

THE PAN-AMERICAN MUSIC SCENE OF RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract: Brazilian music histories on occasion have preoccupied with labeling the mid to late nineteenth century as a period of erudite interest in setting Brazilian themes to European influenced opera and concert music. Meanwhile, there was a concurrent phenomenon relevant to the construction of unique Brazilian musical practices, that reflected a rupture from European emulation. Later periods witnessed these transformations in cultural production across the “New World,” but those documented in Rio de Janeiro clearly point to early Pan-American musical discourse. A network of composers and musicians from throughout the Americas convened in the city, drawn to the cosmopolitan capital of an empire at the advent of a new republic. Their exchange of ideas is relevant to the formation of early twentieth century genres of Brazilian popular music, as well as other parallel contemporaneous musical styles throughout the hemisphere featuring a prominent regional vernacular in an erudite framework. This paper examines primary documentation of the city’s vibrant musical life regarding the music and reception of North American, Caribbean, and South American musicians. Secondary sources provide descriptions of musical interchange ripe for speculation. Among these sites, I will present my readings of the city’s reception of New Orleanian Louis Moreau Gottschalk and reaction to his dramatic death, his influence on Carlos Gomes, and the Cuban violinist José White Lafitte. The importance of Chiquinha Gonzaga and her proximity to the network around her studies with the Portuguese immigrant, musician, and impresario Artur Napoleão, who in many ways facilitated the Pan-American interchange, will also be considered as well as Ernesto Nazareth’s studies with another New Orleanian, Lucien Lambert.

Keywords: Music; Nineteenth-Century; Gottschalk; Nazareth; Gonzaga; Network.

Resumo: As histórias de música brasileira preocuparam-se ocasionalmente com a rotulagem entre o meio e o final do século XIX, como um período de interesse erudito em estabelecer temas brasileiros para a ópera e concertos de influência européia. Enquanto isso, havia um relevante fenômeno concomitante para a construção de práticas musicais brasileiras únicas que refletiam uma ruptura da imitação européia. Períodos posteriores testemunharam essas transformações na produção cultural em todo o "Novo Mundo", mas as documentadas no Rio de Janeiro indicam claramente o discurso musical pan-americano inicial. Uma rede de compositores e músicos de todas as Américas reuniu-se na cidade, atraída para a capital cosmopolita de um império no advento de uma nova república. A troca de idéias é relevante para a formação dos gêneros do início do século XX da música popular brasileira, bem como estilos musicais contemporâneos paralelos em todo o hemisfério, com um proeminente vernáculo regional em um quadro erudito. Este artigo examina a história da vibrante vida musical da cidade em relação à música e recepção de músicos da América do Norte, do Caribe e da América do Sul. Fontes secundárias fornecem descrições de intercâmbio musical oportunas para especulação. Entre esses sites, vou apresentar minhas leituras sobre a recepção da cidade ao músico de Nova Orleans Louis Moreau Gottschalk e a reação à sua

morte dramática, sua influência sobre Carlos Gomes e o violinista cubano José White Lafitte. A importância de Chiquinha Gonzaga e sua proximidade com os estudos do imigrante, músico e empresário português Artur Napoleão, que em muitos aspectos facilitou o intercâmbio pan-americano, também serão considerados, assim como os estudos de Ernesto Nazaré com outro músico de Nova Orleans, Lucien Lambert.

Palavras-chave: Música; Século XIX; Gottschalk; Nazaré; Gonzaga; Rede.

Introduction

This study began through research on Louis Moreau Gottschalk, the New Orleans piano virtuoso and composer who arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1869. After months of lauded performances in the city, he died there a celebrity. In recognizing that he engaged and collaborated with a transnational network of composers and musicians from throughout the Americas in the cosmopolitan capital from the mid to late nineteenth century, I became intrigued by the city as an early site of Latin American musical fluidity. Indeed, this may seem unsurprising considering the centrality of the cosmopolitan city, attracting international performers since it became the capital in the 18th century. Yet the documented interchange of acclaimed composers and musicians from throughout the hemisphere was a unique phenomenon during the period. The question I propose to interrogate in this study is how the presence of this network was influenced by the cultural matrix of Rio de Janeiro and also relevant to the vital period of Brazilian musical expression and production during the late era of Dom Pedro II.

Port cities throughout the Americas were epicenters of transculturality, which included the interchange of vernacular musical practices. The resultant musical hybridity influenced compositions for the concert hall during the nineteenth century disturbing notions of social hegemony, but the process became a significant tool in nationalist ideology, as music became a representative marker. While the concert music scene of Rio de Janeiro of this era was unquestionably occupied with the European canon, documentation from the city's numerous periodicals reveals a shift which serve as the primary source material for this study. These relate to the programming of works by hemispheric composers and to the inclusion of works by Carioca and other Brazilian composers whose signature musical hybridity obscured boundaries between the vernacular and erudite.

As European music became a less dominant symbol of class identity, erudite musical production in Rio de Janeiro increasingly inflected societal diversity and reflected a concurrent

abundance of social transformations. During the mid to late nineteenth century Brazil experienced the abolition of slavery, the end of the Second Empire, the beginning of the Republic, and was embroiled in three wars in which over fifty thousand Brazilians lost their lives. So while there are numerous accounts of the royal court's attendance at concerts during the era and their patronage, there was sufficient stability while Brazil was undergoing major societal transformations to maintain Rio de Janeiro's musical scene and attract a number of influential international composers.

Rio de Janeiro as a Cosmopolitan Musical Center

The rich musical life outside of concert halls in Rio de Janeiro became influential in erudite forms. The interplay that occurred between dance forms and their musical accompaniment was adapted into strictly concert musical forms. Previous boundaries represented in the works of early nineteenth century carioca composers Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia, his student Francisco Manuel da Silva, and others anticipate the later shifts. Garcia, born to liberated Afro-Brazilian parents, was active as a composer and musician in the court of Dom Pedro I. His student Manuel da Silva is famous as the composer of the Brazilian national anthem. Both of the composers transcended perceptual musical confines of high and low cultural expression by composing sacred as well as secular works. Urban popular forms such as the *modinha* and *lundu* documented from early in the first empire were not historically represented in concert music, nor by the musical societies, but are represented in the works of the aforementioned composers and others.¹ While their individual works do not disrupt notions of class that were reflected in music, the range of their oeuvre is evidence that musicians were crossing boundaries in their compositional variety in Rio de Janeiro early in the century prior to the arrival of the network of hemispheric concert musicians. This group of composers fully manifests the assimilation of a variety of regional influences within their individual works.

By midcentury, Rio de Janeiro had five theaters and a number of active music societies that provided nearly nightly musical entertainment to attract this group of musicians. The musical life of the city is well documented by Magaldi and Behague, who describe the predominant programming of European works in the musical societies, popular dances of the salons, and

¹ Gerard Henri Behague, "Popular Musical Currents in the Art Music of the Early Nationalistic Period in Brazil, Circa 1870-1920" (PhD Dissertation, Tulane University, 1966), 28.

engagement of the second royal court.² Dom Pedro II's patronage of the active concert music scene may have resulted in an atmosphere which attracted international musicians to the city. Certainly Gottschalk's prior acquaintance with the emperor may have been a factor for his residency in Rio de Janeiro. Although Gottschalk had already unsuccessfully appealed to the court for a recognition of distinction, he understood the potential of the Emperor as a musical patron.³

After mid-century, the period's social and political transformations became reflected in concert music which transcended sociomusical conventions. In 1869, the year of Gottschalk's arrival in Rio, Brasílio Itiberê da Cunha published his composition, "A Sertaneja," considered among the earliest nationalist compositions recreating urban popular music. Composers in Brazil drew from local influences in a manner that resembled, but differed greatly from the themes of orientalism and exoticism popular across Europe at the time. This is so because the influences represented their region, not a romanticized distant imaginary. The Portuguese emigre piano virtuoso, Arthur Napoleão, published the work in Rio de Janeiro and later published many other works by resident composers.⁴

The Network of Hemispheric Composers

The following section offers a brief introduction to the group of composers and the challenging account of their interconnections prior to their residencies in Rio de Janeiro, beginning with Gottschalk and proceeding through their various links in the network. Interchange within the group and with Carioca composers, who are often credited with synthesizing erudite and popular musical expression, disturbed constructs of gender, class, and race, and reflected a unique Brazilian and Pan-American aesthetic, recognizable from both inside and outside the culture in the early twenty-first century. The occurrence of this group of musicians of different races interacting during the era of slavery, as well as the inclusion of a woman composer in a highly patriarchal society are remarkable. The brevity of this study permits merely an introduction, but for the discussion I have selected Lucien Lambert and Louis Moreau Gottschalk from New Orleans in the United States; José White Lafitte from Matanzas, Cuba; and Federico Guzmán Friás from Santiago, Chile; (Gottschalk met Jose White Lafitte in Cuba in 1854 and Federico Guzman in 1866 in Chile, and

² Cristina Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio De Janeiro : European Culture in a Tropical Milieu* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

³ S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula: The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 95.

⁴ There is sentiment that Casa Levy in São Paulo published the first edition of "A Sertaneja" although this has been unverifiable by the author.

performed benefit concerts for each of their studies in Paris,) as well as the carioca composers Chiquinha Gonzaga and Ernesto Nazareth and their relevant interaction with the network of musicians.

For a point of departure, I begin with the other musician from the United States relevant to this study, Lucien Lambert. The composer and pianist of African American descent was an adolescent colleague of Gottschalk in their native city of New Orleans in the early 1840s before they each went to study in Paris. He preceded Gottschalk in Rio de Janeiro where he became a professor of music and proprietor of a music store. The two musicians reunited and performed together in one of the massive concerts in which Gottschalk employed 650 musicians in 1869. Lambert's son also participated in the concert as another of the dozen pianists. Lambert relocated his family from France to Rio de Janeiro where he lived until his death in 1896.

Lambert's work and presence in Rio de Janeiro is demonstrated by his sheet music advertised in the *Jornal do Commercio* in February 2, 1868, a year before Gottschalk's arrival.⁵ His collaboration and adaptation of the works of Carioca composer Henrique Alves de Mesquita, who is credited as the first composer of *tango brasileiro* by Batista Siqueira and cited by Magaldi, is mentioned as "Mesquita e Lucien Lambert."⁶ The work "La Grande Duchesse" is described as a "linda quadrilha e polka." Mesquita, like Lambert, studied at the Paris Conservatory beginning in 1857, at the time Lambert was also in Paris.⁷ Although it remains uncertain if they became acquainted in France. This is significant because Lambert's student, Ernesto Nazareth would later become famed for compositions in the form, *tango brasileiro* like Mesquita.

Lambert is considered the only formal teacher of Ernesto Nazareth during his adult life, the composer whose work is said to "embody the soul of Brazil."⁸ Unfortunately, Nazareth late in life remembered Lambert as an old Frenchman and did not otherwise acknowledge his influence, as he considered himself almost exclusively self-taught. According to the *Instituto Moreira Sales*,

⁵ *Jornal do Commercio(RJ) 1868, Edition 38*. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017)

⁶ Cristina Magaldi, "Concert Life in Rio De Janeiro, 1837-1900" (Doctoral Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1994), 295-96.

⁷ Mesquita is credited as the first Brazilian to study at the Conservatory of Paris, his studies were facilitated by a scholarship from the Imperial Conservatory. (ibid., 294.)

⁸ Attributed to Villa-Lobos, cited on the following page.

Nazareth began studies with Lambert in 1881 with money he received in compensation for his early compositions.⁹

The compositions of Nazareth were categorized under various descriptions indicating accompanying dances— *polka lundu*, *tango brasileiro*, and *maxixe* among them. These rhythms and forms are often labeled together under the category of *choro* in the United States and Brazil in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Villa Lobos describes Nazareth, “*He is the true incarnation of the Brazilian soul.*”¹⁰ He was credited as the “creator of the Brazilian tango” in 1945 by Chase.¹¹ Mario de Andrade describes him, “dotado de uma extraordinária originalidade, porque transita com fôlego entre a música popular e erudita, fazendo-lhe a ponte, a união, o enlace.”¹² While the musical command and influence of Nazareth is indisputable, the historic sentiment that composers like he and others were in some way aberrations and not embedded within the continuum of the resident network of composers in Rio de Janeiro is worth consideration.

The previously mentioned Portuguese publisher Napoleão, like Lambert, established permanent residency in Rio de Janeiro as an entrepreneur and active musician. Following his tours as a prodigy concert pianist (which began at age 8), he established permanent residency in the city from 1866 until his death in 1925. He met Gottschalk in Cuba roughly ten years before their reconnection in Rio de Janeiro in 1869. Napoleão also met José White in Cuba in the late 1850s, with whom he later formed the *Sociedade dos Concertos Clássicos*. The importance of Napoleão as publisher of numerous works is matched by his importance as Chiquinha Gonzaga’s teacher in the 1870s in regard to the carioca composer’s musical influence and patriarchal barriers she overcame.

Chiquinha Gonzaga became highly popular in her nascent city of Rio de Janeiro as a performer and composer as early as 1877 with a series of editions of “Atraente.” This success was poorly received by her family in the patriarchal era of the 2nd empire and for which she initially experienced scrutiny from the musical community. Her works have become standard *choro*

⁹ Source: Instituto Moreira Salles, <http://www.ernestonazareth150anos.com.br/> (accessed September 29, 2017) The institute also claims Nazareth as a six year old met Gottschalk in Rio when his family went to hear him perform.

¹⁰ Tamara Elena Livingston and Thomas George Caracas Garcia, *Choro: A Social History of a Brazilian Popular Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 76.

¹¹ Gilbert Chase, *A Guide to Latin American Music* (Washington Library of Congress, Music Div, 1945), 103.

¹² “*endowed with an extraordinary originality, because he travels with breath between popular and erudite music, making the bridge, the union, the link.*” Trans. author.

repertoire in the United States and Brazil in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, but the recognition she enjoyed during her midlife is demonstrated in part by her publishing success beginning with her first works. This contrasts with anecdotes about her family's attempts to destroy her sheet music sold by street vendors.¹³ While Nazareth and Gonzaga were contemporaries and affiliated with the network, the previous accolades for Nazareth addressed in this study were not similarly available in researching Gonzaga. I believe this is attributable to gender biases, as the influence of both composers is well-documented and each are revered and performed in the early twenty-first century.

A decade after Gottschalk's residency, José White Lafitte the Cuban violin virtuoso moved to Rio in 1879 after a series of incredible successes in Paris, having won the premier prize at the Conservatory of Paris at 17 years of age. He lived for a decade in Rio de Janeiro until shortly after the transition of Brazil into a republic and the removal of the imperial court with whom he was employed. During his residency, he founded the *Sociedade de Concertos Clássicos* in 1882 and became Princess Isabella's personal music teacher and later taught her children. Despite his acclaim for performances of the Austro-Germanic canon, often for introducing the works he programmed to Rio's audiences, he is described as featuring impassioned encores of the *zamacueca*, the popular Chilean dance music.

The accomplishments of White and Napoleão and their Society is described in a review of a performance in the *Diário do Brasil* in October 27, 1885 "tem conseguido fazer uma verdadeira revolução no gosto musical do nosso público."¹⁴ This is significant because it demonstrates the circulation of a perception that immigrant composers residing in the city were changing the taste of the city's concertgoers. A diverse musical presence in the Imperial Court, Salon, and Concert Hall is reflective of transformations in Brazil. White, who was of Afro-Cuban descent, was music professor to Princess Isabella and her family at the time she passed the golden law, *Lei Aurea*, in May 1888, abolishing slavery at the end of the second empire.

The musicians of the network were involved in social movements in Rio de Janeiro at least eight years prior to the abolition of slavery. Around the time White became appointed by the court, an announcement in the *Gazeta de Notícias* detailed a concert celebrating the arrival of a *deputado*

¹³ Source: <http://chiquinhagonzaga.com/wp/> (accessed September 29, 2017)

¹⁴ White and Napoleão "have accomplished making a real revolution in the musical taste of our audience." Trans. author. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017)

or congressman from Pernambuco for an abolitionist festival by the *Associação Central Emancipadora*. The article describes a band of 200 musicians, likely making quite an impressive show. But of most importance is that the musicians were participating in social movements in the interest of abolition of slavery. At the event, “A banda dos meninos desvalidos,” destitute boys, performed a *pot-pourri* of music from *il Guarani*, by Carlos Gomes considered the first “Brazilian” opera composer. The opera incorporated Brazilian themes with an Italian libretto. The article also acknowledges the participation of the Chilean musician Federico Guzman in the benefit, during the time of his residency in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁵

Federico Guzmán Friás, born in Santiago, Chile resided in Rio de Janeiro between 1880-82 with his wife who was also an active musician. He had performed together with White in Chile and Peru in the mid 1870s before their collaborations in Rio de Janeiro. The press immediately announced his arrival concerts, describing him as an “American” to promote a show at the Conservatório de Música.¹⁶ He is considered the first Chilean performer and composer to achieve international renown.

Disturbance of Socio-Musical Hegemonic Constructions in Rio de Janeiro

Ironically, hybrid cultural practices drawn from a broad range of influences produced forms in a fluid musical process across constructs of high and low culture that often became reduced and codified as they became appropriated as symbols of national identities throughout the Americas. This obscured their significance as inflections of social transformation. This process describes the musical scene of Rio de Janeiro during the period of this discussion. In the city, one can read what apparently was an ideological rupture with the inclusion of vernacular influences in the concert hall. This element was a predominant feature in the works of the resident composers. The rupture can be reduced to one perception, that unlike the European canon, popular musical forms debase the concert hall because they do not edify the concert going class, whose cultural enrichment trickles down through society to the working class benefiting all of carioca and Brazil. On the other side of this perhaps simplistic binary lies the perception that the presence of popular musical forms

¹⁵ *Gazeta de Noticias*, May 23, 1881. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

¹⁶ *Gazeta de Noticias*, August, 1 1880. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

in the context of the concert hall is relevant to the construction of a Brazilian identity, by validating and giving currency to the common folks' expressions, ultimately benefitting all of Brazil.¹⁷

As previously mentioned Dom Pedro II socialized with Gottschalk in Paris in 1849, and their affinity for each other and mutual admiration, at least from Gottschalk's account, resulted in hours of conversation described in Gottschalk's letters.¹⁸ Only several years later, Gottschalk's music was being performed in Rio by touring performers. By mid-century, Rio had already attracted and hosted numerous concerts by European performers. Gottschalk's music preceded his arrival in Rio.

A program announcement in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* from January 23, 1855 piano concert by the Uruguayan pianist Oscar Pfeiffer, "honored by the august presence" of the royal court, featured Gottschalk's "Bamboula" described as *dansa de negros*.¹⁹ This is not only relevant to the transition of musical accompaniment to dance being integrated into composed musical forms for concert but also significant for its transnational and transracial relevance. In this instance, a Uruguayan pianist performed the music of Gottschalk, of importance to note, who as a New Orleanian of European descent whose concert music was described as "dance of Blacks" in a seemingly nonchalant manner programmed alongside a work of Schubert.

The programming of mid-century in Rio de Janeiro's musical societies was predominantly French and Italian dramatic works, despite the names of the *Club Beethoven* and the *Club Mozart* however, the inference of "*dansa de negros*" is a recognition of African American cultural expression as a valid format for the concert hall. This is relevant because during the same period, popular culture in the United States was consumed with mocking African American cultural expression in blackface minstrelsy.²⁰

A *dansado dos cocos pelos pretos* described in an 1850 show advertisement is noted by Magaldi because it was uncommon to feature Afro-Brazilian dance forms in the theater. She asserts "Dance music was regularly performed in balls and at the theater as intermezzos, but rarely as concert numbers."²¹ I find the description as "*pelos pretos*" suggestive as this indicates that the

¹⁷ Behague, 168.

¹⁸ Francisco Curt Lange, *Vida Y Muerte De Louis Moreau Gottschalk En Rio De Janeiro, 1869; El Ambiente Musical En La Mitad Del Segundo Imerio* (Mendoza: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1954), 13.

¹⁹ Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁰ See Stephen Burge Johnson, *Burnt Cork: Traditions and Legacies of Blackface Minstrelsy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, 20th-anniversary ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²¹ Magaldi, "Concert Life in Rio De Janeiro, 1837-1900," 101.

inclusion of the forms may have been unique, but their noted performance by Afro-Brazilians is striking (despite the performers' anonymity under a disparaging racial designation). The *lundu* became the first authentically national popular form by the nineteenth century, then *maxixe* appeared as a new manner to dance the *tango*, *habanera*, and *polka* during the late nineteenth century. The *lundu* is considered as the precursor of the *maxixe*, *samba*, and *baião*, these forms relate to Afro-Brazilian expression that became an aspect of erudite music featured by the composers of the network, particularly related to *choro* as a unique genre.

During the next decade, José White and Arthur Napoleão founded the *Sociedade dos Concertos Clássicos*. Their programming of various works from the Austro-Germanic canon was a distinct in Rio's musical societies, although by that point the repertoire was well-established elsewhere. This is relevant because White, of Afro-Cuban descent, is credited for largely introducing and popularizing these European works previously uncommon in musical societies. This is relevant to the network's transcultural representation of concert performance. The reality is that Brazil was already unique in its hemispheric racial constructions. One must merely observe the vast production of hundreds of Afro-Brazilian composers from the state of Minas Gerais renowned a century before the network of composers of this discussion. Although this early group composed within an idiom of European sacred music, sometimes disparaged as a rearticulation, they are still deeply relevant because the composers were active more than a century before the abolition of slavery, and disturb perceptions of racial hierarchies present in other locations in the African Diaspora.

Gottschalk's work has equally been dismissed as a rearticulation of African American expression in the United States, both by his contemporary white critics and by African American writers a century later.²² A decade before his arrived in Rio, an advertisement for the sheet music of Gottschalk's "Le Bananier" in 1856 in the *Jornal do Commercio* describes the piece as *chanson negres*. This reflects the program description of "Bamboula" previously mentioned and the manner which Gottschalk's works were described in Europe. Behague describes the uniqueness of this phenomenon generally, "...introducing popular elements in art music was certainly not the

²² See Laura Moore Pruett, "Louis Moreau Gottschalk, John Sullivan Dwight, and the Development of Musical Culture in the United States, 1853–1865" (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2007). and Gwendolyn Brooks, *Gottschalk and the Grande Tarantelle* (Chicago: The David Company, 1989).

tendency of this early period of Brazil.” However, this relates to an influence of Gottschalk and his assimilation of popular expression in concert music in the city prior to his arrival, both in the form of his published sheet music and programming in concerts. The city was primed for his and the other composers’ presence in the musical scene in the following decade.



Fig. 1.

Gottschalk lived for six months in Rio de Janeiro in 1869 before he collapsed on stage during one of his monster concerts, as pictured in the previous figure.²³ He was aware of the grand spectacle the concerts would provoke, and they caused a stir in Rio de Janeiro inspiring artist renderings in the local press. The impression of Berlioz’s similar shows on Gottschalk while he was a young man in Europe likely served as his inspiration. He had previously achieved success in Cuba with similar grand affairs which included Afro-Cuban drumming groups performing alongside the massive orchestra.

²³ A *Vida Fluminense*, December 4, 1869. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017).



fig. 2

According to accounts, his funeral was a major event in the city, which closed down streets and attracted large crowds. In this graphic (Fig. 2) from Christmas Day 1869 in the journal *A Vida Fluminense*, two women representing the indigenous Americas, North on the left and South on the right, featured in traditional dress look down on Gottschalk's body. The woman on the right with Europa written on her crown holds her face in her hand, while a winged angel weeps kneeling before his body.²⁴ The image appeared one week after his death. This graphic is significant because it demonstrates the public reverence for the North American composer in Rio, it also suggests the recognition of the importance of a Pan-American musical presence in the city.

The period which witnessed the transition of Brazil into a republic marks the beginning of overt nationalist discourse related to Brazilian musical identity, and figures like Antonio Carlos Gomes gained renowned for his representations of the nation. In articles from the period, he is described as “nosso compatriota,” and “o illustre compositor brasileiro. (sic)”²⁵ Gomes, originally from São Paulo, resided in Rio de Janeiro between 1860 and 1864 and is considered the first Brazilian composer who set Brazilian themes as found in his operas, *O Guarani* and *O Escravo*.²⁶ A nationalist identity was emerging within the concert halls musically and was regularly an aspect

²⁴ *A Vida Fluminense*, December 25, 1869. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁵ *O Paiz*, November 17, 1885. Source: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁶ Carlos Gomes et al., "Lo Schiavo : Drama Lirico Em Quatro Atos," (São Paulo, SP: Ricordi, 1986); Carlos Gomes, Antonio Scalvini, and José Martiniano de Alencar, *Il Guarny : Opera-Ballo in Quattro Atti* (Milano; New York: G. Ricordi ; Boosey & Co.).

of reviews during this era. But it is worthy to note the Pan-American influence on Gomes, who drew inspiration from Gottschalk. While I must reiterate that Gottschalk drew influence from African American expression and his Creole heritage, and state that acknowledging his influence is not to discredit Gomes. Rather, to address the influence on Brazilian composers of this network who openly shared ideas in a manner that suggests they both respected each other's work and felt it aptly represented their *own* production, at least as far as that with which they wanted to be identified. Gomes's *Quilombo*, an early song cycle described by Magaldi as "facilitated versions" are nearly verbatim reproductions of Gottschalk's works, the only difference is his act of retitling in Portuguese. For example, Gottschalk's "Le Bananier" became Gomes's "O Bananeiro." These works of Gomes predate Gottschalk's residence in the city but reinforce the idea of a transracial hemispheric musical identity emerging during the period in Rio de Janeiro.

The evidence that the entire group of these musicians was utterly intoxicated by the Chilean dance form *zamacueca*, suggests that while they were from throughout the Americas they did not feel limited to perform and compose works from their native countries, nor from the spaces they were performing. They were drawing from across the hemisphere and circulating their interpretation of forms in their performances in Rio. A year after White arrived, and ten years after Gottschalk's death in the city, an advertisement for Lucien Lambert's piano arrangement of White's "Zamacueca" is advertised next to one of Chiquinha Gonzaga's polkas. These like many other works of resident composers were published and advertised by Arthur Napoleão in his own journal, *Revista Das Belles Artes* and strongly represent the interconnectedness of the network of musicians.

Through the expansion and refinement of technologies facilitating human travel, these musicians from the Americas toured slowly throughout the Americas and Europe. They all trained at or were associated with the Paris conservatory before their residencies in Rio de Janeiro. As described, Gonzaga and Nazareth were trained by these musicians in the city. The interchange of these musicians who practiced the inclusion and acculturation of various contexts of Pan-American identities into their musical expression in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 2nd Empire proposes a reconsideration of narratives of unique twentieth century national music formations in Brazil and throughout the hemisphere, as well as of gender, race, and class. In conclusion, the presence of composers from throughout the Americas in Rio de Janeiro during this period is deserving of further study for at least two conspicuous reasons. Firstly, because the production of composers

who have become associated with national expressions in their native countries often occurred during their formative years in Rio de Janeiro. Secondly, because this transnational network of composers was active during a time of nationalistic musical formation within Brazil. While this study merely introduces this multifaceted topic, the existence of fluid Pan-American musical practices that transcended societies and social constructs is evident. The hemispheric musical dialog across the boundaries of nation, class, race, and gender in the late nineteenth century in Rio de Janeiro is a starting point for any number of further readings.

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