Spain) were devastating South America as Gottschalk arrived from the Civil War-torn United States.[35]

It is important to address the compositional device Gottschalk began utilizing during his time in Europe (the only time he was there) in regard to the political turbulence in the New World. His inclusion of nationalist themes proved a powerful device in this climate of strong sentiment, evoking a more powerful response than merely demonstrating his respect for his host country. His *L'Union, Grande Fantaisie Triomphale Sur L'Hymne National Brésilien*, which was used as a basis in order to superimpose national airs, ultimately elicited emotional responses during the time of war in the New World. These pieces served a different purpose than his many programmatic pieces inspired by his travels, for example, *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, *Souvenir de la Havane*, and *Souvenir de Lima*.

Federico Guzmán Friás (1837-1885)

[35] Frederick B. Pike, *The United States and the Andean Republics: Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 126-128.

According to Starr, Gottschalk was so impressed "with the fifteen year old," pupil Federico Guzman, "that he not only gave him lessons and urged him to continue his training in Paris but solicited money from the Chilean public to pay for the trip."[36] Guzman had the opportunity to perform nineteen concerts with Gottschalk in 1866 before leaving for study in Paris the following year. This demonstrates Gottschalk's recurring encouragement for young musicians to pursue Parisian studies.

Among Guzmán's works are his *Caprice cubain,* op. 77 and *Danse brésilienne,* op. 92 based on themes typical of these regional styles. The influence of Chopin is present in his work like the other New World composers of the era. Guzmán made his Parisian debut at the Salle Hertz in 1868 and at Steinway Hall in New York in 1870, evidence of Gottschalk's influence in launching cosmopolitan careers of his pupils. Cosmopolitan careers are common to Gottschalk's other pupils in this study. Guzmán and José White performed together in the 1880s in Rio de Janeiro prior to Dom Pedro II's abdication. Guzmán spent his life much like Gottschalk, continuously touring and offering numerous benefit concerts for charitable causes.

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[36] Starr, 394.

Dwight's Journal of Music offered a favorable review of Guzmán's New York concert at the Chickering salon. In the article Dwight refers to Gottschalk, stating "Guzmán passed several years in Europe, devoting his time to careful study of classical music, which need it be said, is almost unknown in his own country. He is now, probably, the best living representation of the style in which Gottschalk was pre-eminent… while at the same time he has another style entirely different…"[37]

Although Starr dedicates an entire chapter of his Gottschalk biography portraying Joseph Dwight as Gottschalk's nemesis—an entire dissertation was based on detailing the background of their mutual rancor—their interchange only seems to have exposed Gottschalk's sensitivity to criticism.[38] Gottschalk takes offense to Dwight's criticism, but there is insufficient Gottschalk resentment of Dwight to display any lingering personal animosity. Gottschalk responded with his opinion of the myopic veneration of Austro-German musical pantheon. This sentiment is confirmed in an interview:

> People would rather hear my (compositions). Besides, there are plenty of pianists who can play that music (Beethoven, about whom he was asked) as well or better than I can, but none of them can play my music half so well as I can. And what difference will it make a thousand years hence, anyway?[39]

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[37] Robert Stevenson, "Review of *Tradicion y Modernidad en la Creacion Musical: la Experiencia de Federico Guzmán en el Chile Independiente* by Louis Montero," *Inter-American Music Review* 14, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 103-105.

[38] Laura Moore Pruett, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk, John Sullivan Dwight, and the Development of Musical Culture in the United States, 1853-1865,* Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2007.

[39] Attributed to an interview with George Upton by C. E. Lindstrom, "The American Quality in the Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk." *Musical Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (July 1945): 366.

It is evident from his writings that earning status among the pantheon of Austro-German musicians, either for interpretations or compositions, was never his priority. According to his notes, he limited the inclusion of standard classical repertoire to satisfy complaints about their absence in previous appearances.[40] This is significant in detailing his aspiration to develop an individual voice, one that represented the creole experience.

Charles-Lucien Lambert (1828-1896)

When Gottschalk arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1869, the city was a cultural center. It attracted José White, Federico Guzmán Frías, and Gottschalk's acquaintance from New Orleans, Lucien Lambert. We know that Gottschalk and Lambert shared an early rivalry as young teenagers in New Orleans. Lambert "grew up playing piano in the pit at the Théâtre d'Orléans."[41] A Creole of African heritage, Lambert followed Gottschalk to Paris where he achieved success publishing numerous works and attending the Paris Conservatoire. Prior to moving to Europe, he taught noted Creole musicians of New Orleans, like Edmond Dédé (1827-1903). Lambert moved from France to Brazil in the 1860s and became a faculty member at the Brazilian National Institute of Music. He and

[40] "I was playing at the concert the Kreutzer sonata of Beethoven. The audience had greatly the appearance of going to sleep. The next morning a newspaper says: "We could ourselves have done very well without the long piece for the piano and violin. It was notwithstanding the same paper that last year was complaining that we did not give classical music." *Notes of a Pianist.*

[41] Lester Sullivan, "Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: The History Behind the Music," *Black Music Research Journal* 8, no. 1 (1988): 58.

his son Lucien performed in the thirty-one member piano section of Gottschalk's "monster" concerts in Rio de Janeiro in 1869, and later arranged Gottschalk's piano works for various larger ensembles.

Lambert became the chief musician in the Court of Dom Pedro II, the emperor from whom Gottschalk sought patronage after their cordial meeting in Paris in 1849. Dom Pedro II fulfilled this request during Gottschalk's time in Brazil and offered him medical service from the court physician prior his death in 1869.

Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934)

Charles-Lucien Lambert was a family friend of the Nazareth's and was Ernesto's first music teacher. Ernesto began composing as a teenager and his music was published by Rio de Janeiro's premier houses. He worked as the pianist in a cinema with an orchestra that included Villa-Lobos on cello; the performances demanded mastery of a wide range of musical genres. Villa-Lobos said of Nazareth, "He is the true incarnation of the Brazilian soul."[42] The personal connection of Nazareth to New Orleans musicians is fascinating because his "Brazilian soul" was exposed to greater Pan American styles. The

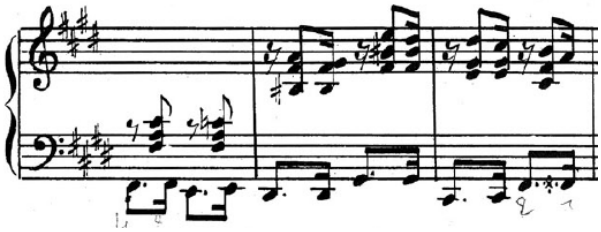
[42] Tamara E. Livingston and Thomas G. C. Garcia, *Choro: A Social History of a Brazilian Popular Music*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 76.

nationalist perception of Nazareth by Villa Lobos fails to acknowledge the parallels of Nazareth with other concurrent New World styles. Nazareth's piano works utilize European song forms and rhythms previously discussed, but included the variations termed *maxixe* and Brazilian *samba* (see ex. 8-9).

Maxixe 

Brazilian *Tango*  (later referred to as *Samba)*

Example 8. Maxixe and samba rhythms.



Example 9. Nazareth's *Odeon,* op. 146 (mm.12-14) showing the *samba* rhythm, a variation of *habanera* common in Brazil.

Nazareth's music incorporates unexpected modulations that are also an aspect of Gottschalk's work, and like Gottschalk he wrote vocal style melodies to which lyrics were given. His *Lamentos* and Gottschalk's *Last Hope* share this lyrical treatment.

A review from the 1980s states "[t]he *Odeon* tango was composed by Ernesto Nazareth, but the first name to pop in mind when you hear this dazzling little piano piece is Scott Joplin." [43] This link is easily drawn from the common New World elements at the core of their music, but a direct influence is Lambert. It is natural that Nazareth and

[43] Joseph McLellan, "Discovering Ernesto Nazareth," *The Washington Post* (October 7, 1984), L6.

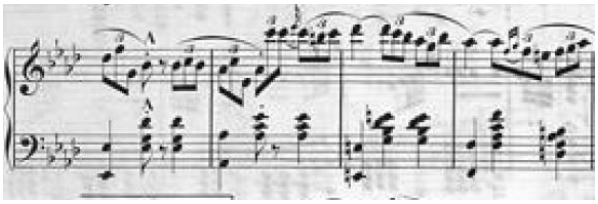
Joplin, very close in age, shared similar influences. Joplin innovated ragtime in the United States, and although he deserves discussion regarding his pan-Americanism, he lacks the link to Gottschalk relevant to this study.

Teresa Carreño (1853-1917)

Venezuelan Teresa Carreño was a child prodigy pupil of Gottschalk. Their lessons in 1862 took place after Gottschalk's extended period in the Antilles from 1857 to1861. Carreño was a world-renowned touring concert pianist, composer, and opera singer whose legacy remains strong in Venezuela. As a woman concert pianist, her successes were unprecedented. Gottschalk states, "Little Teresa is not only a wonderful child but a real genius. As soon as I am in New York settled down and at leisure, I intend to devote myself to her instruction."[44] Carreño published *Gottschalk Waltz,* op. 1 in 1863 at ten years of age. She debuted in New York the year before, performing Gottschalk's *Grand Fantasia Triumphale* and her own waltz on a Chickering piano Gottschalk had played on a few nights earlier. Her Havana debut followed and like Gottschalk she began her Parisian music studies at age thirteen. They also both performed for President Lincoln on separate occasions. She was later to teach Edward MacDowell and earned him recognition by performing his pieces in her concerts. Like Gottschalk, she encouraged her

[44] Marta Milinowski, *Teresa Carreño: By The Grace of God*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 35.

pupil MacDowell to study abroad. The Creole elements in her work are similar to those of Gottschalk and the other composers, utilizing a strong European influence in her pieces, while incorporating vernacular of Venezuelan music. The following example is from her *Gottschalk Waltz:*



Example 10. Carreño, *Gottschalk Waltz*, (mm. 19-20). The syncopation in the right hand is typical of *joropo* melody although the piece is clearly a waltz.

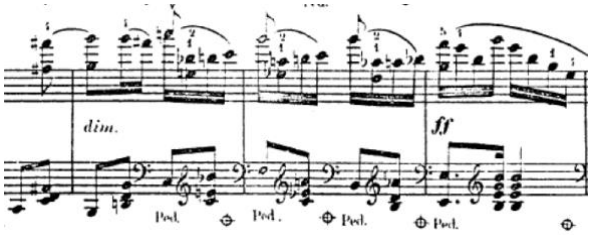
Creolization of European Song Forms

Song forms commonly found in the music of the composers of this study are adaptations of European social dances. Rhythmic elements embedded in the dances transformed the music of the dances in the New World. An excellent source for a deeper study into this process is described in the essays of *Creolizing Contradance in the Caribbean* edited by Peter Manuel.[45] Particular rhythms became prominent throughout the music. The *batuque* is a Brazilian parallel to the *bamboula*. The dance and rhythm of *batuque* and *bamboula* likely shared common Congolese and Angolan origins brought to New Orleans and Rio de Janeiro from West Africa or via the West Indies. Throughout the New World, European court dances blended with African and American influences forming a popular variety of music.

[45] Peter Manuel, ed., *Creolizing Contradance in the Caribbean* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

Creole qualities of New World music syncretized with the *quadrille, schottische,* and *polka* as heard in the Brazilian *lundu,* and the waltz in the *modinha,* the country-dance, or *contredanse* is heard in Cuban *danza*. In the United States, the *cakewalk* performed by African Americans featured *habanera* rhythms and impressions of European court dances. Many of these Creolized European dances returned to Europe where they often were found suggestive or risqué by modest perspectives which likely increased their popularity

The composers addressed in this reading preceded the later Pan American Association of Composers assembled in 1928 , roughly seventy-five years after Gottschalk and his network.[46]As previously stated, the region's composers of the period incorporated African and indigenous rhythms of the New World. These are present in the *zamacueca* and *joropo* styles described in this study.



Example 10. Gottschalk, *Reponds moi*, op. 50, (mm. 7-9).

Example 10 contains passing tones and chromaticism associated with Romanticism. Gottschalk's syncopation in the phrasing of the last measure is typical of ragtime, yet also

[46] Deane L. Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934)," *Anuario Interamericano de Investigacion Musical* 8 (1972): 49-70.

implies the *habanera*'s anticipation of the second beat. *Habanera* is not a common device in the piano music of Scott Joplin's ragtime, however it is prevalent in the jazz of Jelly Roll Morton. Both Morton and Joplin began publishing their music decades after Gottschalk's death, Joplin in 1895 and Morton in 1915. However, in many ways Gottschalk's piano works foreshadow the work of these two musicians. Although this identifies them more as successors than his contemporaries, the innovative aspects of Gottschalk's music can be found in the piano music of ragtime.

Gottschalk and Chickering Pianos

In addition to Gottschalk's noted technique that he developed through his private instruction in Paris, it is important to note his piano's unique range and tonal qualities in considering their effect on his compositions and style. The ornaments, appoggiatura, trills, and sopranino effects common in Gottschalk's piano works were well-suited to the character of Chickering instruments. His pianos had an extended treble range enabling these dramatic musical devices. They were considered grotesque in the period that followed Gottschalk and were not always well received by critics, but brought him legions of fans. An insight into Gottschalk's compositional process is presented by an image of a tropical Transcendentalist in his notes. It is specifically found in one example

regarding the composition of *Reponds-moi*, which was concurrent with the publication of Thoreau's *Walden, or Life in the Woods* published in 1854.

> Perched upon the edge of the crater, on the very top of the mountain, my cabin overlooked the whole country.... Every evening I moved my piano upon the terrace, and there, in view of the most beautiful scenery in the world, which was bathed by the serene and limpid atmosphere of the tropics, I played, for myself alone, everything that the scene which opened before me inspired. ... It was there that I composed 'Reponds moi,' 'La Marche des Gi-barros,' 'Polonia,' 'Columbia,' 'Pastorella e Cavaliere,' 'Jeunesse,' and other unpublished works.[47]

The described piano in this passage may have been one of the two Chickering instruments that toured with Gottschalk throughout the New World between 1854 and 1869. During Gottschalk's touring from Quebec to Buenos Aires, he refused to perform without the Chickering when the pianos' shipment was delayed. The following is an insight into the nineteenth-century virtuoso pianist's particular tastes:

> A newspaper attacks me because I play exclusively on Chickering's pianos, and thinks it shocking that I place the maker's name on a plate that decorates the side exposed to public view…, Then he also should know that Thalberg, for the twenty-five years he has given concerts in Europe, has never played but upon Erard's pianos. That Chopin has never laid his fingers upon any others than those of Pleyel. That Liszt, in France, in Switzerland, in England, in Italy, in Germany, in Turkey, has always played Erard's to the exclusion of all other pianos.[48]

The 300 works of Gottschalk narrowly exceeds the output of Frederic Chopin, his contemporary and demonstrably his most significant European influence. Neither musician lived past age forty. There are various accounts of what transpired between

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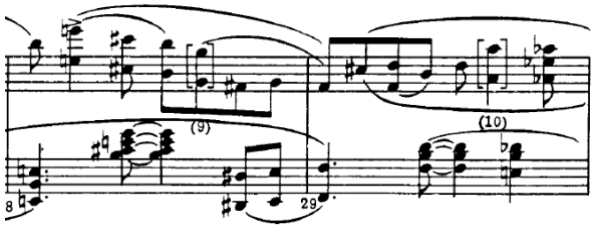
[47] Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist,* 119.
[48] Ibid., 320.

Chopin and Gottschalk at his Parisian debut, but it is consistently presented as Chopin offering a form of high praise.[49]

Gottschalk was not able to hear and praise his successor Ferdinand LaMothe (Jelly Roll Morton) as Chopin had done for him, but they shared the sonic space of the creole culture of New Orleans. Morton claimed "If you can't put the tinge of Spanish in your tunes, you'll never get the right seasoning, I call it, for jazz." The devices in *The Crave* have commonalities to *Bamboula*, and this link is the cause for Morton's inclusion.

Jelly Roll Morton, who was born in New Orleans in 1890, wrote the piece for solo piano. Morton, the self-proclaimed originator of jazz, explained his style as mixing African and West Indian rhythms with melodies he had heard at the French Opera House in New Orleans, a similar habitus to that which earlier influenced Gottschalk's work.[50]



Example 11. Morton, *The Crave*, (mm. 28-29).

[49] This meeting allegedly occurred in the backstage green room following the sixteen-year-old Gottschalk's concert featuring a work of Chopin. Chopin apparently went backstage, placed his hand on Gottschalk's head, and said "Donnez-moi la main, mon enfant: je vous prédis que vous serez le roi des pianistes."

[50] Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 11, 14, 41-49.

Example 11 features *tresillo* in the left hand and *cinquillo* in the right hand similar to those in Gottschalk's *Souvenir de Porto Rico* (ex. 2). This implies that despite a half century between Gottschalk and Morton, each used parallel methods in interpolating the vernacular music of New Orleans. It also suggests that Gottschalk was an early figure utilizing rhythmic structures that became conventional in jazz. The addition of the blues in Morton's style is an aspect absent in Gottschalk. If the blues existed in the New Orleans of Gottschalk, it was in its early form and is undocumented.

Gottschalk's significance in the story of jazz, as an ethnographer, and as an early international "pop star" are deserving of further research. His journals in their edited state are immensely entertaining and reveal an artist with humor and deep emotion. His personal perspectives of the New World during a period of transition are invaluable historical documents about the Creole artist and his world.

Common Elements

The composers and their common elements described in this study eventually came to classify regional and national styles. They shared parallel experiences as performers and composers through the societies in which they lived and travelled. They were born in the New World as creoles, and achieved self-expression through music in an original way. They bridged their region's music of the street and concert hall. Their significance was the creation of a unique New World nineteenth-century concert music. Gottschalk died in the mountains outside of Rio de Janeiro weeks after collapsing from

an illness during the period in which he was presenting his 650-member orchestra.[51] Twenty-five of his forty years were spent as a touring musician without the conveniences of modern travel, the toils of which are documented in his notes.

When one envisions the journey of trunks containing his works during transport, detours from broken or obstructed railways, transfers from carriages, and exchanges at chaotic ports between reprobate porters, it is surprising that so many of his roughly 300 pieces survived the incessant whirlwind of his steam driven life; a life showered with bouquets and adoration, of typhoid, malaria, cholera, yellow fever, and the brutality of war everywhere he found himself. He performed for emperors and royalty, from Queen Isabella II to President Abraham Lincoln as well as frontiersmen and the most provincial inhabitants of towns throughout the New World. His music and journals provide insight into the influences that inspired him, and the inspiration and encouragement he offered other New World musicians is worthy of consideration in determining his real legacy.

[51] It is believed he suffered from quinine poisoning which he was using to treat symptoms of malaria.

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