Affirmative and Ironic Resonances from the Personal Sheet Music Collection of Julia Ward Howe

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Good afternoon everyone, and thank you for the opportunity to speak. My presentation today concerns the bound sheet music collection of a 19th-century American wife and mother who was also a prominent author, abolitionist, women’s rights advocate, and social reformer. She is Julia Ward Howe, perhaps best-remembered in the present day for writing the words to an abolitionist anthem, “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” which has persisted in hymn books for over a century and a half.

About a year and a half ago I spotted the lot of five bound volumes available from Lubrano Music Antiquarians, and it piqued my interest, so I acquired the lot for our Special Collections and Archives. Jude Lubrano had obtained these from a private collector in Massachusetts and told me that there were no other similar music items within the collector’s Howe materials. Although there are Julia Ward Howe collections or items in various libraries and archives, in none for which I could inspect online descriptions did I see references to other bound volumes of sheet music, so these may be the only ones.
I will outline Julia Ward Howe’s biography, outline the contents of the volumes, compare them to what might be considered “typical” of the time, and suggest some resonances that might connect items in the collection with her personal life.

Julia Ward Howe was born in 1819 in New York; her father Samuel Ward III was a wealthy Wall Street Banker and her mother, also named Julia, was a published poet. There were two older brothers, a younger brother, and two younger sisters. The mother died shortly after the birth of the last child, when Julia was 4, and the father never remarried. Their mansion included a large library, an art gallery, and a music room with grand piano. The children were well-educated in private schools and with private tutors. The family was nominally Episcopalian, but in the years following his wife’s death Samuel Ward became increasingly Calvinistic and strict; although Julia remembered having attended and enjoying Rossini’s *La Cenerentola* and *Il Barbiere da Seviglia* at age 7, for the next dozen years the minor children were not allowed to attend the theater; he hoped to protect them from frivolousness, irreligion, and waste; she had to hear about operas and stage plays from friends. All three Ward sisters were considered very pretty, and Samuel had to turn away older suitors who tried to court Julia at 15.

Julia was a brilliant and curious student who became serious about writing at an early age, beginning with poetry and essays. After her “traditional” education was deemed complete at age 16, her father hired additional tutors and allowed her to study whatever she desired. She started with German, and also studied French, Italian (with Lorenzo da Ponte, then in New York), and declamation—these being
not unusual for a bright and curious young lady—but also Latin, Greek, mathematics, and philosophy, then thought to be the province of intellectually inclined young men; she also studied chemistry but was not allowed to conduct experiments. At this time her older brother Sam returned from his travels and education in Europe with a library of German classics of literature, philosophy, and science for her to enjoy, and also introduced her to his new friend Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with whom she promptly began studies in British literary history. Religious questions especially interested her, and her first publications, again at age 16, were essays in a theological review, although these did not voice her growing concerns with her father’s orthodoxy. She characteristically talked to every learned person she could find, then retreated into her study to think and write. She heard anti-slavery lectures (some speakers were even invited to the Howe home) although the precise age at which she became an abolitionist herself is debated by scholars.

She received the best private musical education in voice and piano that New York offered, exceeding the standards of the day, and her fingers retained pianistic dexterity into her 80s. Thinking herself undisciplined, she compensated by carefully observing an adolescent regimen of morning study and afternoon music practice, becoming accomplished enough to play chamber music in amateur trios and quartets as well as to accompany singers. She attended orchestral and oratorio performances in New York and Boston during these years, but did not socialize much until she was 18, when her brother Sam married into the John Jacob Astor family and Julia was thus introduced to the world of balls, dinner parties, soirees, and musicales, in which she was an enthusiastic and admired participant.
Father Samuel Ward died in 1839, when Julia was 20. Julia, feeling release from his Puritan strictness, added theater-going to her past-times, becoming a lifelong opera aficionado.

In 1842 during a visit to Boston, Julia met Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, a physician, abolitionist, philanthropist, and social reformer who had founded a school for the blind, and was swept off her feet. They were married in 1843, and immediately embarked on a year-long visit to Europe, culminating in the birth of their first daughter, named Julia Romana because she was born in Rome. They returned to the Boston area and lived in a house at Howe’s school for the blind for the first few years, a rather lonely outpost outside the city which did not afford much occasion to visit or be visited, and Julia quickly found out, first, that running the household and picking up after children was a frustrating drudgery and, second, that Dr. Howe held a dim view of her literary aspirations and insisted that being a wife and mother would be her highest callings. They would have four more children over the next several years, and the family would move into a suitably grand house in the city, allowing for more frequent socializing. Among their friends was John Sullivan Dwight, already prominent in the 1840s as a musical essayist and an authority and pontificator on great music; he was even retained for a time as a music teacher to the Howe’s growing children.

Julia cast her lot with Boston’s Unitarians for religion and Transcendentalists for philosophy. Julia was clearly a committed abolitionist by the 1850s, and assisted her
husband with the editing and publishing of a “Free Soil” journal while also having her poetry and plays published and produced. She also began public speaking, first by delivering sermons on moral improvement to female jail inmates. Both the writing and the public speaking were opposed by her husband, and her domestic life as an entrapped genius became increasingly oppressive. Dr. Howe apparently only appreciated her literary talents when in service to him and his journal. (Incidentally, Dr. Howe was one of the secret circle of wealthy Bostonians who provided money to militant abolitionist agitator John Brown, and immediately after the 1859 Harper’s Ferry debacle he fled the country for a time lest he be investigated.)

On a November, 1861 morning after attending a military review in Washington DC and hearing the Federal troops singing “John Brown’s Body Is A-Mould’rin’ in the Grave,” Julia quite spontaneously penned several verses of new lyrics for this tune in which she conflated militantly abolitionist sentiment with Biblically apocalyptic imagery in a Civil War anthem. Her “Battle Hymn of the Republic” was published three months later on the front page of the *Atlantic* and shortly thereafter as sheet music, and she became an instant Northern celebrity.

Although Julia will live another 50 years and become increasingly active and influential in reform movements, especially women’s rights, I’ll end her biography here because the sheet music volumes, my object of study, date from the earlier years. The Howes had separated for a time in 1850, and suffice it to say that Julia’s future will include additional marital separation, Dr. Howe’s continued adamant opposition to her growing fame and influence, adultery on the part of her husband with talk of divorce, and his covert squandering of her inherited wealth, over which he exerted total control; she became free of Dr. Howe only with his death in 1876.
The five volumes of music can be conveniently separated into a group of three labeled “Miss Julia Ward” and thus predating her 1843 marriage, and two labeled “Julia Howe,” obviously bound at some time after. There are no dates of binding or lists of contents tipped in. A spine title is missing from one of the early volumes, but the other two read “Music: English Songs” and “Music: Il Mose in Egitto.” The spineless volume consists entirely of German Lieder published in the 1820s and 1830s; the so-called English songs are English-language songs in American imprints, mostly of the popular and sentimental “parlor song” genre; *Mose in Egitto* is the entire vocal score to Rossini’s opera, published by Schott in 1829 with words in both Italian and German.

The two later volumes are spine-titled “Miscellaneous Music” and “Beethoven: Fidelio.” The former consists of several German Lieder, a handful of French or Italian art songs, a few English language parlor songs at the very end. The latter volume is the entire vocal score to the 2nd version of Beethoven’s opera, published by Simrock in 1815. The music throughout all volumes is thus almost exclusively vocal; there are only two very short piano pieces in the collection.

Our music cataloger has created WorldCat records for these volumes that include contents notes for those containing songs, providing a
modest level of keyword discoverability for titles and composers. I gave myself the task of looking at each song publication in more detail in a ‘first pass’ to assess possible rarity (or even uniqueness), to get a sense of the range of publication dates and thus speculate on dates of binding, and also to analyze the degree of conformity to what might be considered typical or expected in such binder’s volumes collected by 19th century American women. Dating of music of this type is quite difficult inasmuch as only a handful bear printed dates of publication or copyright deposit, and WorldCat dates can be conjectural and contradictory.

HERE is a list of the 42 composers appearing in the song volumes. The most frequently appearing composer in these volumes is Carl Gottlieb Reissiger (who lived from 1798-1859). He was Kapellmeister and court opera conductor at Dresden, as well as a pianist and chamber music coach (& incidentally was Clara Schumann’s childhood music theory teacher). Although seldom heard today, this person was a significant musical figure in his time and a prolific composer, including seven operas, an oratorio, over a dozen masses, 350 solo Lieder, numerous solo piano works, and chamber music.

Eleven Reissiger publications comprising 51 individual Lied titles, all with German imprints, appear in one of the volumes, by far outweighing representation by other composers. Next in order of representation are Robert Schumann, with four publications comprising 13 individual Lieder, and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, with three publications comprising 12 individual Lieder and one piano. One might reasonably conclude that Reissiger was Julia Ward Howe’s favorite
composer of vocal music. Oddly, there is a conspicuous absence of music by Franz Schubert save for an English-language version of Der Erlkonig, this absence in the collection of a Lied-lover is unexpected to me and somewhat ironic in that Reissiger himself was an admirer and emulator of Schubert. Very few of Reissiger’s songs are in print today, although some are being rediscovered in their 19th century editions, performed, and recorded.

[8- American imprints etc ]
I mentioned that one of the volumes consists exclusively of 30 American imprints, and there are three more in a “miscellaneous” volume. Nine different New York Publishers are represented, while there are fewer Boston and Philadelphia music publishers and just one from Baltimore. Dealer stamps do not appear very frequently, but do suggest that Julia shopped for music from three New York dealers and two in Boston. There is one New Orleans dealer stamp in the lot, one a piece that may have been a gift from a friend or relative. Among the sentimental parlor songs is one “Love Not” by John Blockley, that reoccurs in many binders volumes of this era.

[9- dating earlier set ]
In the three “miss julia ward” volumes, only four works bear printed dates- an 1831 publication of “Comfort Ye” from the Messiah, an 1832 publication of “The Mermaid's Cave” by Charles Horn, and 1835 publications of a number from Antonio Bagioli’s singing method and of Charles Horn's english translation of
Schubert op. 1 as “The Elf King.” Helpful WorldCat records for the others provide conjectural dates. Presuming that these three volumes were bound at the same time by the same binder, it is reasonable to speculate that this was done sometime between 1840 and 1842, based on the WorldCat records. 1842 might even be more plausible because young women with personal sheet music collections would often have these bound just before marriage as part of a library to be taken to her new home as a trousseau.

Dating the two later volumes, the “Julia Howe” volumes, is somewhat trickier.

Only one single item in the “Miscellaneous Music” volume bears a printed date: 1846 for a New York imprint of a song by French composer Felicien David, establishing that the volume was bound no earlier than this year. But it is possible to extend this further. Although 99% of the sheet music in all volumes is free of all annotation (perhaps desirable for a collector but certainly undesirable for a musicologist), there is an inscription that helps with dating; it appears at the top of the title page to a London imprint of a sentimental song by Charles Salaman, “The Touching Pathos of thy Low Sweet Voice.” It reads:
"Mr. Crawford/ With the composer's kind thoughts/ Rome, Ap. 27, 1847"

Celebrated sculptor & family friend Thomas Crawford, whose work adorned the largest room in the Ward House, married Julia's sister Louisa; he lived and worked chiefly in Rome, but returned to the USA in 1849 after winning a commission to create a work for the Virginia state capitol in Richmond. It is likely
that he gave this item of sheet music to Julia at this time or later. Thus I suggest that the volume was bound no earlier than 1849, or perhaps after 1850, when Julia spent most of the year in Europe with the Crawfords and with her two youngest children, leaving the two older ones with Dr. Howe in Boston.

Although considerable scholarly analysis has been applied to UNBOUND collections of sheet music in 19th century American homes – loose music in stacks and boxes– none was done on binder's volumes such as those we see here until a wonderful 1999 dissertation by Petra Meyer Frazier, entitled “American Women's Roles in Domestic Music Making As Revealed in Parlor Song Collections, 1820-1870.” Young ladies, wives, and mothers often “canonized” treasured items of sheet music by having them professionally bound into books suitable for library shelves. Frazier studied, analyzed, compared, and meticulously itemized the contents of hundreds of these volumes from special collections and archives in several locations.

She found that these were overwhelmingly “parlor” songs of simple form, predictable melody, and easy accompaniment, on sentimental topics and themes that reinforced female domesticity—especially raising children and insuring the comfort of their husbands. There was also universal representation of novelty songs and folk songs, but art songs in the classical music sense are almost entirely absent, except for occasional items made popular by Jenny Lind in her American Tour of the early 1850s. Minstrel songs, sometimes called “plantation songs” or “Ethiopian songs”, are also curiously absent, although these were certainly part of
unbound collections; the women seemed to be generally uneasy about dignifying these into library materials.

Comparing Julia Ward Howe's five bound volumes with the hundreds treated by Frazier shows that Julia's are definitely NOT typical of the norm, although she did include a small number of sentimental easy-play, easy-sing items. It is clear that Julia was a highly educated, upper class woman of sophisticated musical tastes that corresponded quite closely to the Germanic canon that Boston music guru John Sullivan Dwight was working to impose upon American music education. The preponderance especially of German Lieder definitely sets her apart from the average musically-inclined wife and mother of Frazier's study.

Julia Ward Howe certainly played and sang the “pop” music of the day- her own reminiscences and those of her children attest to this. During her 1850 Christmas in Rome, she and the Crawfords put on an “American” party complete with a Christmas tree, a novelty to the Italians, and reported that she had to play waltzes, schottisches, and Virginia reels repeatedly for the guests. Her children remembered enthusiastically singing sailor songs and minstrel tunes with her around the grand piano. Julia, however, chose not place these commonplaces on the same pedestal, so to speak, as art song canonized by the act of library binding.
the score for *Il Mose in Egitto* was perhaps obtained in Europe by brother Sam during his year abroad and thereafter given to Julia ca. 1835. This opera received its American premiere in New York also in 1835 and Julia would have been highly interested in this; perhaps Father even lifted his ban on the theater in this case, as it is a “biblical” opera without “lust” as a plot driver; we don't know for certain. To me, her placement of this archetypical drama of deliverance from slavery into an honored place in her library tends to affirm an early, rather than later, abolitionist stance.

Fidelio was possibly acquired by Julia during either of her 1843 and 1850 European stays (and she may have seen a European performance, for several took place in different cities during these two years). This drama about a determined, courageous and self-empowered wife who rescues a grateful and loving husband from political imprisonment in a dungeon resonates ironically against her own unhappy marriage to an unappreciative and resentful husband. There is some poignancy to the thought that she canonized this Beethoven opera by giving it a place in the library with her German literature and philosophy. If she did acquire it during her 1843 honeymoon, it suggests rosy optimism about marriage; if acquired during her 1850 year of marital separation, it may have evoked cynicism and regret.
I've looked at these five volumes and offered a few observations and some frankly speculative claims. Do I want to devote any more study to these? Before I close the book on Julia Ward Howe's bound collection, I do expect to look at a handful of items from the point of view of rarity. This was a first pass through WorldCat to identify holdings of these individual musical pieces, and WorldCat records are certainly not a solid indicator of rarity or uniqueness because there remain so many thousands of items that have never been catalogued by a member library, and thus do not appear in WorldCat. But perhaps more important than determining rarity is ensuring discoverability and accessibility, and I plan to look at about a dozen of the publications that may only appear in these volumes, and if so, perhaps they should be digitized into the IMSLP/Petrucci project or similar open-access volunteer or consortial sheet music repository. A few of them are...

[15 – rarity ]
Ignaz Lachner, “In die Ferne” op. 23 – for voice and piano with horn obbligato – not in WorldCat

[16 - rarity ]
“Walpurgisnacht” from the op. 2 of German composer Carl Loewe, who wrote 400 Lieder – not in WorldCat
“La Reverie du Soir” from Felicien David’s symphonic ode *Le Desert* – not in WorldCat.

Carl Gottlieb Reissiger’s Set of 6 Lieder op. 23 – not in WorldCat, nor in IMSLP; and, as mentioned earlier, very few of Reissiger's Lieder are currently in print.

With 51 individual works by Reissiger in Howe’s bound Lieder volume, there are enough selections for several master’s or doctoral recitals, or for recording by a faculty artist, and I am planning a special program this winter to show off the various music-related items in our special collections, including the Howe volumes, and to encourage their study and use.

Thank you for your patient attention, etc. Are there questions or suggestions?