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PENNED AND PRINTED:

THE SHEET MUSIC COLLECTION OF ELIZA RIDGELY

1803-1867

by

Tova Karissa Brandt

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Early American Culture

Spring 2001

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Tova Karissa Brandt

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When I chose to pursue a thesis topic of sheet music, I did not fully realize how many of my life-long interests would become involved in this project. History, material culture and music all led me to this topic; even my college job at Hildegard Music Press provided an early introduction to the business of printing and selling music. My work in windowless storage areas was made much more pleasant because I could hum the tunes to myself and get a sense of the music played at Hampton Mansion. I have a new appreciation for my own books of piano music, acquired through years of lessons and amateur playing, in response to my teacher's direction and my own inclinations; perhaps someone will study them two centuries from now, piecing together the musical life of a twenty-first-century museum curator.

My first thanks must go to the staff and volunteers at Hampton National Historic Site, especially Lynne Hastings, Curator, who welcomed my interest in the sheet music collection. Dolores Lake and Debbie Patterson generously facilitated my access to the objects themselves, and Gregory Weidman and Kent Lancaster shared with me their own research on Eliza Ridgely and her home. I must extend a huge thank-you to Allan Layman, who volunteered his photographic skills for an entire day to capture the minute details of pencilled fingerings and publishers' marks.

At the beginning of this project, several music specialists pointed me towards critical sources and encouraged my pursuit of this topic. Karen Rege, Susan Cook, David

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Hildebrand and Anita Avery all offered invaluable suggestions for fruitful paths of inquiry.

Gretchen Buggeln has been a patient and supportive advisor, willing to guide me in a topic new to both of us and helping to connect my research to larger issues of social history. My classmate Kate John turned her editorial eyes to several drafts, taking time from her own work on American silver to immerse herself in the musical life of Baltimore.

I have been very fortunate in the fellowship of all of my classmates, whose friendship and support has been a constant component of the past two years. Whether sharing lunchtime in the student lounge or a week on the beach, their humor, intelligence, and compassion have been enormously important to me. Special thanks must go to Sarah Tapper, my classmate and my roommate; sharing not only our studies, but also a common love of movies, popcorn, and needlework, has made the Winterthur experience much richer and much less daunting.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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LIST OF FIGURES

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the sheet music of Eliza Ridgely, a member of Balitmore society born in 1803 and mistress of Hampton Mansion from 1829 until 1867. An accomplished amateur musician, her music reflects her skill in singing and playing the harp and the piano. Beyond that, the sheet music is evidence of a network of publishers, teachers, and performers both amateur and professional. Studying the sheet music for publication information, retailers' marks, or the method of creating manuscript copies offers insight into the publishing business, the relationship between music teachers and their pupils, concert life, and the social events in which music played a vital role. Eliza Ridgely is a woman well-documented through contemporary accounts and family papers, but her sheet music adds depth to an understanding of her life and serves as an example for the questions that any personal collection of music can address.

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Introduction

In August of 1848, Eliza Ridgely sat at her piano to perform Italian songs for her dinner guests. In the Music Room of Hampton Mansion, surrounded by tall bookcases, family portraits, and fine furniture, the instruments still took center stage. Eliza did not use her harp that evening, but instead played the grand piano equally familiar to her. The harp, though unused and unstrung, stood glittering with gilt classical ornaments and classical friezes around the pillar, proof of Eliza's extensive and expensive musical training. Sitting at the piano, Eliza may have selected Italian songs recently purchased in Paris while traveling with her family. Now at home in Baltimore, the European sheet music was one way among many for Eliza to share her cosmopolitan tastes.[1]

On the music rack of the piano, the sheet music matched the elegance of its surroundings. Individual music pieces were bound together into a large book with green marbleized covers and red leather spine and corners. On the front cover, a red rectangular label bore gilt cabled ornament around the edges and gilt lettering in the middle: "MRS. JOHN RIDGELY." The shear bulk of the book proved notable, standing over thirteen inches tall, over ten inches wide and over two and a half inches thick. The pages inside, trimmed to a uniform size, had stained yellow edges. Each page contained music adapted from French and Italian operas: some harp music for harp and piano duets; much vocal music with piano accompaniment. Almost every piece of music in the book was published and sold individually by a Parisian music publisher; the only exception is a

[1]Elizabeth Wirt Goldsborough, a guest that evening, described this event in a letter to her sister, August 26, 1848. William Wirt Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS 1011. Transcribed by Gregory Weidman.

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six-page piece written out by hand on pre-printed staff paper. On the inside front cover, Eliza wrote a list of contents by hand, numbering each piece in the order in which it is bound rather than numbering the single pages. Standing on a bookshelf, this volume would remain anonymous, as it lacks any lettering on the spine to indicate the contents or the owner. Standing on a music stand, however, its bulk would imply a depth of musical skill necessary to execute the range of music within its covers, and the gilt-printed label would glitter with the name of the woman who possessed that skill, Mrs. John (Eliza) Ridgely.[2]

Eliza Ridgely had several such bound books of sheet music, compilation volumes of pieces printed and sold individually and then bound together. Although that was a common practice in the nineteenth century, Eliza Ridgely's music collection is notable for its size, over 400 pieces, and for its preservation through two centuries in the home of her married life, Hampton Mansion. In addition to bound volumes of published pieces, some volumes contain dozens of hand-copied pieces, some books are lessons for voice, harp, or piano, and many pieces remain unbound. Most of the music was published in Paris, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore; however, even pieces published in a distant city frequently bear the stamp of a local Baltimore music retailer. The pieces include piano solos, harp and piano duets, and many arrangements for singers of popular songs, operatic excerpts, and songs for two, three, or four singers. They date from nearly the entire span of Eliza Ridgely's lifetime, from her school years in the 1810s to the end of her life in 1867.

As a collection of sheet music that represents the musical interests and

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[2]Collection of Hampton National Historic Site, National Park Service, cataloged as HAMP 2259. All subsequent collection numbers will be stated parenthetically in the text. Catalog numbers were assigned to bound books rather than the separate musical pieces within, therefore many different pieces of music may have the same HAMP number.

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achievements of a well-documented house and family, the music at Hampton Mansion holds many promising possibilities for analysis. For a music historian, it is a rich cache of nineteenth-century compositional style, especially for early parlor music and for the many examples of condensing opera scores into manageable arrangements for a single piano and singer. Many of the pedagogical works and exercises bear pencilled markings and directions that could be analyzed for teaching methods. As the collection spans the nineteenth century and continues into the twentieth (thanks to later generations of the family), a technological study of the sheet music could document the development of American music publishing from copper-plate printing to lithographic covers to photographic processes. A broad cultural study of nineteenth-century music could determine whether Eliza Ridgely was a leader of, a follower of, or indifferent to, musical fashion.

This study is interested in material culture and consumer relations and presents Eliza Ridgely's music as a case study for interpreting sheet music in a broad social context of amateur musicians, the social network of music teachers, peers, and events that shaped musical choices, and the music industry that supported that network. What music did Eliza play at different points in her life? How did the publishers advertise themselves and their available wares? How did individual people, such as her music teacher or her school friends, shape Eliza's taste? How does the sheet music reflect the role music played in upper class Baltimore society?

A personal collection of sheet music represents a series of choices over time that other one-time purchases do not; 400 pieces acquired over half a century tell a different story than a few sets of chairs purchased in the same period. Just as a library's contents inform us about the reader, a collection of music both raises and answers questions about the musician. By collecting individual pieces together in bound volumes and related

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loose sheets, mass-printed pages take on the distinct identity of their owner. In this case, Eliza Ridgely is an owner easily accessed through documents, contemporary accounts, and artifacts, but the music collection still has the ability to contribute to a fuller understanding of her life. Thus, the study at hand tells two stories: the story of Eliza Ridgely, a woman for whom music was a life-long interest; and the story of a collection of sheet music that, even if no other sources existed, would still speak to the life, education and social experience of its owner.

Who played the music: "The fascinating Miss Eliza Ridgely"

For most twenty-first-century students of early American society, Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely is best known as the "Lady With a Harp," the title given to her portrait by Thomas Sully (figure 1). Commissioned in 1818 when Eliza was fifteen years old, the portrait is a full-length depiction of Eliza standing next to a harp with a tuning fork in one hand and the other hand plucking the strings. She is fashionably yet simply dressed, with a healthy rosy glow to her cheeks. Her pose with the harp indicates a familiarity and ease with the instrument, an instrument that only educated and refined young women would be trained to play. Though the portrait is alternatively praised and criticized for its propagandistic qualities, Wendy Cooper notes that in the early nineteenth century, "having one's portrait painted with a harp presented the ultimate image of a young woman of taste and accomplishment."[3]

[3]Wendy A. Cooper, *Classical Taste in America 1800-1840* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers and The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1993), 264. See also Robert Wilson Torchia, "Eliza Ridgely and the Ideal of American Womanhood, 1787-1820," *Maryland Historical Society* 90 (Winter 1995): 404-423.

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Eliza Ridgely also comes to life in a story that belongs to Hampton Mansion, the home of her married life. When the Marquis de Lafayette visited Baltimore in 1824, his presence inspired a whirlwind of social events. Wildly popular with Baltimoreans, the story claims that General Lafayette in turn was impressed with Eliza when she had the opportunity to play the harp for him. Though no evidence of that musical performance remains, the elderly French gentleman and his "amiable young friend" struck up a correspondence that continued until Lafayette's death in 1834.[4] The Sully portrait offers a glimpse of what Lafayette himself saw: a young woman fashionably attired, confidently skilled with her harp, at ease with her musical ability.

Clearly, music figures prominently in both the portrait and the meeting with Lafayette, though neither the oil paint nor the oral history conveys the actual sounds that Eliza created; the only tangible evidence of her musical skill and style rests with her sheet music. The collection of sheet music currently housed at Hampton provides insight into various periods of Eliza Ridgely's life, including her school days in Philadelphia, the education of her own daughter, and the addition of a daughter-in-law to the household. Much of the music can be definitively linked to Eliza because of the bindings; several individual pieces would be bound together in marbleized covers with a label on the front. Many labels bear the gilt-stamped names "Miss Ridgely," "E. E. Ridgely," and "Mrs. J. Ridgely," among others (figure 2). Some pieces that remain unbound have her name pencilled on the first page (figure 3). Other books and individual sheets do not have such an obvious provenance, but they still come from a specific time and place, and often from people in Eliza's social circles. The music confirms that the "Lady with a Harp" also played the piano, studied singing, and had people in her life that could play duets with

[4]James W. Foster, "Lafayette's Letters to Eliza Ridgely of Hampton," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 52 (September 1957): 233-244.

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her. All together, the music itself informs our understanding of her education, her performances, and her participation in a concert-going public.

Eliza was born in February of 1803, the daughter of Eliza Eichelberger and Nicholas Greenberry Ridgely, a wealthy wine and grocery merchant. Her mother died only three days after her birth, leaving Eliza the sole child and therefore the sole heir of her father's estate. Despite the loss of her mother, the Eichelberger family maintained close ties with Nicholas Ridgely and the young Eliza. Eliza's youngest aunt, Henrietta Eichelberger, was only slightly older than she was, and the two girls were effectively raised as sisters. One story claims that Eliza's grandmother nursed both babies at once;[5] what is more certain is that the girls attended the same boarding school, they shared some of the same music books, and Eliza's daughter mentioned "Aunt Henny" as a member of the household decades later.

Two books of music highlight the close relationship between Eliza and Henrietta. One is a modern binding of seven pieces for the harp: two have "Eliza E. Ridgely" pencilled on them; one has "Eichelberger" pencilled on it; one has both "H. W. Eichelberger" and "Eliza E. Ridgely" on it (HAMP 4379). Though the binding is new, the seven pieces probably had an earlier cover, as all of the pages have been trimmed to a uniform size; in some cases, the trimming cut off a hand-written label which is more likely to have happened when the pieces were new and actively used than when they acquired the status of museum objects. The harp music suggests that Eliza and Henrietta shared or exchanged music, or studied the same pieces as they both learned how to play the harp. The other book is a volume of thirty-seven manuscript pieces bound in green covers with the gilt label, "E. E. Ridgely & H. Eichelberger" (HAMP 2247, figure 4). All

[5]Beth Paterson Shipe, "Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, the 'Lady with a Harp'," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 230.

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of the music is hand-written on pre-printed staff paper by more than one hand. Three different batches of paper were used consecutively as pieces were written out; many pieces begin on the back of the last page of the previous piece. Several pieces are copied from songs published as late as 1825, which means that this collection of manuscripts dates from the years when both Eliza Ridgely and Henrietta Eichelberger were single young women in Baltimore. The joint ownership of both volumes of music could only function if both young women frequently spent time together and shared similar interests.

Eliza attended Miss Lyman's Academy in Philadelphia when she was thirteen years old, accompanied by her aunt Henrietta. One quarter's board and basic tuition in reading, writing and arithmetic cost $45. Optional instruction in History, French, singing, and drawing each cost $10 per quarter, while harp lessons and piano lessons were each $18 per quarter. Other itemized expenses included "Use of Instruments," harp strings, and "Copying Polonaise." The entire bill, not including incidental expenses such as new shoes and a "Seat in Church," totaled $142 for the quarter.[6] Miss Lyman offered Eliza her first formal instruction in playing the piano and singing, which were common studies for schoolgirls, and in playing the harp which was a more elite instrument, expensive to acquire and maintain, and expensive to learn.

Miss Lyman's school was located at 98 South 4th Street, an easy walk from the music stores at 24 South 4th Street (George Willig), 13 South 5th Street (George E. Blake), or 11 South 4th Street (A. Bacon & Co.). Another book in a modern binding matches Eliza's school years in Philadelphia and suggests that the students went shopping

[6]The bill is for "Miss Eichelberger's" tuition for the quarter ending July, 1817. Though the bill is not specifically for Eliza Ridgely's schooling, it was sent to Nicholas Ridgely for payment which suggests that Eliza's father paid for both girls' education and likely supported similar courses of study. Ridgely Family Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS 692.

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for new songs in their leisure time. Most are popular songs written for voice and piano with titles like "The Blue ey'd Youth," "Said a Smile to a Tear," and "The Yorkshire Beauty." All of the music was published by 1818, Eliza's final year in school, and of the thirty-two pieces in the volume, twenty-three were published in Philadelphia, and five published in Baltimore (HAMP 4378).

Eliza's formal education ended in 1818. Her father prepared for her debut into adult society by commissioning the Sully portrait while she was still in Philadelphia. In the same year, her father also imported a new harp from London, a "new patent double movement harp" made by Sebastian Erard, maker of harps and pianos.[7] As Erard had just patented the double-action mechanism in 1816, this harp was one of the first of its kind to appear in the United States.[8] The double-action mechanism allowed each string to be adjusted in pitch either a half-step higher or lower by means of several pedals, a vital element in playing pieces in every musical key. Unlike the harp used in the Sully portrait, which may have been a studio prop, Eliza's new Erard harp was lavishly ornamented with gilt friezes and bold proportions. In a period when furniture frequently featured harps and lyres as ornamental motifs, an actual working harp represented the height of classically inspired fashion.

As a grown young woman in her father's house, Eliza continued to pursue her musical interests. Only one year after acquiring the Erard harp, Nicholas Ridgely paid $600 for "An Elegant Harmonic Piano Forte," another new top-of-the-line instrument on

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[7]The bill itemizes the harp, a leather case, a set of Roman strings, silver strings, and a packing case for a total of *L*122.18.0. After adding export duty, insurance, and shipping charges, Nicholas Ridgely paid almost $600 to acquire the instrument. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

[8]Beth L. Miller, "The Ridgelys of Hampton: New Perspectives on Musical Life in Early-Nineteenth-Century Baltimore," *Journal of Musicological Research* 14 (1994): 45.

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which his daughter could display her talents.[9] By 1821, when she was eighteen years old, receipts from the piano tuner and the music teacher bear the name "Miss Ridgely," referring to the person who most benefited from the tuned piano and the lessons, not the person who probably paid the bill. Jacob Walter charged $3 every quarter for his tuning services in 1822 and 1823. Though the receipts do not indicate how often in a given quarter Walter would come, charges for $2 for "Tuning 2 month up to this Day" suggest at least a monthly arrangement of one dollar per month.[10]

Eliza also received singing lessons. Though she no longer attended school after returning to her father's home in Baltimore, her musical training continued under the direction of Henri Noel Gilles, a French expatriate. Formerly an oboist for the Parisian opera, Gilles arrived in the United States in 1815 and quickly developed a clientele of high society music students. Eliza had vocal lessons about twice a week at one dollar per lesson. In addition, Gilles provided Eliza with hand-written copies of music that were probably not otherwise available. Gilles' bills list a total of thirty-four pieces by name, half of which match hand-written manuscripts in bound books of music, the remaining half are too vague to match conclusively. Bills list charges for specific pieces of music at

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[9]Receipt from James Stewart to Mr. Ridgely, Baltimore, January 18, 1819. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692. Pianos ranged in price from approximately $200, half the annual salary of a city carpenter or cabinetmaker, to $600, the cost of a small house. See Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life 1790-1840* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), 249.

[10]Receipts from Jacob Walter to Miss Ridgely dated January 16, May 9, and December 31 of 1822, and June of 1823. Unlike modern pianos which are built with steel frames and are strong enough to sustain the tension of the strings (and therefore the tuning), earlier pianos were entirely wood and needed more frequent attention to keep in tune. Monthly tuning does suggest, however, that the piano was in regular use. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

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what appears to be twelve cents each page; prices listed are most often multiples of twelve (36, 48, 60, 72, 96, etc.) and usually correspond to the length of the piece.[11]

John Nenninger was another individual involved in Eliza's continuing musical education, most likely for harp instruction though possibly for piano. Henrietta Eichelberger had begun studying the harp with Nenninger in 1817, while Eliza was still in Philadelphia. In a letter to his daughter Nicholas Ridgely wrote, "Henrietta has commenced her lessons with Nenninger and is very assiduous - I'm afraid she will improve more than you."[12] By 1820 Eliza followed Henrietta's example, receiving not only "17 Lessons" from Nenninger, but also regular supplies of strings, specific pieces of music, and "64 pages copied."[13]

Eliza married John Ridgely of Hampton on January 8, 1828. Upon hearing the news, the Marquis de Lafayette wrote his congratulations "that Miss Ridgely had changed if not her name, at least her situation."[14] Despite their shared last name, no common ancestry has been located. John Ridgely was the son of Charles Carnan Ridgely (1760-1829), a former governor of Maryland. Though Charles Carnan Ridgely's property had been vast, it was divided among several children and grandchildren upon his death; John Ridgely received Hampton Mansion and the surrounding 4000 acres, still a sizable holding.[15] Eliza brought her father's wealth to the marriage, though Nicholas

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[11]Bills from H. N. Gilles to Miss E. Ridgely on January 24, 1821, January 28, 1822, and May 17, 1822. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

[12]Letter dated Nov. 24, 1817. Quoted in Miller, 47.

[13]Receipt from Jn. Nenninger to Miss E. Ridgely dated March 27, 1821. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

[14]Letter dated March 30, 1828. Foster, "Lafayette's Letters to Eliza Ridgely of Hampton," 239.

[15]Lynne Dakin Hastings, *A Guidebook to Hampton National Historic Site* (Towson,

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Ridgely had carefully arranged Eliza's inheritance in a trust that kept her in command of her financial resources rather than relinquishing all control to her husband. Account books from Eliza's married life indicate that her wealth financed an elegant lifestyle on the Ridgely estate, meticulously recorded in a way that would make her merchant father proud.

Eliza and John Ridgely had five children, but only two survived to adulthood: their daughter Eliza, known to the family as "Didy," was born in 1828; their son Charles was born in 1830. Both children left journals that document different periods of the family's life. Didy kept a diary briefly in 1841-2 when she first started attending boarding school in Baltimore. Charles kept a journal during the family's travel to Paris in 1847-8.

Didy's writing reveals that both she and her brother were studying music with a Mr. Petri in 1841, when she was thirteen and Charles eleven years old. Mr. Petri probably taught the piano as Didy mentions that "notwithstanding my sore finger I contrived to take my lesson very well."[16] Like her mother, Didy continued to study music in addition to her school's regular curriculum; Mrs. Julia G. Friese taught music lessons while G. Piccioli specialized in teaching singing and Italian.[17]

Didy offers only glimpses of other people in the household making music when she describes New Year's Eve, 1841: "I was down in time and in the middle of the day Aunt Henny played for us and we danced and in the evening we got Mother to play for us

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Maryland: Historic Hampton, Inc, 1986), 8-13.

[16]Entry for November 15, 1841. "Didy Ridgely's Diary 1841-42," HAMP 3911, Hampton National Historic Site.

[17]Receipts from Julia G. Friese dated February 7, 1845, and May 2,1845, and from G. Piccioli dated March 4, 1845. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

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and Aunt Henny danced with us and after that Mother sung for us and after prayers we went to bed."[18] The phrase "we got Mother to play for us" seems to indicate that Eliza playing for her family was a special occurrence rather than a regular event, and seems to receive more emphasis than Aunt Henny's (Henrietta Eichelberger's) playing.

Several years later, Charles Ridgely's journal sheds light on his mother's continuing musical interests. Charles's account of his time in Paris is a very straightforward listing of his daily activities, whether he played billiards, took German lessons, or took a walk with his father. He describes frequent attendance at the opera, naming twenty different operas seen over the course of fifteen weeks. An entry for March 2, 1848 mentions that he "heard Bellini's I Puritani for the 3rd time."[19] The popularity of Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, and Verdi in the Parisian theaters parallels the Paris-published sheet music that Eliza Ridgely acquired. One of the bound volumes of music contains almost exclusively music published in Paris, arranged from current operas by the same composers the Ridgelys heard in person (HAMP 2259). Most of the pieces are arranged for voice and piano; in a world before recorded sound, sheet music and the ability to play it would be the only way to re-visit memorable performances, especially performances attended far away from the local theaters of Baltimore. A few pieces arranged for harp appear as the first six entries in the volume, testifying to Eliza's continuing interest in her harp. The pieces are intended to be harp and piano duets, but only the harp scores were included in the bound book.

A letter of 1848 offers a glimpse of life at Hampton upon the family's return from Europe. The mansion was filled with extended family members staying for the summer,

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[18]Entries for November 15 and December 31, 1841. "Didy Ridgely's Diary."

[19]Ridgely Family Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS 1127.

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and occasionally hosted guests for a day of enjoying the gardens, the house, and the company. Elizabeth Wirt Goldsborough was one such guest and described her visit in a letter to her sister, even giving details of the after-dinner musical activities:

> We had some music after dinner - [Mrs. Ridgely] singing some Italian songs for me & I playing some of my best pieces for her. Her harp stood there uncovered - She said she scarcely touches it. I begged her to string it up again. She spoke with admiration of your harp-music! Her piano-forte is an old instrument - and has seen its best days - although it is a grand piano-forte. I presume that she will get a new instrument - now that her daughter is grown. She means to take her into society next winter. She urged us to stay to tea - after which we came away - quite in love with Mrs. Ridgely & Hampton.[20]

This wonderfully chatty description paints a picture of Eliza's harp in full view yet unstrung, a grand piano past its prime, and a hostess and guest exchanging musical talents for their mutual entertainment. The "Italian songs" Eliza sang for her guest could be some of her recent Parisian acquisitions or some more familiar tunes from her previous years of singing lessons. The old grand piano was most likely the instrument Nicholas Ridgely purchased for Eliza in 1819; the $600 piano was the top of the line when he first bought it, but thirty years of use would certainly have worn on the instrument. Didy's imminent introduction into society seemed to be viewed as a fitting occasion for a new piano, in order that she might make the best impression when her turn came to offer musical entertainment for guests.

The fact that Eliza's harp sat without strings may be a lingering sign of her recent European travels, a task not yet attended to after her return home; the harp music from Paris certainly shows that Eliza did not intend to give up the harp altogether. However, the harp required a significant amount of maintenance. During the 1820s Eliza spent as much money replacing strings and having repairs made on the harp as she did keeping the

[20]Letter from Elizabeth Wirt Goldsborough to her sister, August 26, 1848. William Wirt Papers.

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piano in tune, and simply playing the instrument required tuning every string herself before she plucked the first note. As popular as harps were in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and as symbolic as they were of classical tastes and educated womanhood, they had fallen from favor by the middle of the century. John Hullah, writing about domestic music in 1877, noted that both the harp and the guitar "seem on their way to . . . the limbo of forgotten things." Regarding the harp in particular, he continued:

> As a source of variety in domestic music its absence is to be regretted. The elegance of its form too gratifies the eye almost as much as its utterances do the ear. But its use attended with some drawbacks. Unless constantly watched - not easy unless it be constantly used - it is apt to fall out of gear. Under the most favorable circumstances as to care, its strings have a provoking habit of snapping just as they are wanted. Rarely is it found available for use without tuning, and the number of its strings sometimes makes this a tedious process.[21]

Given the commitment necessary to maintain a harp, it is understandable that a woman with responsibilities of caring for a family, seeing to a number of long-term and short-term visitors, and managing a plantation household might fail to find the time to pursue that particular instrument. Eliza's purchase of harp music in Paris may have been more wistful than practical.

Charles Ridgely married in 1851, after which the musical life of the Ridgely household included Eliza's daughter-in-law, Margaretta Howard Ridgely (1824-1904). A bound book of flute music bears the name "Miss Howard" on the flyleaf and "Howard" on the bottom of the first piece (HAMP 2252). It points to Margaretta's own musical training as a young woman, focusing on the flute, which was unusual for women in the nineteenth century. Many people of the time argued that flutes, violins, and most other

[21]John Hullah, *Music in the House* (1877: reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978), 39-40.

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instruments distorted the face or posture too much to be appropriate or attractive for women; the piano or harp were virtually the only options for musical females to retain their physical composure and show themselves to advantage.[22] However, Margaretta Howard was a very petite woman and perhaps her diminutive stature, a potential challenge in playing multi-note chords or octaves on the piano keyboard, led her to select an instrument with a smaller scale.

Once Margaretta joined the family at Hampton, she may well have brought her own musical tastes to the collection. Several pieces dating from the 1850s are songs with piano accompaniment, some written for vocal trios or quartets such as "Mendelssohn's Four-Part Songs" published in Boston in 1856 (HAMP 2245). Even a piece with "Mrs. Ridgely" written on the cover cannot be conclusively attributed, as it could refer to either Margaretta or Eliza. Eliza was certainly still acquiring music as late as 1862, when she wrote "E.E. Ridgely" on her copy of "A Mother's Prayer," an elaborately printed song that contains seven verses of a mother praying that her son remains safe in battle during the War Between the States (HAMP 20001, figure 5). (Though the text is carefully non-partisan, the song is dedicated to Mrs. Charles Howard of Baltimore who was known to sympathize with the Confederacy.)

Eliza Ridgely died in December of 1867, only a few months after her husband. Her musical legacy was preserved at Hampton through her harp, the constant presence of a piano in the Music Room, her collection of sheet music, and Sully's depiction of the "Lady with a Harp." One of her great-granddaughters left a testimony to Eliza's memory by posing for a photograph in the 1880s that mimics the Sully portrait; wearing a high-

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[22]Judith Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870-1900," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, edited by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 327.

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waisted dress, she stands in the Music Room with Eliza's harp, dreamily plucking the strings.[23]

Who produced the music: Nineteenth-Century Music Publishers

Revisiting one of the volumes from Eliza's school years in Philadelphia, the collection of popular songs that likely represents the leisure time and pocket money of Eliza and her classmates, the pieces present a cross-section of contemporary music publishing establishments in the city (HAMP 4378). As mentioned earlier, twenty-two of the thirty-two pieces in the volume are Philadelphia publications: twelve by George Willig; five by George E. Blake; three by A. Bacon; and one each by John Aitken and Charles Taws. Perhaps Willig's shop had a greater selection than the others did, which would account for the heavy favoritism. Perhaps Eliza and her friends knew George Willig personally as a music instructor in their school, and therefore patronized his shop; many early publishers engaged in related activities, such as teaching music lessons or making and repairing musical instruments.[24]

In the decade in which the pieces were published, most of these publishers could be found in Philadelphia's publishing and bookselling district, the neighborhood where Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth streets intersected Chestnut and Market streets: George Willing worked at 12 S. 4th Street and later at 185 Market and 165 Market; A. Bacon worked at 11 S. 4th Street; George E. Blake worked at 1 S. 3rd Street and later at 13 S.

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[23]The photograph, ca. 1887, is reproduced in Hastings, 72.

[24]Richard J. Wolfe, *Early American Engraving and Printing* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 69-70.

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5th Street. John Aitken is the only publisher whose address of 76 N. 2nd Street does not fall into the publishing corridor. According to Richard Wolfe, similar districts existed in every major American city in the early nineteenth century. The concentration of publishing firms allowed easier access for publishers to obtain paper, ink, and other necessary supplies, and also allowed customers to focus their book- or music-buying excursions. The close proximity of the various publishers no doubt contributed to consistent production methods.[25]

The format of individual pieces is remarkably uniform throughout this period with page one being a title page, music starting on page two. The publisher's name and address usually appears both on the title page and on the bottom of the first page of music. If copyright information is included, it usually appears on the bottom of the first page of music as well. A vast amount of early sheet music is only two pages of musical notation, therefore one folded sheet of paper sufficed for a title page, two inside pages of music, and a back page either left blank or used to advertise the publisher's other available titles. Longer pieces were most often constructed by nesting multiple folded sheets together with no further binding. These loose, folded formats conformed to bookbinding practices that stitch pages together through the folded seams, each group of folded sheets forming a signature, and several signatures lined up forming the spine. Sheet music was therefore published in such a way as to accommodate the practice of individuals having their own collections bound together in a volume.

Publishers often advertised themselves as bookbinders along with their other services; a trade advertisement of George E. Blake illustrates an elegant young woman seated at an upright piano and includes the text "Pianos to Hire . . . Music Bound."[26] John

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[25]Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing*, 68.
[26]The trade advertisement dates from 1817 to 1824, when Blake was at 13 S. 5th Street in Philadelphia. Illustrated in Cooper, *Classical Taste in America 1800-1840* , 264.

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Cole, a Baltimore music publisher, charged Eliza Ridgely $5.50 for "Binding 3 Vols & 2 New pieces."[27] At another time, Eliza took her loose pieces to a bookbinding specialist, who then put his label on the corner of the inside front cover: "N. HICKMAN / BOOK BINDER / BALTIMORE" (HAMP 2294, figure 6). Later in the century, Henry McCaffrey was not as modest as N. Hickman when placing his label inside a bound book (HAMP 2287). Using eleven different typefaces, his label reads:

HENRY M'CAFFREY,
Music Publisher,
205 Baltimore St.
THE LARGEST
Assortment of Music
IN THE CITY
CAN BE FOUND AT THIS ESTAB-
LISHMENT.
Particular attention paid to the ar-
ranging and Binding of Music.
Music Folios at all prices.
MUSIC PUBLISHED
AND RECEIVED DAILY.
Dealers, Booksellers, Seminaries,
&c., supplied on the most
reasonable terms.

Music publishers took every opportunity to promote themselves and their wares, usually listing their name and address as well as any copyright claims on the music itself. In the first part of the nineteenth century, copyright laws existed only for persons living and working in the United States. Foreign authors and composers received no protection, and therefore were freely pirated; by 1820 a full 70 percent of all literature was pirated from abroad, and an even greater percentage of printed sheet music.[28] In contrast,

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[27]Undated receipt to Miss Ridgely, though the "Miss" confirms that it predates her marriage in 1828. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

[28]Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred*

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publishers seemed to have respected the copyrights of native composers.[29] Before 1831, original works were protected for fourteen years, renewable for another fourteen-year period. After revisions enacted on February 3, 1831, copyright terms were extended to twenty-eight years and again renewable for fourteen years.

Paging through the music in Eliza Ridgely's collection, several publishers' names become familiar due to the number of pieces bearing their imprint: Oliver Ditson in Boston; George Willig, Lee & Walker, and G(eorge).E. Blake in Philadelphia; Carr, Cole, F.D. Benteen, and Miller & Beacham in Baltimore. They are not all contemporary to one another; to the contrary, they span several decades of the publishing industry and in some cases are direct descendants of each other. For example, the Baltimore firm of Miller & Beacham advertised themselves as "Successors to F.D. Benteen" on their publications in 1855 and 1856, but omitted the phrase on later publications once they were established (HAMP 2287 and 20020). Likewise, the Beer & Schirmer company in New York was successor to C. Breusing (HAMP 21022).

Music publishers made sure they received credit for their publications, but music retailers also found a way to advertise themselves on the actual sheet music. Several covers were stamped with the name of the store, often the address as well, with a rubber stamp in brightly colored ink (figure 7). Henry McCaffrey stamped his name, "Music," and "Baltimore" within a lyre shape using purple ink that contrasted sharply with the black and white of the rest of the cover (HAMP 17397). Another store used turquoise ink as it stamped "Otto Sutro / Music & Pianos / W. Balto. St. 189. Baltimore." (HAMP

Years, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 27.

[29]Richard Wolfe, an expert on American sheet music from 1787 to 1825, comments that "So far as I have noticed, publishers of early American music sedulously observed the restrictions against reprinting copyrighted music. I cannot recall a single violation of the law by one of our publishers of this period." Richard Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing*, 192.

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20070). C. Breusing in New York City included the phrase "Importer of Music" to identify his specialty in his red-inked mark (HAMP 2253 and 2789). Miller & Beacham of Baltimore chose to use an embossed seal rather than an inked stamp, a subtler visual statement yet a stronger textural contrast (HAMP 20040). In every case the goal was the same, to ensure that a customer would remember where he or she could acquire sheet music, especially in the case of local distributors of distant publishers.

The French music publishing trade had slightly different norms. Centered in Paris, each music publisher printed its name and address on each piece, and also marked it with a black ink stamp that imitated a dramatic signature (figure 8). Bernard Latte marked its pieces with a "Bernard" signature stamp, E. Troupenas marked its pieces with an "E. Troupenas" signature stamp, and Maurice Schlessinger likewise used a "Maurice Schlessinger" stamp (HAMP 2259). Throughout the French music in Eliza Ridgely's collection, there are very few examples of a piece of music bearing the stamp of a firm other than its publisher, whereas most American stamps appear on pieces published by a different company. This suggests either that Parisian publishers sold their wares directly and did not distribute to other shops for retail, or that the signature stamps were intended to re-iterate the identity of the publisher without any reference to the retailer.

Studying these various marks, both American and French, a network of trade relations emerges. Eliza Ridgely's copy of Rossini's opera *Otello* illustrates one such trail from France to New York to Baltimore (HAMP 2058, figure 9). Unlike the other operatic arrangements in Eliza's musical library, this volume contains a much more complete score and was purchased as a single unit rather than collected piece by individual piece. Each of the 235 pages is printed with "988" on the bottom, the publisher's method of ensuring that they used the correct engraved plates during the printing process. The title page lists the publisher as Boieldieu, found in Paris on the Rue

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de Richelieu. A signature stamp of Maurice Schlessinger indicates that another company had a hand in distributing the work. Schlessinger sent it to New York, to the store of J.J. Rickers at 124 Broadway, whose circular stamp appears on the title page as well. Directly over the Rickers stamp, however, is the rectangular stamp advertising, "Sold at / Cole's / Music Store / Baltimore." By obscuring Ricker's stamp with his own, Cole may have been trying to conceal his lack of direct trade with France (figure 10). Once in Baltimore, the *Otello* score received a personalized binding to match other music books at Hampton: marbleized covers, red corners and spine, and a red label with the gilt-lettered "MRS. J. RIDGELY."

Tracing *Otello* from both sides of the Atlantic may outline trade alliances, but it does not reveal whether the score was one of a multiple shipment of Rossini's opera sent to New York and then to Baltimore, or if Eliza Ridgely submitted a special request at Cole's Music Store that set the train in motion. Perhaps special order and regular shipment met halfway, if Cole knew that J.J. Rickers routinely stocked French publications. Either way, sheet music suppliers recognized that they could not be competitive without building partnerships among their colleagues.

The full piano-vocal score of *Otello* illustrates another aspect of the music publishing trade, the business of opera transcriptions. Thomas Christensen notes that "By the turn of the [nineteenth] century, few operas were henceforth produced without piano-vocal scores in tow. . . . Save for some French publications, few publishers saw any need to engrave large, expensive full scores."[30] In analyzing the economics of publishing opera scores, Hans Lenneberg estimates that when the publisher Schlessinger produced

[30]Thomas Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domstication of Opera," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, edited by Kate van Orden (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 77.

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both the full score and the piano-vocal transcription of Meyerbeer's opera *Les Huguenots*, Schlessinger would have lost over 1,000 francs from his investment. Lennberg cautions, "Before we feel too sorry for Schlessinger, however, we must realize that individual numbers taken from the vocal score and sold separately, using the same plates, would cost him relatively little and that arrangements of all sorts were customary."[31] Lenneberg's point is well taken, considering that *Otello* is the only example of a full piano-vocal score in Eliza Ridgely's collection, compared with published excerpts from at least twenty other operatic works.

A discussion of the music publishing trade ignores the source of a significant part of Eliza Ridgely's sheet music. Over a quarter of the pieces in her collection were written by hand, probably copied from someone else's published version of the piece (figure 11). This was a common practice, especially in the first decades of the nineteenth century when publishers' stocks were limited in quantity and selections. Music teachers from Europe could seldom expect to find their teaching music in a local Baltimore establishment: therefore, teachers often offered copying services as well as instruction. Even musicians who did not specialize in teaching used copying music as a means of extra income; Mr. Gaetano Carusi, "Italian master of music," advertised his arrival in Baltimore in 1810 by announcing his availability to play music for balls, arrange music for "any sort of Instrument," and stated, "He also copies music, and tunes Forte Pianos."[32]

Several pieces in Eliza Ridgely's books match the bills submitted by Henry-Noel Gilles for her music lessons. As mentioned previously, Gilles' bills list a total of thirty-

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[31]Hans Lenneberg, "Music publishing and dissemination in the early nineteenth century: Some vignettes." *Journal of Musicolgy* 2 (Spring 1983): 178.

[32]*Baltimore Evening Post*, 12 Nov. 1810. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files.

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four pieces by name, charging twelve cents per page for providing manuscript copies of the music listed, approximately the same price as printed sheet music. The seventeen pieces whose titles match Gilles's bills are contained in only three of the bound books of music, two of which contain exclusively manuscripts and represent the bulk of the Gilles copies (HAMP 2248 and 20024). It seems reasonable to assume that the rest of the Gilles pieces are bound in the same volumes.

Musicologist Beth Miller makes the interesting point that "the manuscript copies in Eliza Ridgely's books may be a direct reflection of the contents of Gilles's own library."[33] Examining the two books that contain most of the pieces Gilles copied, the music represents Gilles's own history in the Parisian operatic world up to 1815 and his personal music pursuits. The operatic excerpts are all from works premiered in Europe prior to Gilles's emigrating to America, such as Rossini's *Tancredi* from which Gilles provided two pieces: one is a vocal solo, titled "Cavatina / Tu che accendi questo core" on the manuscript itself but referred to by the more common name "Di tanti palpiti" on Gilles's bill of January 1821 (HAMP 2248); the other is a vocal trio titled "Terzetto entre Amenaide Tancredi" on the score, but simply "Trio de Tancredi" on the bill of January 1822 (HAMP 20024).

Gilles also provided copies of his own compositions that either had not yet been published or had been published elsewhere. One song of his, "Le Troubadour a la Croisade" writes the full credit for the composer as though it were directly copying a printed French piece, describing Gilles as "1 er hautbois de l'Opera Buffa & de la musique particuliere de S.M. l'Empereur & Roi," the first oboist of the Opera Buffa and a musician for His Majesty the Emperor and King (HAMP 2248). Another song, "Le

[33]Miller, 41.

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Rossignol" listed on the bill of January 1822, was composed by Pertosa (HAMP 2248), but in November of 1825 Gilles published it as a set of variations titled "Le rossignol. Musique de Pertosa" through J. Cole of Baltimore.[34]

A final source of the manuscript pieces in Eliza Ridgely's collection may be Eliza herself. One volume in particular appears to be the direct product of music lessons, a combination of the teacher's hand and the pupil's first attempts at musical notation (HAMP 20025). The volume no longer has covers, but remnants of a leather binding are caught in the sewing that joins the six leaves of pre-printed staff paper. Most of the pieces are only one page long, written on the right-hand pages. The first several pieces are musically very simple, but written in a very sure hand which suggests the writing of the music teacher. Pencilled fingerings throughout support the theory that this is a lesson book, as well as the inclusion of "Vocal musick instructions" which uses seven pages in the middle of the book to explain the basics of notation, meter, time, key signatures, and a full page of intervals. After the "Vocal musick instructions," every following piece in the volume is written in a student's handwriting: poorly organized, several passages crossed out in error, sometimes cramped in an effort to fit the piece on a given page. However, the student clearly improves with practice, as the manuscripts become increasingly polished as the volume reaches its end. Whether the student hand belongs to Eliza Ridgely cannot be conclusively proven, but it certainly reflects the type of musical training she experienced.

When students learned to copy music, when teachers provided sheet music from their own collections, and when music publishers participated in teaching and performance, a clear definition between producer, consumer, and instructor did not exist,

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[34]Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801-1825*, vol. 1 (New York: New York Public Library, 1964), 314.

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and perhaps was not a concern. Professional musicians relied on amateur students, and customers who purchased sheet music employed the composers for their private entertainments and concerts. Such a complex network of social and consumer relationships leaves very little tangible evidence, since the product of that network is perhaps the most transient of any effort: musical sound.

Who taught the music: Teachers and Tastemakers

Throughout the nineteenth century, music was viewed as "an indispensable talent for a young lady."[35] From private instructors, from published music textbooks, and from school curricula, girls routinely received training in singing and piano playing. This aspect of their education was not without debate; many questioned the propriety of encouraging young women to perform and seek public approval. On the other side of the argument were those who felt that music provided a necessary outlet for releasing potentially disruptive emotions. These philosophical debates, however, did not diminish the demand for musical education for girls.[36]

A notice in a Baltimore newspaper of 1809 introduced the most common means of musical training for girls:

MR. Ls. LEBLANC,
Lately from Paris, and pupil of Steibelt, has the honor to inform the public

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[35]Letter from Rosalie Stier Calvert to her family in Belgium, Nov. 5, 1806. Ed., Margaret Law Calvert, *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 150.

[36]Judith Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983), chapters 2-4.

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> and his friends, that he intends to teach the Piano Forte, and the art of Singing in the Italian style. He has the honor of teaching at Mrs. Groombridge's boarding school; and flatters himself that those parents who shall confide in him the care of their children, shall be satisfied of their progress. . . .[37]

In this notice Mr. Leblanc advertised his continental training, a desirable combination of Parisian taste and Italian technique; "Singing in the Italian style" referred to a specific method of singing that cultivated pure, natural vocal expression rather than the harsher shouting style taught in the Paris conservatories.[38] He announced his arrangement with Mrs. Groombridge to provide instruction to her pupils, and doubtless added prestige to Mrs. Groombridge's school by lending his cosmopolitan air to her local establishment. Though the notice used the gender-neutral term "children," readers understood that Mr. Leblanc's training intended to benefit girls, not boys.

For young schoolgirls, a music teacher provided the most direct link to the world of professional music making. Too young to attend formal social events, girls would not have encountered paid musicians at balls or parties, and it is unlikely they would have attended the theater. Their music teacher, met either at home or their school, was often a professional musician, composer or publisher who taught as an income supplement; for example, Philadelphia publisher Benjamin Carr taught music at Madame Rivardi's Seminary for Young Ladies.[39] As a member of the professional music community, a music teacher offered students access to the latest songs, composers, and musical tastes.

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[37]*The Whig*, (Baltimore, Maryland) 18 October 1809. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files.

[38]Patrick Barbier, *Opera in Paris, 1800-1850: A Lively History* (Portland, Oreg.: Amadeus Press, 1995), 137.

[39]Mary Johnson, "Antoinette Brevost: A Schoolmistress in Early Pittsburgh," *Winterthur Portfolio* 15 (Summer 1980), 153.

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Eliza first began studying music when she attended Miss Lyman's Academy. Though his identity is unknown, Miss Lyman doubtless arranged for a local music professional to provide regular instruction in harp, piano and voice, just as a dancing master would provide instruction in graceful social dancing. The additional cost for harp, piano and singing lessons ($46.00), exceeded the cost of board and basic tuition ($45.00). Letters from Nicholas Ridgely to his daughter at school reflect this emphasis on music; he mentioned it in every letter that survives, betraying an anxious desire that Eliza attained the ability to "entertain us by good music."[40]

The structure of musical education had changed very little by the time Eliza's daughter, Didy, started attending school. Like her mother, Didy enrolled in boarding school at the age of thirteen, though Didy's school was in Baltimore, not Philadelphia. According to Didy's diary of 1841, Mr. Petri provided piano lessons for both Didy and her younger brother, Charles. Three sequential volumes of Czerny's *Etude de la Velocite* published in Philadelphia may well have been purchased for the children's use for technical exercises. Only the front cover remains of Volume 1, but Volume 2 is marked throughout, including the pencilled instruction on the first piece, "Take care how you hold your little finger." (HAMP 19009) Another teaching book, *Fifty Progressive Lessons for the Piano Forte as Adopted by the Conservatoire of Naples & Paris*, has "Didy Ridgely 1845" pencilled on the cover, a sure sign that the book was acquired for Didy's school years, though the mint condition of the book suggests that the Czerny received more use (HAMP 19011). An edition of Clementi Sonatinas reveals different conventions for notating fingering; instead of numbering fingers one to five as is common today, the thumb was marked "+" with one through four used for the other

[40]Letter dated November 24, 1817, quoted in Miller, 47.

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fingers (HAMP 20004, figure 12).

Sixteen-year-old Didy still received music lessons in addition to the scholastic curriculum at Mrs. Winchester's school. Julia G. Friese provided "one quarter instruction in music" for $36, in addition to G. Piccioli's instruction in singing and in Italian language for $15 and $10 per quarter, respectively.[41] The structure of Mrs. Winchester's billing system indicates that a pupil's course of study could be very individualized. The receipt for board and tuition at Mrs. Winchester's encompasses basic instruction in subjects like English, history, natural science, and geometry for $62.50 per quarter. French was an additional $8, and "Use of Piano" was another service offered for $3.[42] On a separate bill, Mrs. Winchester arranged payment for G. Piccioli's singing and Italian lessons. Mrs. Friese submitted her own bill with no mention of Mrs. Winchester's institution. All three instructors submitted quarterly bills, but their quarters started at different times in the year. Mrs. Winchester had connections to whatever training her pupils sought, but it required careful planning to schedule two outside instructors around the regular classes, and it nearly doubled the cost of Didy's education.

Certain teachers managed to become status symbols themselves, attracting a clientele of young ladies from elite social circles. Henri Noel Gilles is one example. Gilles, a French expatriate and former oboist at Napolean's court, arrived in the United States with his brother after Napolean's 1815 fall from power. He participated in

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[41]Receipts for Mrs. Winchester, Mrs. Friese, and G. Piccioli's services are all in Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

[42]Receipt from Maria Winchester addressed to John Ridgely of Hampton, dated April 14, 1845. The total cost for one quarter was $77.75, including textbooks: $2.75 for "Arnot's Elements of Physics" and $1.50 for "Willard's History of the United States." The cost of the previous quarter's tuition was identical except for the textbooks: "Mattebriars Geo[m]," cost only 62 1/2 cents, bringing the total bill to $74.12 1/2. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

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concerts as early as 1816 in the Washington, DC area,[43] and by 1822 rated the title of "professor of Music" in the Baltimore Directory.[44] His French background no doubt appealed to the francophile Baltimoreans and he became the music instructor to a number of daughters in the best families. Gilles codified his singing methods in his *Complete Vocal Instructor*, published by subscription in 1828 and dedicated to the "Ladies of Baltimore" (HAMP 2251, figure 13). Reading the list of subscribers gives a good indication of his circle of pupils; local music dealers J. Cole and George Willig each ordered twelve copies of the book, but most of the subscribers were private individuals, mostly women from Baltimore or "Washington City" (figure 14).

Interestingly, Eliza Ridgely was not on the subscription list for Gilles' book, though she studied with him for years. At one dollar per lesson, plus the cost of hand-copied sheet music Gilles provided, Eliza received voice lessons approximately twice a week in 1821 and 1822 and at least occasionally through 1826.[45] Her absence from the list of subscribers may simply be a matter of timing. In 1828, when *The Complete Vocal Instructor* was published, she had recently been married to John Ridgely and was probably no longer an active student.

By providing music lessons, Gilles not only earned extra income, but also made

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[43]A notice of 17 Jan. 1817 announces "CONCERT. MESSERS. GILLES, WHO have performed lately in the city of Washington, have the honor to inform the citizens of Alexandria that they intend to give a CONCERT, consisting of Vocal and Instrumental Music in this town . . ." *Alexandria (Virginia) Herald*, 17 Jan. 1817. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files.

[44]C. Keenan, *The Baltimore Directory, for 1822 & '23* (Baltimore: 1822. Research Publications, Inc. Microfiche).

[45]One receipt from Gilles survives from 1826 that lists $16.00 paid for 16 lessons between April 9 and June 30. Bills from John Nenninger also extend to 1826, but itemize only charges for "sundry Music" or "stringing her Harp," not lessons. Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692.

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his name known as a musician to those most likely to hire musicians. In effect, his teaching clientele doubled as an audience base for his concert career, just as other music teachers-publishers had a ready-made customer base for their publications. Gilles took the relationship further by organizing small student recitals at which both his pupils and he himself would perform. Isabel Baron was a pupil in 1827, whose uncle, Robert Gilmor, described attending one of the student events:

> . . . I adjourned the meeting, and went to join my wife and niece Isabel at Mr. Gilles, the teacher of my niece, who gave one of his usual concerts to shew the improvement of his pupils. There was a large company of our acquaintance invited, but many of those present were not of our circle, though very respectable people, who came to see their daughters perform. My niece and Margaret Harrison played a duet of Rossini's, and considering their youth performed extremely well and were much applauded. Gilles performed (as an accompaniment to the players and singers on the oboe, on which instrument he is perfect). Madame Gilles, sang both solos and duets, very charmingly; the music Italian. Miss Donaldson, whose voice is very fine, sang also in the best style of Italian singing, as did Miss Chatard. There were a great many fine pieces sung and played on the piano and guitar by his pupils, and Mr. Gilles acquired great reputation among the auditors for his skill in teaching.[46]

This passage in Gilmor's diary contains much information about Gilles' role as a music teacher. The student performers are all daughters; no sons are mentioned. Gilles' pupils extend beyond a single social circle, yet all are respectable. The concerts promoted Gilles' skill as a teacher, as well as his own musical ability on the oboe and his wife's talent as a singer.

The pupils' performance of Italian songs and a "duet of Rossini's" certainly matches the music that Eliza studied under Gilles' direction, and the music she continued to collect well into her married life. Gilles was in a position to introduce an entire

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[46]"The Diary of Robert Gilmor," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 17 (September and December 1922): 249.

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generation of upper-class young women to the popular music of the day, and his emphasis on French and Italian opera over English ballads or popular songs doubtlessly influenced many society girls towards a refined taste more in tune with aristocratic gentility than with American republicanism. Richard L. Bushman uses the example of sentimental fiction to discuss the conflict between aristocratic and democratic culture, but the same ideas can be applied to music as well; foreign-language songs and operatic arias reinforced choices that looked to Europe for style and taste rather than embracing the democratic ideals of a new society.[47]

Music teachers bridged the gap between public performance and private entertainment and between professional skill and amateur accomplishment. Teaching allowed access to elite social circles that would otherwise be closed. As performers, they cultivated an audience for their own chosen musical forms by teaching young amateurs to appreciate them. As publishers, they created a demand for pedagogical works at least, at best a life-long market for new music.

Who listened to the music: High Society in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore

A cultivated group of amateur musicians proved invaluable to the early concert life of Baltimore. John Nenninger, some-time music teacher for Eliza Ridgely, placed a notice in a local newspaper in 1814 that illustrates this:

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[47]Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 289-290.

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Messrs. I. and B. Nenninger
Have the honor to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Baltimore, that several Gentlemen, Amateurs, having kindly promised them their assistance, they intend giving a
CONCERT
on Tuesday, the 15th of March, of Mr. Mallet's Assembly Room. Tickets of admission to be had at $1 each, at Mr. Carr's Music Store, and at Messrs. F. Lucas's, E. J. Coale's and P. Mauro's Bookstores.[48]

A full program followed, listing symphonies, overtures, concertos, and other works that required a full orchestra of musicians. Without the participation of gentlemen amateurs, who might otherwise be in the audience, this concert could not have succeeded. In addition to the people necessary to fill the ranks of an orchestra, Nenninger counted on an audience to make his efforts worthwhile.

Benefit concerts, private musical societies, traveling theatrical productions, and domestic gatherings all provided frequent opportunities for Baltimoreans to listen to and to appreciate musical entertainment. Robert Gilmor's diary of 1826-7 mentions a wide range of musical events. As a member of the Anacreontic Society (named in honor of an ancient Greek writer of love poetry and drinking songs), Gilmor attended private concerts every Tuesday evening for the 60 gentlemen members of that club; ladies were permitted to attend only certain events. Gilmor frequently accompanied his wife to the concert rooms of the Athenaeum, where they enjoyed a variety of performances from vocal concerts to ballets to touring musicians such as "Willis the bugler from West Point, play[ing] on his delightful bugle." Willis also made an appearance the next day for the Anacreontic Society.[49] Descriptions of private parties often included a mention of which guests sang songs or performed on an instrument. Even religious services had more

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[48] *(Baltimore) American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 15 March 1814. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files.

[49] "The Diary of Robert Gilmor," 251.

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appeal for Gilmor if the music promised to be particularly good; on Easter Sunday, while traveling in New York City, he wrote that he accepted an invitation to attend Grace Church with friends "it being also understood that there was to be fine music, particularly from Madame Malabrun."[50]

In the era before recorded sound, live performance was the only means of experiencing music and hearing new songs and could provide the catalyst for individuals seeking new sheet music for their personal collections. Publishers recognized this aural method of musical dissemination, and often incorporated it into their production. Sheet music often added a second line under the title of the song that listed the piece's concert pedigree, whether the name of the larger theatrical work or, more frequently, the name of the individual musician associated with the piece. For example: "The Rose / Sung by Mr Webster, with unbounded Applause, at the New Theatre Philadelphia"; "Sweet is the Vale / A favourite DUETT as Sung by Mr. WOODHAM & Mrs. WIGNELL"; and "Within a Mile of Edinbourgh / Introduced & Sung by Miss Broadhurst in the Musical Farce called MY GRANDMOTHER." (HAMP 4378, figures 15, 16)

Even a traditional ballad like "Comin thro' the rye" described itself as "A favorite Scotch Ballad Sung by Mrs. Knight" (HAMP 2287). Mrs. Edward (Mary Ann) Knight, already a veteran of London theater, debuted in New York in 1826. For over a year she charmed audiences throughout the East Coast with a voice compared to "a plaintive Scotch melody - simple and unostentatious, the touching beauty of whose tones, however, cling to our memory, and will not pass away."[51] Robert Gilmor recorded her

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[50] Ibid., 325.

[51] *New York Mirror*, 20 October 1827, quoted in Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 9.

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appearance in Baltimore on June 7, 1827, noting that "Mrs. Knight (formerly Miss Povey) was in town and gave a concert this evening to which my family went. . . ."[52] In this case, Mrs. Knight gained a reputation for a particular song that already existed, but the publisher still used her popularity to market a new edition of the ballad.

Listing famous singers was not only a publisher's marketing technique. On many of the manuscript copies in Eliza Ridgely's music collection, the copyist went to the trouble of retaining the applicable performers' affiliation. Two songs from the same William Shield opera, *Rossina*, appear in one of the manuscript volumes, both crediting the singers instead of the composer: Above the title "Whilst with village maid I stray" the copyist noted "Sung by Mrs. Jones in Rosina, Sung by Mrs. Marshall / Sung by Mrs. Danby"; above the simple title "Song in the Rosina" the copyist noted, "Sung by Miss Arnold & Mr. Francis" (HAMP 20025). Either the manuscript copied singers' names from the published original of the songs, or the copier knew that, for Baltimore musical circles, particular performers made these pieces famous.

In another pair of manuscript examples, "Ecco ridenti il Cielo / Barbier de Seville" bears the subtitle "Cavatine Chante par M. Garcia dans l'Opera du Barbier de Seville (song sung by M. Garcia in the opera *The Barber of Seville*)," and the vocal trio "Zitti, zitti, piano, piano" bears the subtitle "Terzetto dal Barbiere di Seviglia / Chante par Mr. M. Garcia (Trio of *The Barber of Seville* / Sung by Mr. M. Garcia)" (HAMP 2247). Manuel Garcia was a great tenor who first created the role of Count Almaviva in Rossini's *Il Barbiere de Siviglia*, premiered in Rome on February 20, 1816.[53] In both of these pieces, the affiliation with the singer took precedence over an affiliation with the composer. Perhaps Rossini was so famous for *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* that the copyist

[52] "The Diary of Robert Gilmor," 343.
[53] *Phaidon Book of the Opera* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979), 131.

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assumed everyone would credit the correct composer, but other excerpts copied from the same opera listed Rossini's name.

All of these sheet music renditions of theatrical or concert pieces were, to an extent, souvenirs of the public performance in question. For those who saw Garcia in *Il Barbiere de Siviglia* or heard Mrs. Knight sing "Comin thro' the rye," the sheet music provided a memento of their own experience in the audience. For those who were not so fortunate as to attend these events in person, the sheet music still allowed access to the theater culture of the day. An individual could purchase the music, familiarize him/herself with the lyrics, melody, and accompaniment, and know from the title that "Comin thro' the rye" was a hit because of the star quality of Mrs. Knight.

The process of producing accessible versions of concert works served to break down the barriers between public spectacle and private entertainment. By distilling huge productions like operas into piano-vocal scores for parlors, vast numbers of amateur musicians could experience at least a reasonable facsimile of the original work, just as a black-and-white engraving offered a reasonable copy of an original painting. Specifically discussing opera scores, Thomas Christensen writes, "The importance of the piano-vocal score as the disseminator of musical literacy and ideology in the nineteenth century can scarcely be overestimated. It became the primary means by which most amateur musicians can to know, judge, and reproduce works they could experience - if they were lucky - only one or two times in live performance."[54] Eliza Ridgely was fortunate enough to experience operatic works many times in live performance, but by performing excerpts in the Music Room at Hampton Mansion she maintained familiarity with the works, and very likely introduced those pieces to other people in her social circle.

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[54]Christensen, 84.

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The social component of music is vital to understanding the importance music had in the early nineteenth century, whether in a public concert hall, a private drawing room, a church, or an informal outdoor gathering. Karen V. Hansen suggests that the historical model of public versus private spheres be modified to include the social sphere, "the range of behaviors that mediates public and private activities, linking households to neighbors and individuals to institutions." Whereas the public sphere operates through laws and the private sphere operates through personal relationships, "the social operates via informal rules and emotional and economic interdependence."[55] Using this definition, music belongs firmly in the social sphere. Anytime music was performed, it was directed towards an audience and guided by etiquette and social expectation; even if the audience and performer were the same individual, that music and the ability to play it stemmed from social connections.

Music-related activities carried their own set of rules for proper behavior and appropriate interaction. For example, young women were expected to behave demurely and modestly, yet the student recitals of Gilles' pupils provided an organized forum for publicly displaying one's talents. Similarly, amateur music-making played a large role in the entertainment during tea parties and social visits, as described previously at Hampton Mansion, and as described by Harriet Manigault, a Philadelphia diarist:

> [Friday, December 22, 1815] We had a *tea party* here last night. . . . Mrs. Stewart was here, & played on the piano. I was a little disappointed in the performance, & thought that she did not play in good time . . . Miss Onis playd & sang one of her fine Italian songs, & although she did it extremely well, she did not excite much applause. Mrs. Middleton alleged a cold in excuse for her not singing; Mrs. Daschkoff said she never could play in company; the de Kantzows also plead colds, & we were reduced to

[55]Karen V. Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 8.

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making up a cotillion.[56]

In Harriet Manigault's account, social custom expected every lady to contribute to the party's entertainment, the performance of which would be critiqued as certainly as the conversation or the dancing. A hostess might even rent a bound volume of music from a local music store for her party; a newspaper advertisement placed by John Cole listed his latest publications, and also mentioned, "Musical parties can now be accommodated with the greatest variety of Songs, Duetts, &c., in bound volumes, which will be loaned for the evening on accommodating terms."[57]

Music was not a strictly female activity, although men were rarely called upon to perform. Harriet Manigault mentions three French brothers, "the Mr. Browns," who participated in the entertainment: at one "very pleasant little party . . . One of them sang a duet with Miss Onis & would have sung very well had he been less frightened, for he certainly has a fine voice;" at another "very pleasant little party . . . The three Mr. Browns were there & sang some delightful duets accompanied by the guitar."[58] The Mr. Browns' musical training and willingness to perform may be a difference in their French upbringing, but a different entry describes Harriet's promise to help Dr. Shippen learn a new song called "The love letter."[59] To an extent, then, music was an arena in which men and women could share comparable skills and talents, perform for one another without violating proper behavior, and even collaborate together on a joint performance.

Even public events fell under the rules of the social sphere when they included musical activities. A Grand Oratorio took place in April and May of 1827 as a benefit

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[56]*The Diary of Harriet Manigault* (The Colonial Dames of America, 1976), 124-5.

[57]*Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 January 1824.

[58]*The Diary of Harriet Manigault*, 6-7.

[59]Ibid., 45.

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concert, led by Messrs. Gilles, Meinecke and Nenninger with the aid of a chorus of amateur singers.[60] Robert Gilmor wrote on May 1 that "the ladies went in the evening to an oratorio at the Unitarian Church, got up by the ladies of the City for the benefit of the Greeks. Many of my family were performers (vocal)."[61] The program included a chorus from Mozart's *Idomeneo*, one of the manuscript pieces that Gilles provided for Eliza Ridgely (HAMP 20024). Considering that Gilles was one of the musical director of the oratorio, Eliza was most likely one of the singers in the chorus. Gilmor's diary confirms that she was involved in the cause: "While writing in the Compting house, my niece Mrs. Howard and the lovely Eliza Ridgely, as members of the ladies committee which is engaged in raising funds to furnish supplies to the suffering Greeks, called on me for my contribution."[62] The combination of charitable works and musical activity provided an opportunity for the musically-trained ladies to use their skills in a way that would otherwise be reserved for professional musicians. The social rules governing musical activities allowed the ladies to have their moment in the artistic spotlight:

> THE ORATORIO for the benefit of the Greeks was performed on Tuesday evening to a fashionable and brilliant audience. The judgement exhibited in the selection of the pieces, was fully supported in their execution by the *amateur* performers. We have seldom seen as deep and silent attention as was displayed during the execution of some of the passages. The whole exhibition may be best described as eminently *tasteful*, and the gratification is universal.[63]

Within Eliza Ridgely's collection, many pieces required two or more performers. While most of the songs could be conceivably accompanied on the piano by the singer,

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[60] *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, 24 April 1827.

[61] "The Diary of Robert Gilmor," 329.

[62] Ibid., 339-40.

[63] *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, 3 May 1827.

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the piano duets, piano-harp duets, and songs for two, three or four voices required multiple musicians. Eliza's close relationship with Henrietta Eichelberger had a musical component, and the two probably played together often. Her daughter, Didy, and daughter-in-law, Margaretta, were both musically trained, but many pieces pre-date Didy's or Margaretta's adulthood. One piece, on which "E.E. Ridgely / Naples" is written in the corner, calls for a full vocal quartet and a piano to perform Rossini's "Mose in Egitto" (HAMP 2294). The collection also contains at least three copies of a Donizetti vocal quartet, "E Rimasto la Impietrato," one of which has "Mrs. Ridgely" pencilled on the cover (HAMP 17397, 20074, 21012); the publication dates to 1854, which means that "Mrs. Ridgely" could refer to either Eliza or Margaretta, but the piece still testifies to mixed ensembles of singers performing together.

Most pieces in Eliza Ridgely's collection are complete, but some instrumental duets were printed as two complimentary scores of which only half survive. For example, the bound volume of Parisian music contains four duets for harp and piano, but only the harp parts were bound in the book. The piano parts were logically kept separate so that they could sit independently on the piano's music rack, but the pianist with whom Eliza played might also have kept them.

The possible exchange of instrumental parts brings up the social role of the physical sheet music itself. Friends who may have distributed musical parts amongst themselves would possess a tangible link to their fellow musicians, as no one person could perform the piece without the help of the others. Sheet music was also an appropriate gift between social peers, easily sent over long distances yet conveying personal messages to the recipient.

According to a later memoir of the Ridgely family by James McHenry Howard, Eliza Ridgely's school friends included two Coleman sisters from Lancaster,

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Pennsylvania, whose family wealth came from the iron business. Soon after their debuts, Eliza traveled to Washington, DC, with one of the Miss Colemans, where both young ladies were warmly welcomed by Washington society. The memoir preserves a rhyme that claims to refer to that season in Washington:

> There came to Washington two maids divine,
> The one in Iron rich, the other wine.
> Which was the finer, it were hard to settle,
> The girl of Spirit or the girl of Metal.[64]

The memoir, written many years after Eliza's life and based largely on family memory, is a tenuous piece of evidence. However, Eliza's music provides a possible second source for the friendship between her and the Colemans of Lancaster. In one of the bound books, an eclectic collection of piano solos, songs for one, two, three, or four voices, and both printed and hand-copied music, one of the manuscript pieces is a song titled "Mary, Mary list awake" (HAMP 2294, figure 17). The song was published in Boston, New York and Philadelphia as early as 1821, but this manuscript copy is dated "July 13, 1823" at the end of the piece, with "Lancaster" written next to the date (figure 18). Considering the Howard account of Eliza's friendship with the Miss Colemans, this song suggests that exchanging music may have been a means of expressing affection between former school friends. Not only could the song have brought to mind a shared musical memory, but the handwriting of the manuscript could also have been a tangible reminder of a distant friend.

Written only a few years earlier, the letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert support the idea that sheet music was an appropriate gift to share with friends and family members. Rosalie, whose marriage and growing family kept her in Maryland when her father and

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[64] James McHenry Howard, "Account of the Ridgely Family," undated typescript in the Hampton National Historic Site files.

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siblings moved back to their native Belgium, frequently exchanged letters and parcels with her distant family. Upon learning that her niece, Louise, enjoyed music, Rosalie promised to "send her several tunes they play here which will be new in Antwerp," and later confirmed that "I am sending her two airs."[65] When Rosalie's own daughter, Caroline, began studying music, Rosalie and her sister acted as middlemen between their respective daughters; Rosalie wrote to her sister, "Caroline is enchanted with her little notebook of waltzes and asks you to be her spokesman to thank Louise."[66] All of these trans-Atlantic music exchanges can be explained by the simple fact that the Calverts in Maryland and Rosalie's family in Belgium had access to different works, and wanted to share the novelty of new tunes. These exchanges had a deeper significance, though, every time the recipient actively played or sang the pieces from a distant family member; such a musical activity served to maintain the memory of the giver and reinforce emotional bonds. The book of waltzes that Louise sent to Caroline, a cousin she had never met in person, helped establish an affectionate connection between two young women who would normally expect to share a close relationship, if circumstance had not placed an ocean between them.

The social element of Eliza Ridgely's music may not be evident in the harmony, tempi or lyrics, but it is evident in the physical sheet music itself. The means of acquiring and exchanging sheet music relied on social relationships, whether between teachers and pupils or between intimate friends. The system of seeking out and selecting new music related to concert life, both in public assembly halls and in private parlors. Music functioned in the social sphere according to rules of social interaction and appropriate behavior, combining entertainment, a display of skill, and shared experiences.

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[65]Letters dated Nov. 5, 1806, and Jan. 20, 1807. Calvert, 150, 157.

[66]Letter dated Oct. 25, 1816. Ibid., 303.

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Coda

Standing today at Hampton Mansion, an elegant Federal-period mansion on the outskirts of Baltimore, a visitor is likely to be impressed by the grandeur of the building, the layout of the formal gardens, and the idea that all of the property visible from the top cupola was once owned by the Ridgely family. Visually, the house looks much as it did in Eliza Ridgely's lifetime, but a visitor is more likely to hear the nearby rumble of the highway than the creak of a horse-drawn carriage. The occasional interruptions of car horns, airplanes, and maintenance machinery are more common than the sounds of farm animals, young children in the nursery, or household servants tending to the mansion. Certainly a ringing cell phone is more expected than a harp being played in the Music Room. Though the house, furnishings, and artworks offer a visual portrait of life at Hampton, very little remains to give a visitor the audio experience of Hampton's history.

The sheet music that remains at Hampton offers a rare glimpse of at least some of those lost sounds. Unlike today, when car radios, Walkmans, CD players and computers allow instant access to music at any moment, the only music to be heard at Hampton in its first century had to be performed in person. Music making was a conscious activity and not to be taken for granted. Folk music, vernacular songs, and spirituals were almost certainly sung and played by the workers and enslaved people on the estate, but these were taught by example and leave no tangible record. In the Music Room of the mansion, however, popular ballads, instrumental duets, and songs from Italian operas created a different musical atmosphere that connected the performers and listeners to a

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wide world of public performances, elite education, and professional composers, publishers, and musicians.

As a collection, Eliza Ridgely's sheet music contains over 400 separate documents that each preserve an independent piece of music, a specific means of production, and an individual musicological story. The collection as a whole, however, is much more than the sum of its parts. It grew organically, reacting to its owner's experiences, education, whims, goals, and memories. It offers a compelling - however incomplete - perspective on the network of people, goods, and services that allowed the collection to take the shape it did. It encompasses personal choices as well as popular taste, allowing equal access to both. Finally, its existence highlights the fact that we can never fully recreate the sights, scents, and sounds of the past, but we can remember that music played an important part in the lives of those we study, lives that are much more three-dimensional than the portraits and papers they leave behind.

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APPENDIX A: FIGURES

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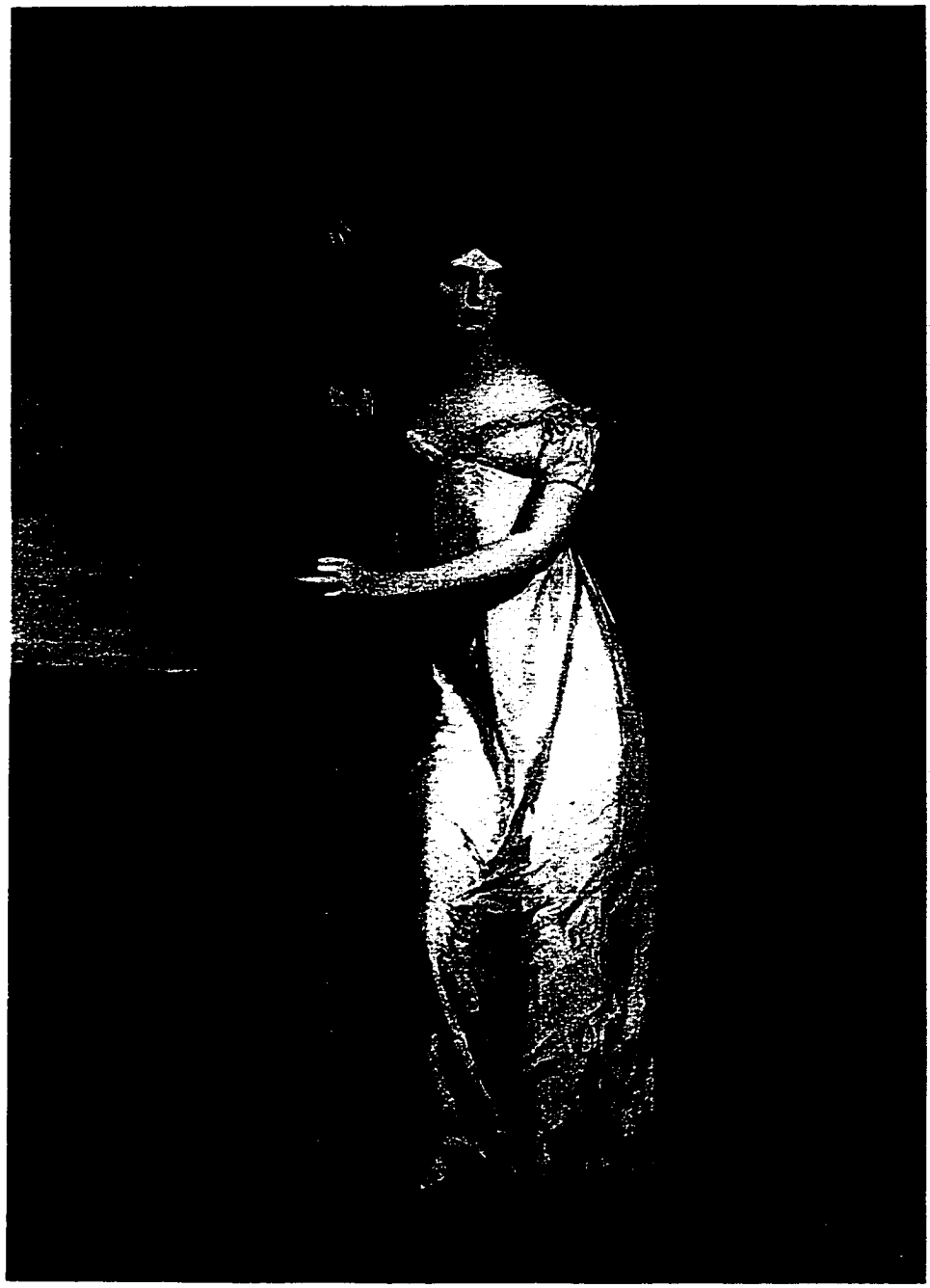

Figure 1. Thomas Sully, Lady With a Harp: Eliza Ridgely, 1818. Gift of Maude Monell Vetleen. Photograph copyright 2001 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

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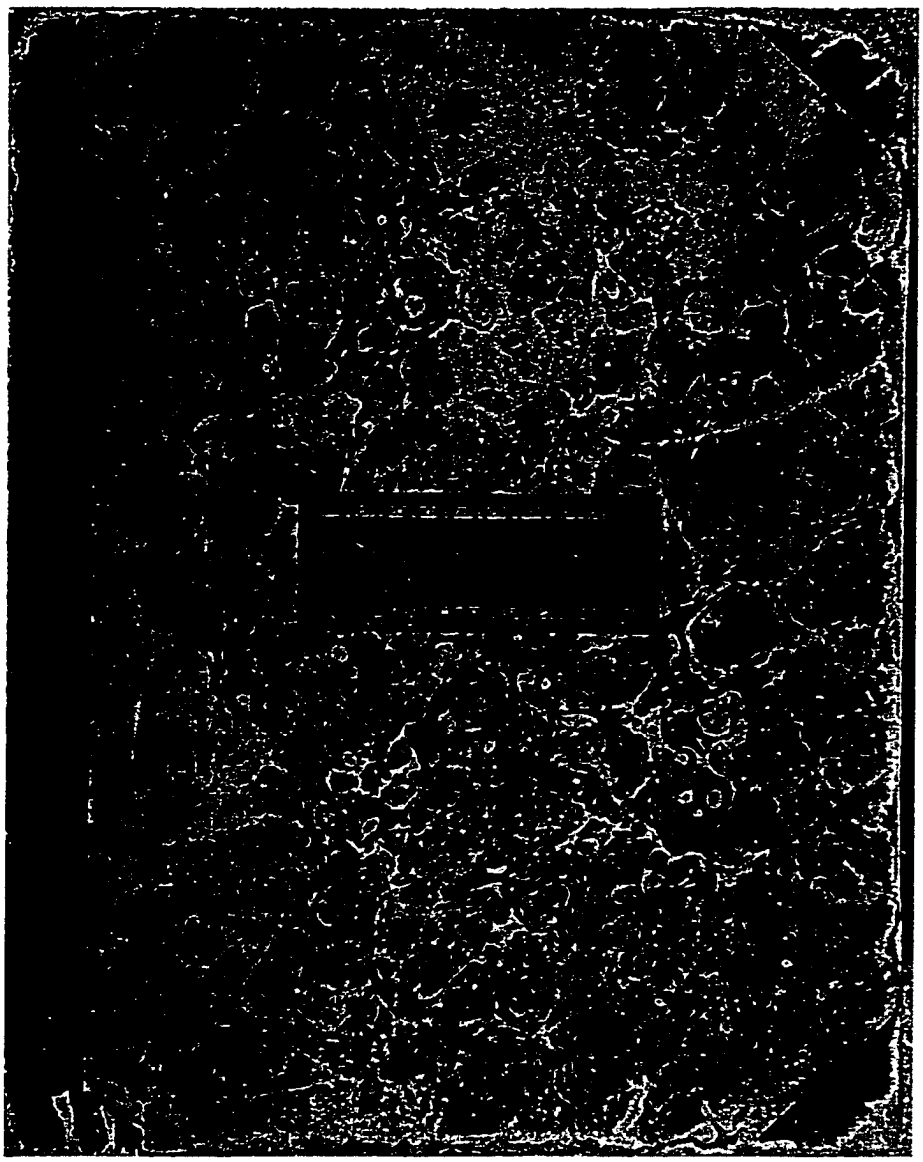

Figure 2. Cover of bound volume of sheet music, HAMP 2259.
Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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Figure 3. "Eliza Ridgely" pencilled on the title page of HAMP 20004. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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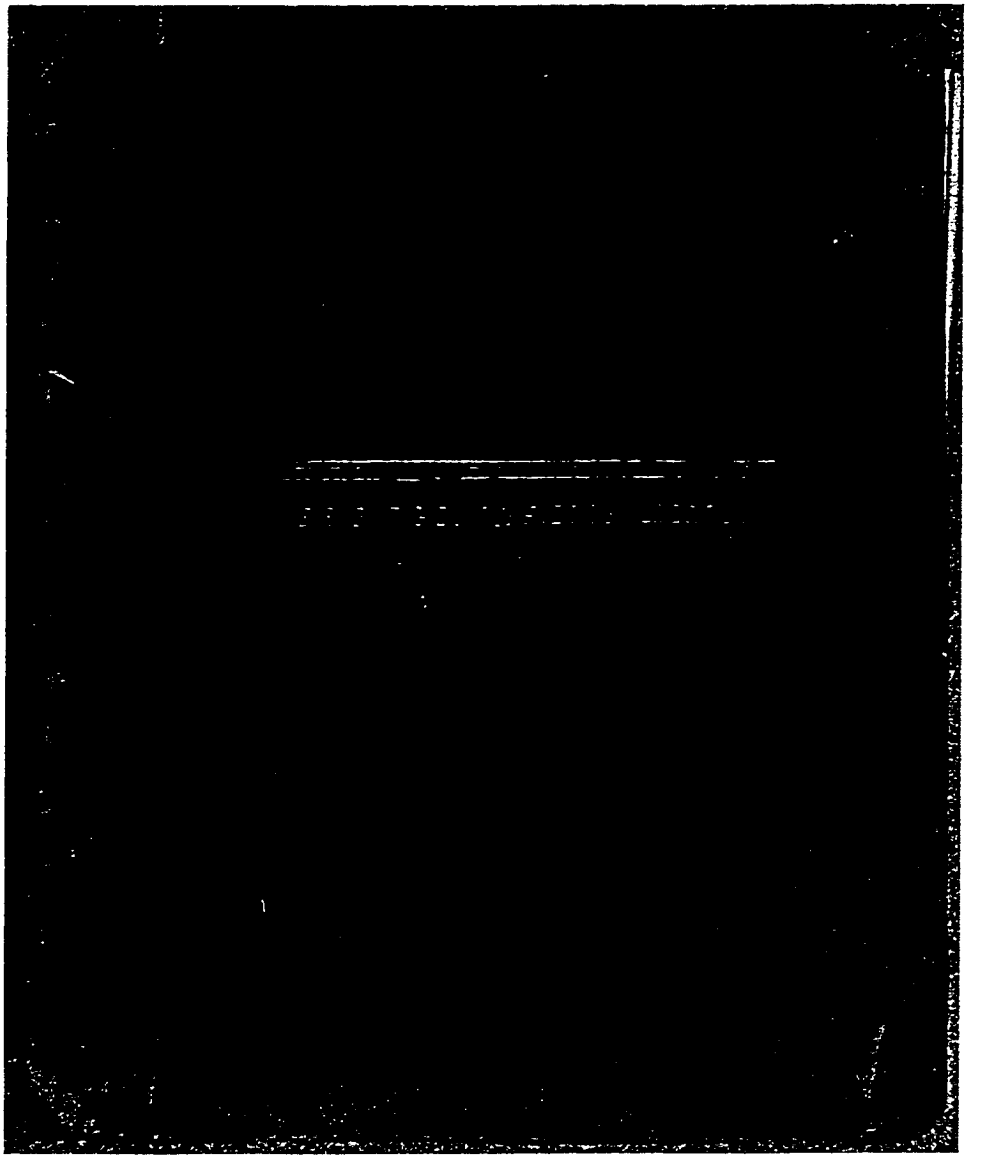

Figure 4. Cover of Bound volume labeled "E.E. Ridgely & H. Eichelberger." HAMP 2247. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site,National Parks Service.

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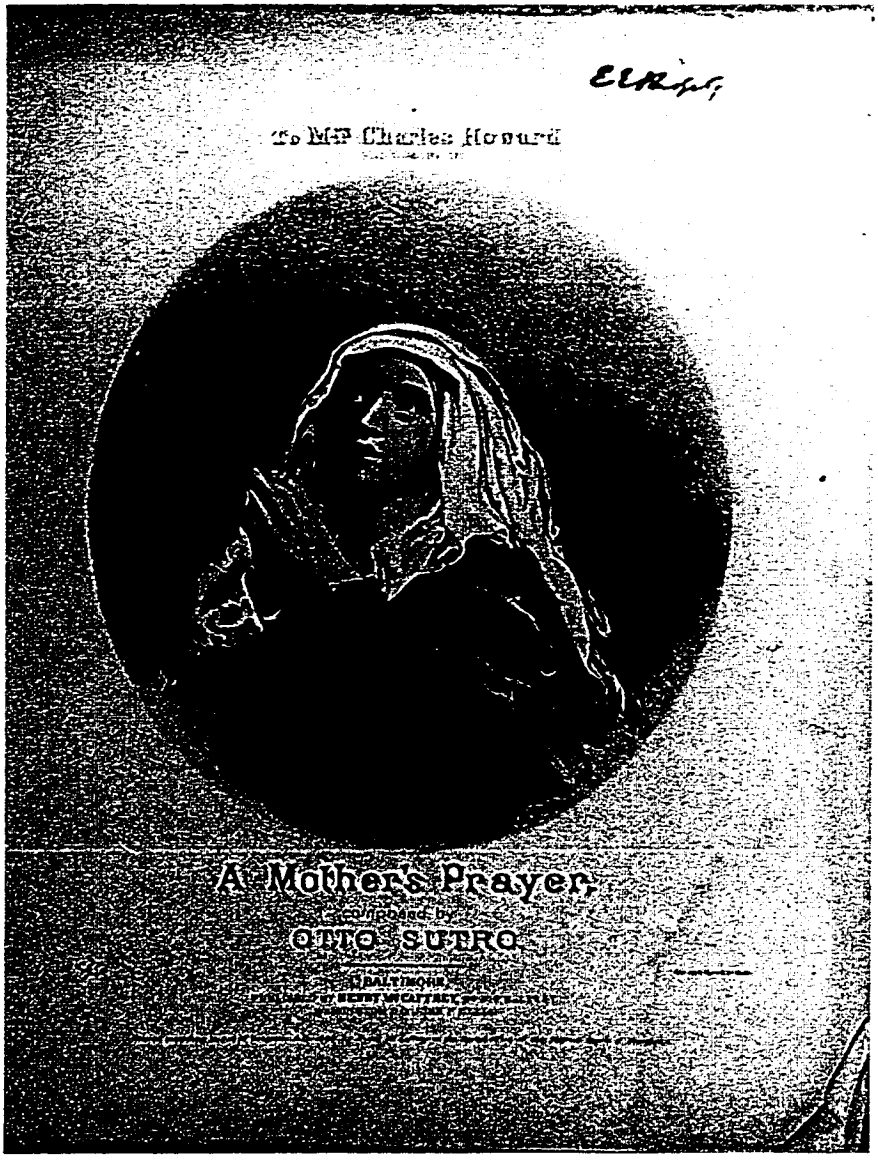

Figure 5. Title page of "A Mother's Prayer," HAMP 20001. Note "E.E. Ridgely" written in the upper right corner. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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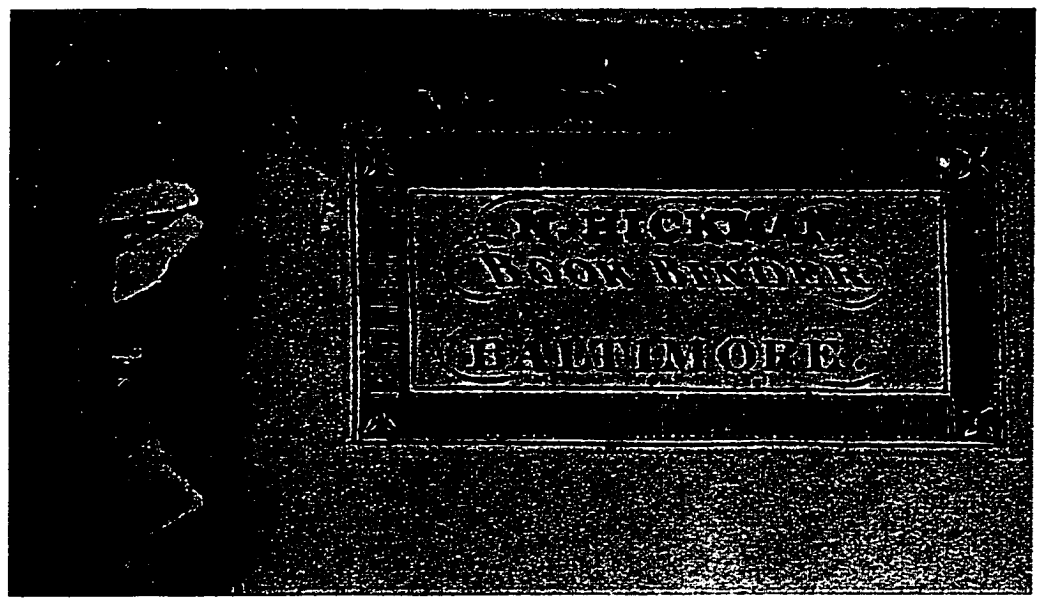

Figure 6. Bookbinder's label, HAMP 2294. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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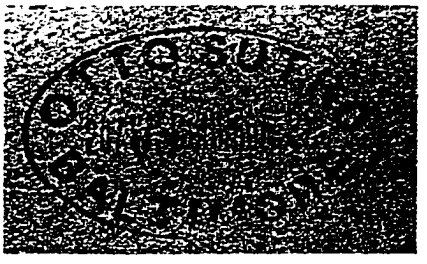
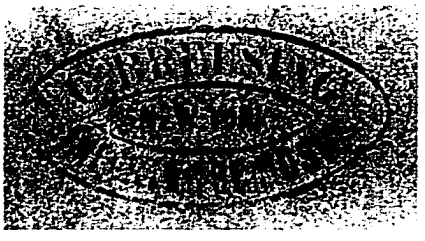
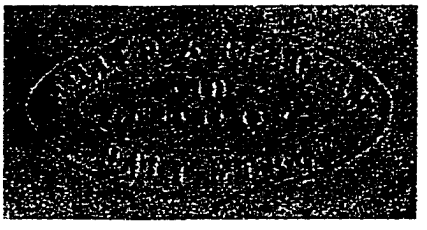
A. Henry McCaffrey, Baltimore.



B. Otto Sutro, Baltimore.



C. C. Breusing, New York.



D. Miller & Beacham, Baltimore.

Figure 7. Music sellers' stamps. Photographs by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

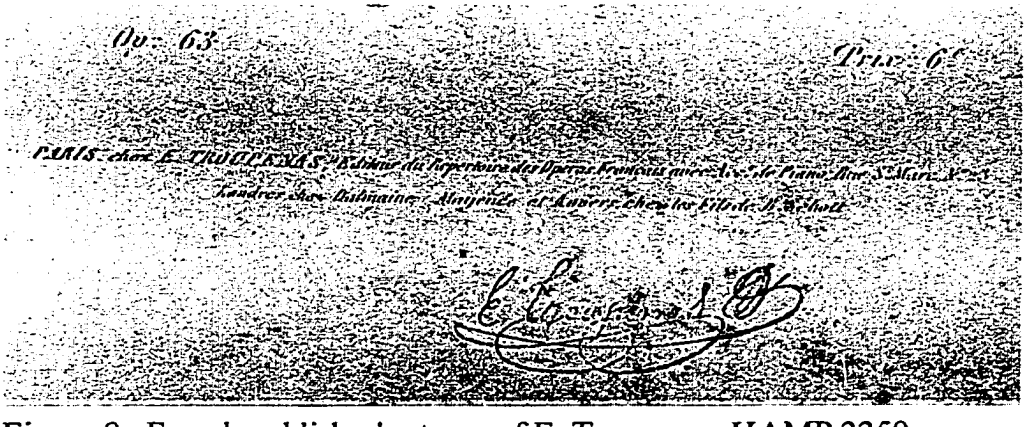


Figure 8. French publisher's stamp of E. Troupenas, HAMP 2259. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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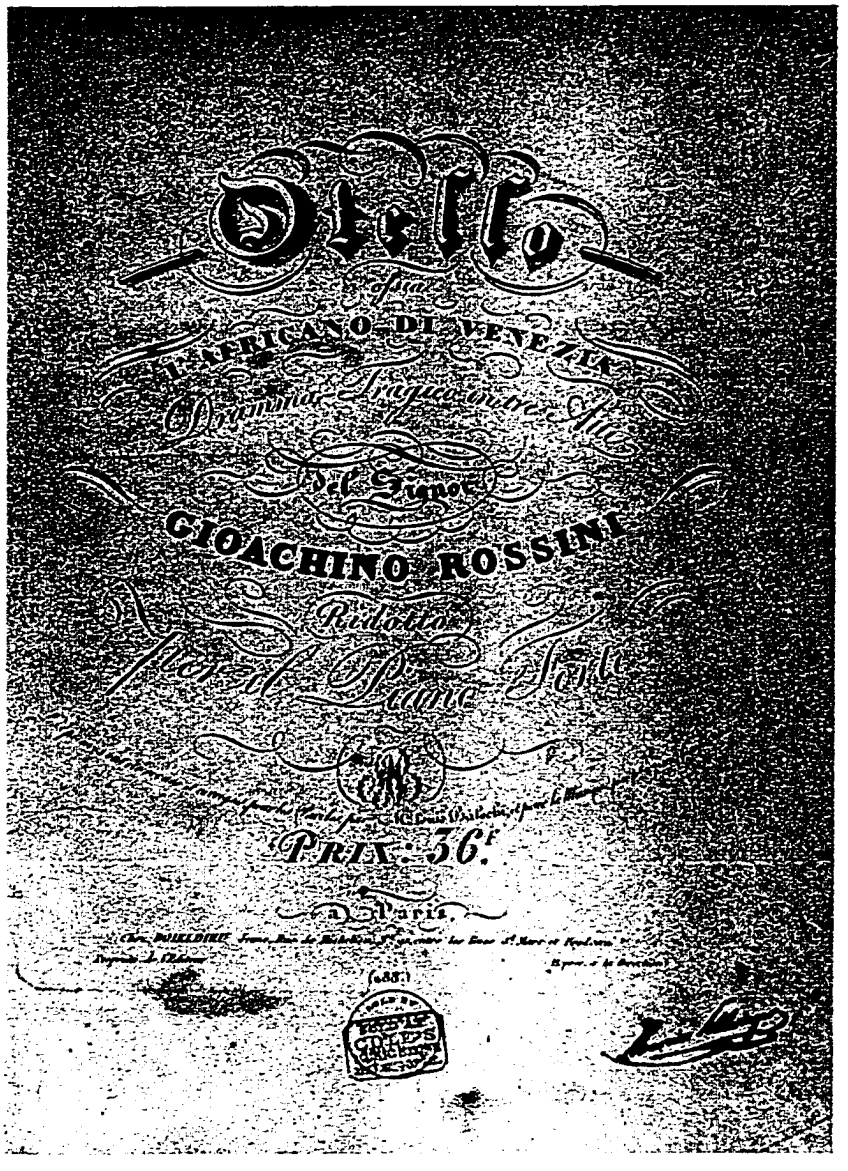

Figure 9. Title page of *Otello* piano-vocal score, HAMP 2058. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hamtpon National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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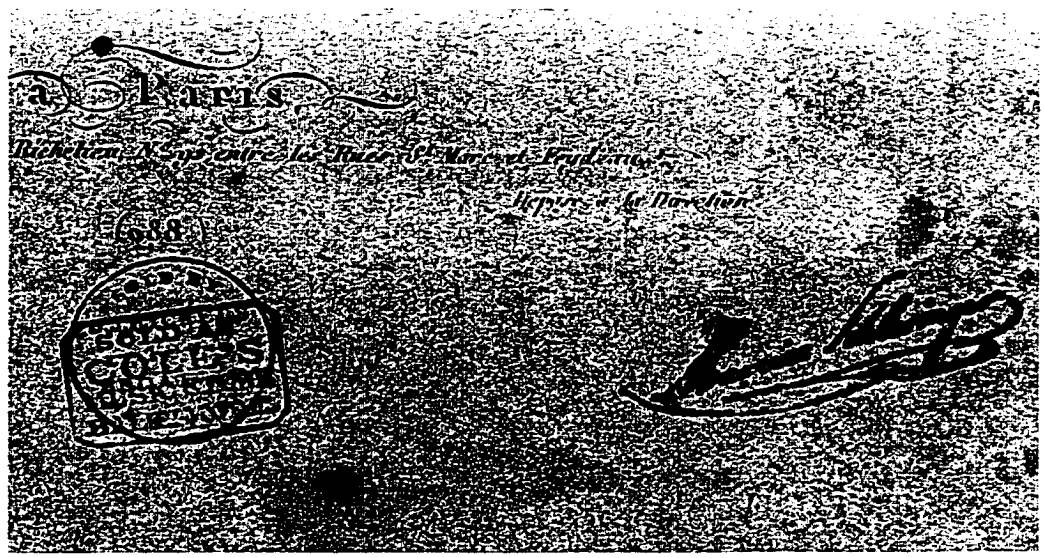

Figure 10. Detail of *Otello* title page, three music sellers' stamps. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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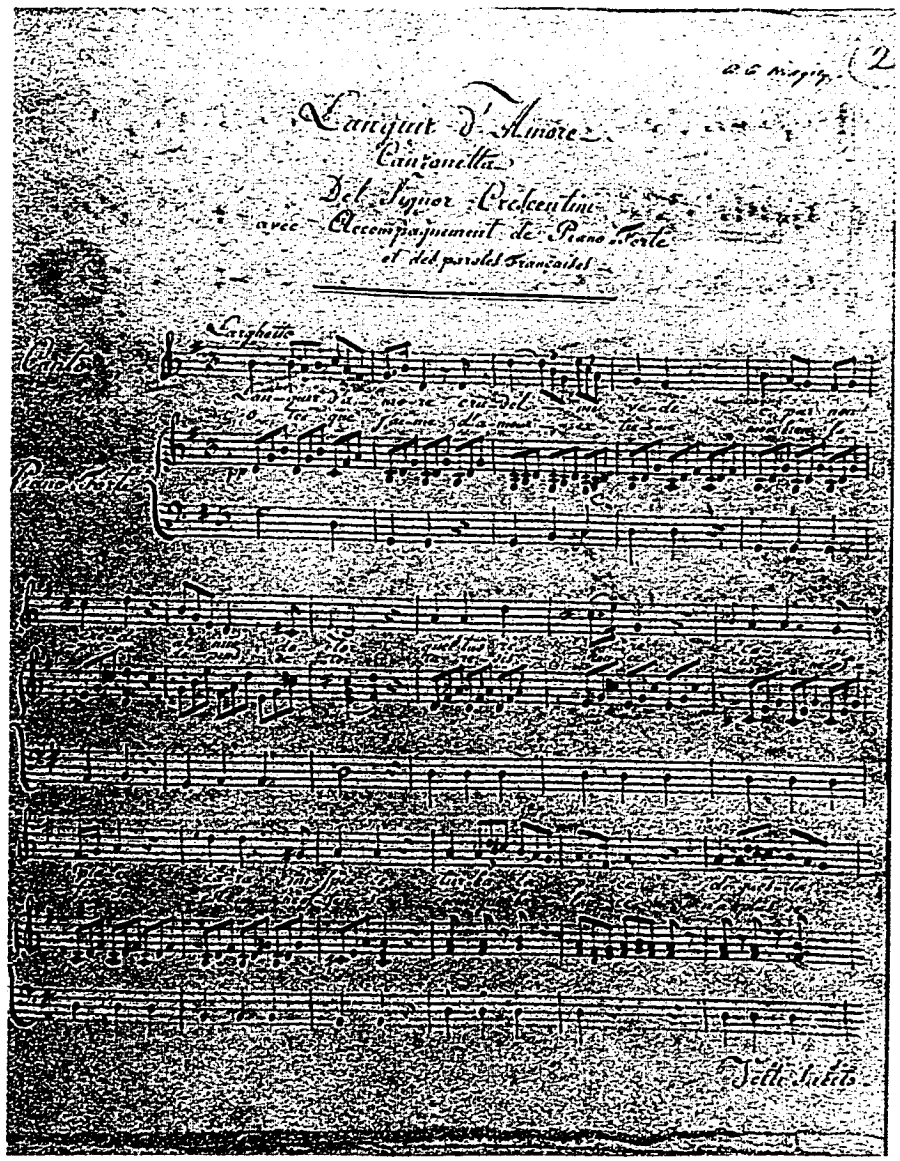

Figure 11. Manuscript copy of "Languir d'Amore," HAMP 2248. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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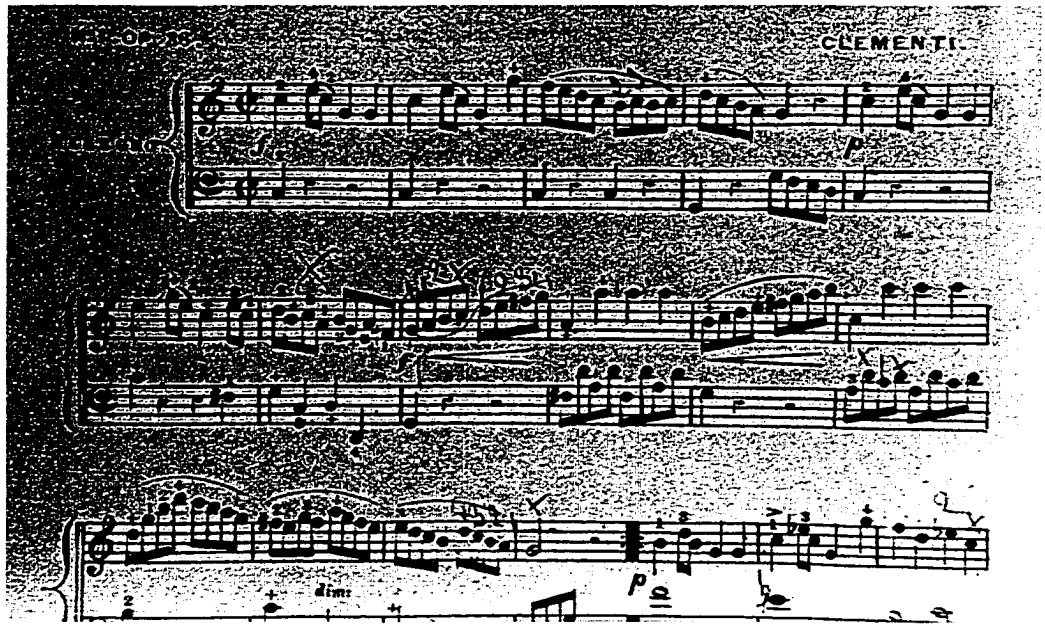

Figure 12. Fingerings written on Clementi Sonatina, HAMP 20004. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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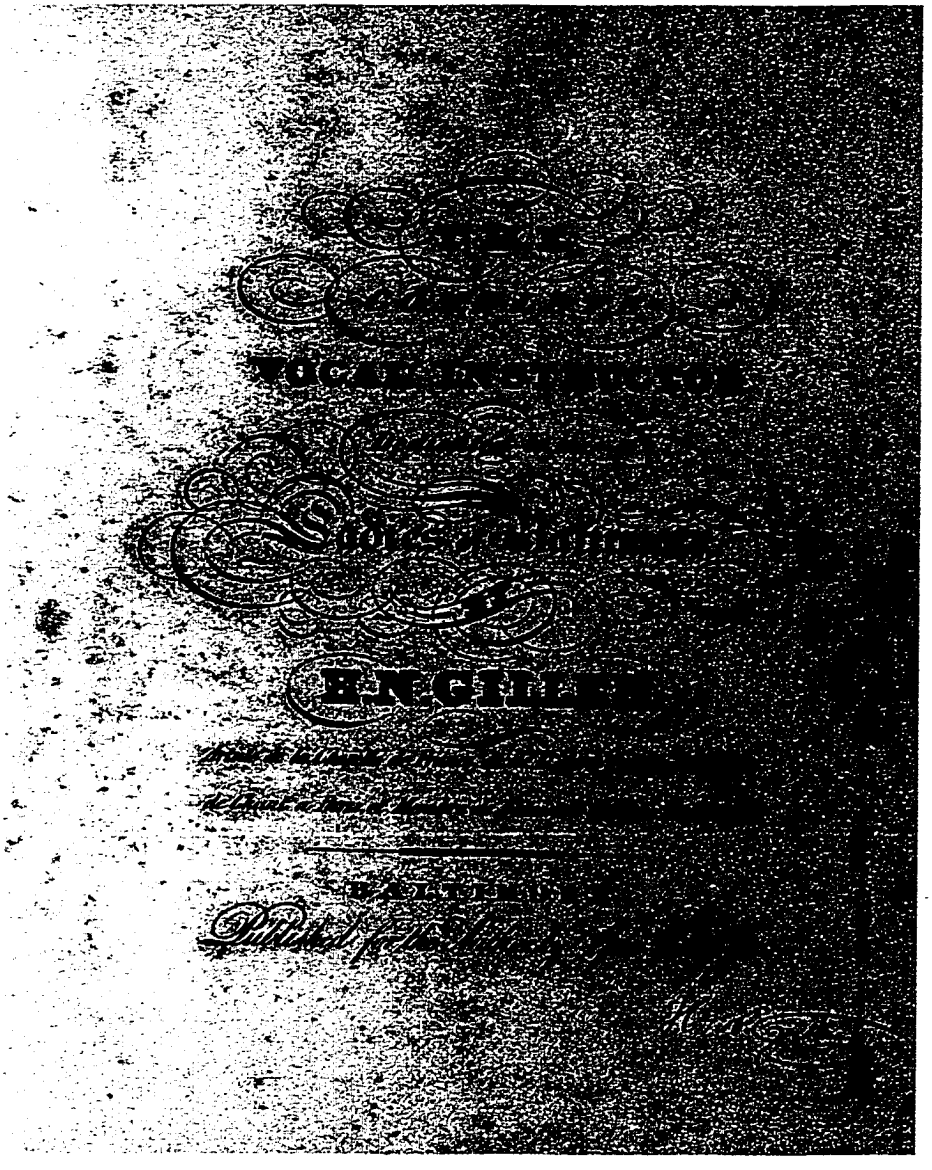

Figure 13. Title page of Gilles' *The Complete Vocal Instructor*, HAMP 2251. Note Gilles' signature on the lower right corner. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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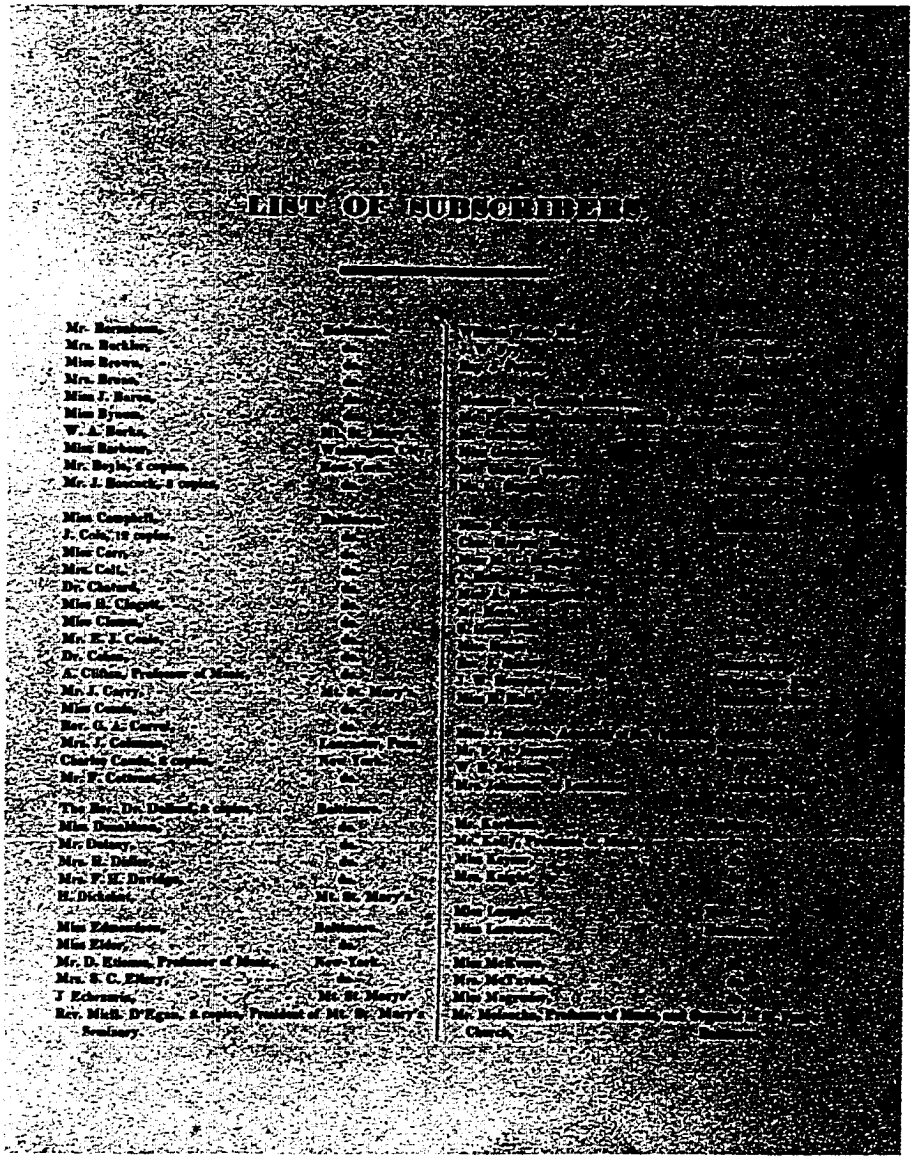

Figure 14. First page of subscribers' names for *The Complete Vocal Instructor.* Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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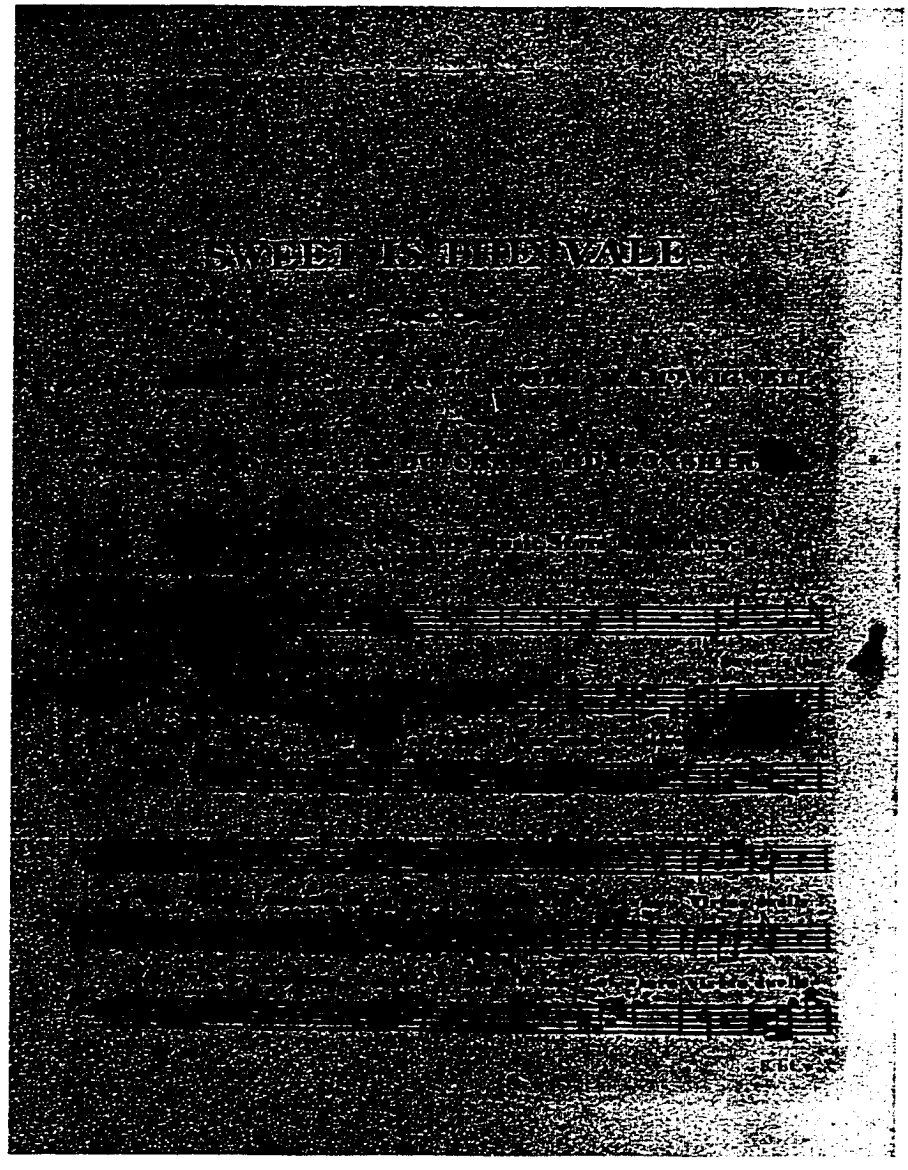

Figure 15. First page of "Sweet is the Vale," HAMP 4378. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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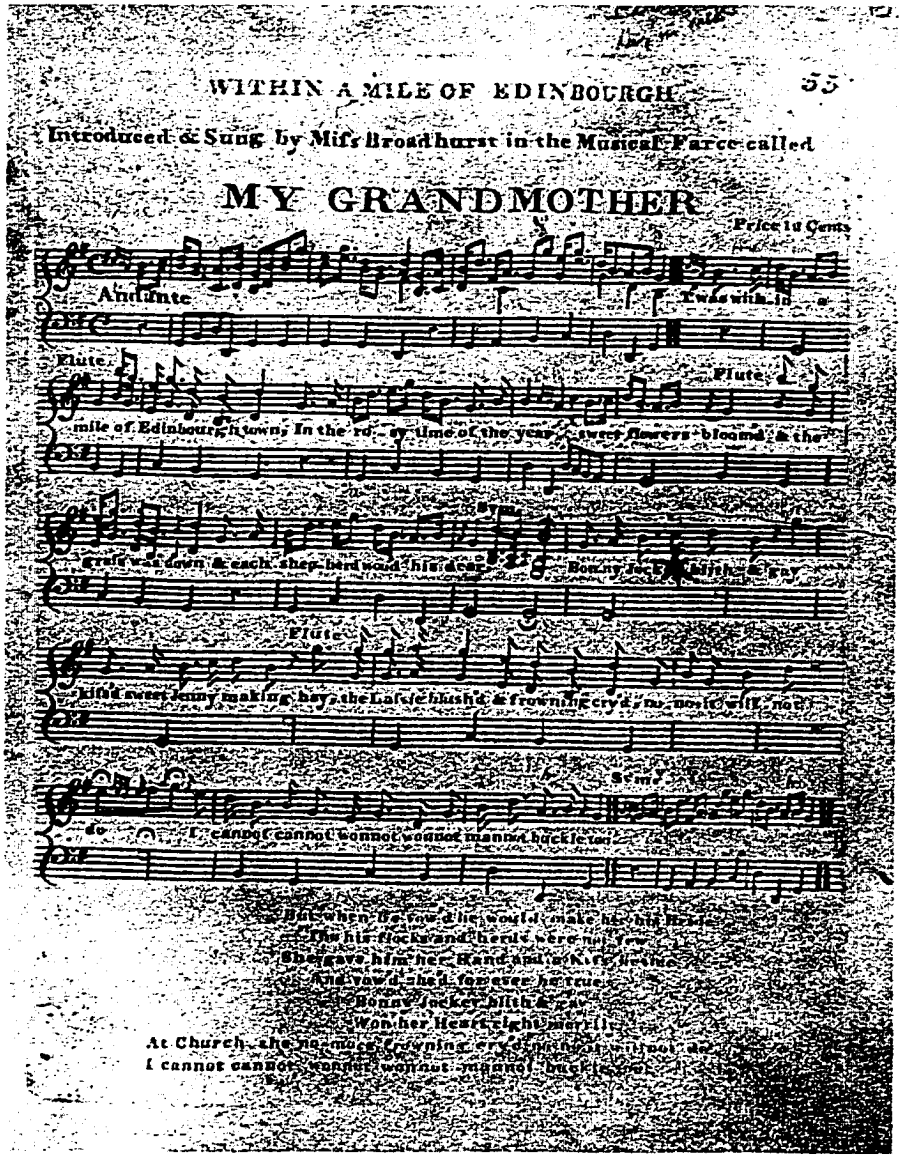

Figure 16. First page of "Within a Mile of Edinbourgh," HAMP 4378. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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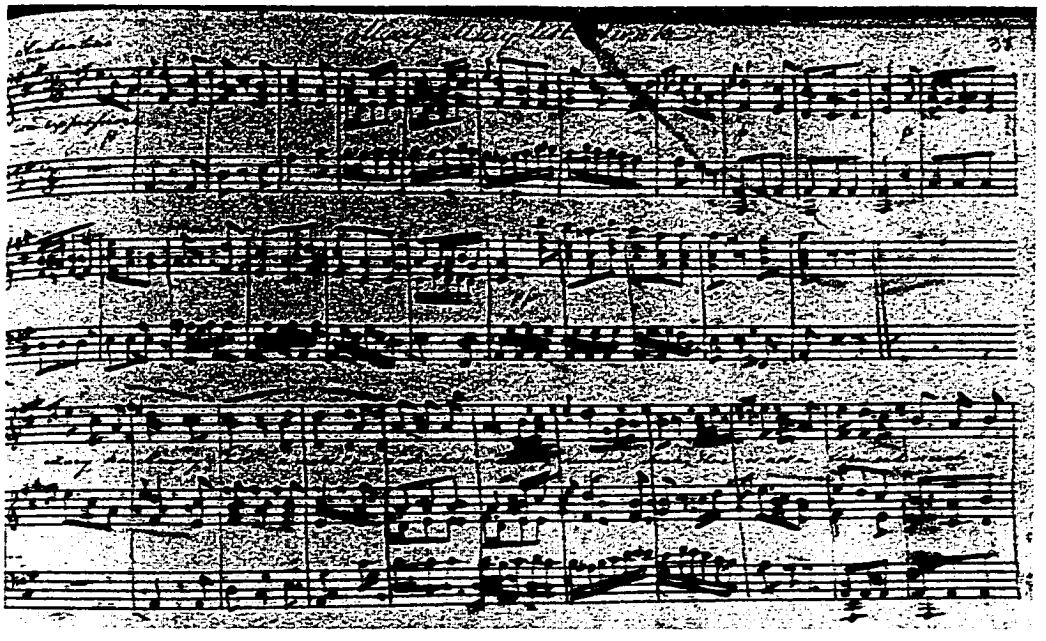

Figure 17. First page of "Mary, Mary List Awake," HAMP 2294. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

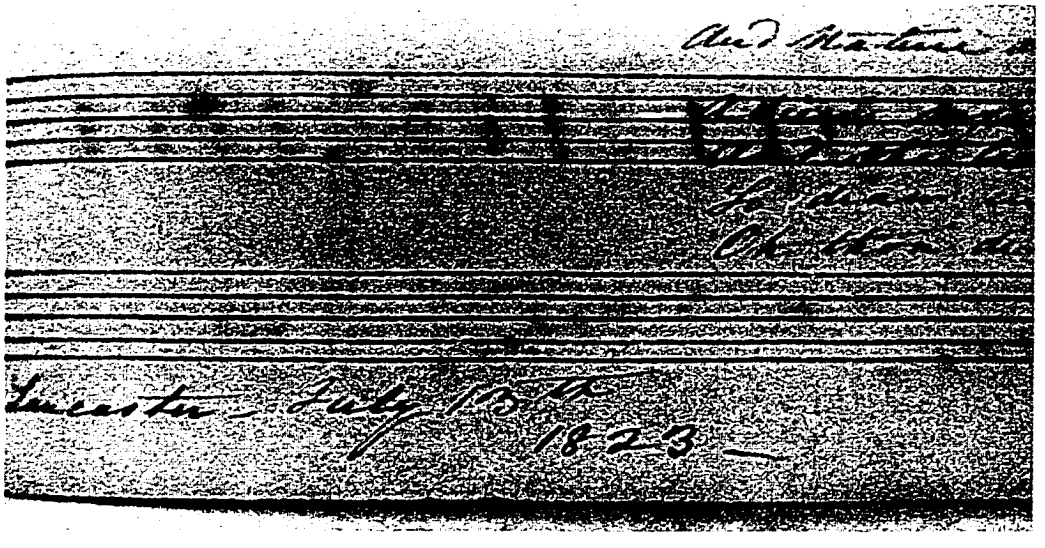

Figure 18. Detail of final page of "Mary, Mary List Awake," showing date and city. Photograph by Allan Layman, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Parks Service.

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APPENDIX B: ELIZA RIDGELY'S SHEET MUSIC

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This listing of sheet music includes individual pieces and the contents of bound volumes than can reasonably be attributed to Eliza Ridgley's lifetime. It is not a complete listing of all of the sheet music at Hampton Mansion, a collection that reaches well into the twentieth century. In the case of the bound volumes, the contents are listed in the order in which they appear.

Most of the information came from the sheet music itself; however, in some cases secondary sources helped fill in missing data. That additional data appears bracketed in either //slashes// or \\backslashes\\. Information in //slashes// comes from Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801-1825*. Information in \\backslashes\\ comes from the Board of Music Trade of the United States of America, *Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works 1870*.

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HAMP #	Title	Composer	Publisher	Date	Scoring
2058	Otello	Rossini, Gioachino	Boieldieu		many voices, piano
2194	Twelve Duetts for two violins	Schwindl	J. Preston		violin duet
2245	Mendelssohn's Four-Part Songs	Mendelssohn, Felix	Oliver Ditson	1856	chorus
2247			manuscript		piano or harp
2247	Cosaque		manuscript		piano or harp
2247	Thema de Mozart	Mozart	manuscript		piano or harp
2247	Thema des Mysteries d'Isis		manuscript		piano or harp
2247	Lasciar il mio Tesoro		manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Piu che ate penso o caro		manuscript		voice, piano
2247	German hymn		manuscript		flute?
2247	[P?]enerali		manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Mr. Graham of Orchal's Strathspray		manuscript		flute? violin?
2247	Miss Murray of Auchtirtyre's Strathspray		manuscript		flute? violon?
2247	Hinda's Appeal to her Lover / Lalla Rookh	Kiallmark	manuscript	//post-1824//	voice, piano
2247	Araby's Daughter / Lalla Rookh	Kiallmark	manuscript	//post-1824//	voice, piano
2247			manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Huntsman Rest Air	Mazzhingi, J.	manuscript	//post-1811//	harp
2247	Rousseau's Dream	Latour, F.	manuscript		harp
2247	Air Russe & Cosaque pour le Harpe	Steibelt, D.	manuscript	//post-1818//	harp
2247	La Rose		manuscript		harp or piano
2247	A Scotch Medley Duett	Trippert, J.E.	manuscript		piano
2247	Quick! We have but a second.	Moore/Bishop	manuscript	//post-1825//	voice, piano
2247	Fragments for the "Barbier di Seviglia"		manuscript		harp or piano
2247	Oh Mammy	Latour	manuscript		harp or piano
2247	Like the gloom of night retirning	Bishop	manuscript	//post-1819//	voice, piano
2247	My Henry is Gone	Stevenson, Sir John	manuscript	//post-1823//	voice, piano
2247	The Merry Flageolet	Barnett, John	manuscript		voice, piano
2247			manuscript		theory
2247	Air de Richard Coeur de Lion	Gretry	manuscript	//post-1803//	voice, piano or harp
2247	Pourquoi Pleurer	Auber	manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Le Petit Chaperon Rouge	Bordelieu[?]	manuscript		voice, piano

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2247	Paddy O'Caroll	Moran, P.K.	manuscript	//post-1818//	harp or piano
2247	Ecco ridenti il Cielo / Barbier de Seville	Rossini	manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Ciel Che Intesi	Rossini	manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Zitti, zitti, piano, piano	\\Rossini\\	manuscript		vocal trio, piano
2247	Lasciami non t'ascotto	Rossini	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
2247	Una voce poco fa / Barbiere di Seviglia	Rossini	manuscript		voice, piano
2247	All'idea di qual metallo	Rossini	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
2247	Largo al factotum / Barbiere di Seviglia	Rossini	manuscript		voice, piano
2247	Marziale	Rossini	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
2248	Polonaise de la Locandiera		manuscript		voice, harp or piano
2248	Rondo	Martini, Vicenzo	manuscript		voice, piano, violin or f
2248	Tanto Amor / Cavaline	Crivelli [?]	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	Da ungrato Guibilo [Dun grato?]	Marchesi	manuscript	ca. 1821	voice, piano
2248	Le Troubadour a la Croisade	Gilles, H.N.	manuscript	ca. 1821	voice, harp or piano
2248	La chanson du Rossignol	Pertosa	manuscript	ca. 1821	voice, piano
2248	Romance par Cartufo	Cartufo [?]	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	Le Baiser	Gilles, H.N.	manuscript		voice, harp or piano
2248	Pour moi	Gilles, N.	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	Bocage que l'aurore	H. Lemoine filol	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	Les Plus Solis mots	Gilles, N.	manuscript		voice, harp or piano
2248	Romance	Domnick	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	A mon Amie / Ce que je desire . . .	\\Boieldieu\\	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	La Smorfiobella		manuscript	Dec. 1820	voice, piano, guitar
2248	Aria de Furberia e Pontiglio		manuscript		voice, harp of piano
2248	Languir d'Amore	Crescentini	manuscript	ca. 1820	voice, piano
2248	Tu che accendi questo core //Di tanti palpiti //	Rossini	manuscript	ca. 1820	voice, harp or piano
2248	Tenero Oggetto	Pucitta, Vincenzo	manuscript	ca. 1820	voice, piano
2248	Air / Nel cor piu non mi Sento . . .	Paesiello, Giovanni	manuscript	ca. 1820	voice, piano
2248	Cavatina d'Agnesa	Paer, Ferdinando	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	Stanco di pascolar	Pacitta [Pucitta?]	manuscript		voice, piano
2248	O Teneri Pensieri	Crescentini, Girolamo	manuscript	ca. 1820	voice, piano
2249	Trois Romances	Doneaud-du Plan, M.J.	Naderman / Veuve Duhan / Doisy		voice, harp or piano

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2249	Que Veut-il Dire?	Gilles, H.N.	Garaude / Journal d'Enterpe		voice, harp or piano
2249	Il est parti	Gilles, H.N.	Garaude / Journal d'Enterpe		voice, harp or piano
2249	Chansonette	Gilles, H.N.	Bochsa Pere		voice, piano
2249	Le Chien de l'Aveugle	Vernier	Vernier		vocal trio, harp or piano
2249	Elle;ou le Troubedour discret	Jadin, L.	Janet et Cotelle		voice, harp or piano
2249	Romance	Etienne [?]	Boieldieu		voice, harp or piano
2249	Amour et Toi	Begrez	John Cole	//1824?//	voice, harp or piano
2249	Console moi, divine melodie	Goule	G. Willig	//1821-23//	voice, piano
2249	Amour et Rose	Fay / Bouffret	Pierre Gaveaux		voice, harp or piano
2249	Ceix et Alcionne	Dumoustier	Pierre Gaveaux		voice, harp or piano
2249	L'Amour	Valenciennes / Verneuil	Bressler		voice, harp or piano
2249	Romance	Chaponniere / Thomelin	J. Pleyel		voice, piano
2249	Le Portrait Romance	Sauvan	Sieber		voice, harp or piano
2249	Eginard au Tombeau de son Amie	Plantade, C. Henry	J. Frey		voice, harp or piano
2249	Le Seducteur Amoureux	Labarre, L.J.	Mr. de Momigny		voice, harp or piano
2249	Romance du Sire de Damas	Charles [?]	Sieber		violin, voice, piano
2249	Le Doute	Doneaud-duplan, J.	Doisy		voice, harp or piano
2249	Chant de Captif Espagnol	Florian [?]	Jce. Pleyel		voice, piano
2249	Hymne a l'Amitie	de Chazet / Dacosta	Decosta [?]		voice, harp or piano
2249	Le Retour	de Chazet / Dacosta	Decosta [?]		voice, harp or piano
2249	La Fidelite	Pradher, L.	Augte. Leduc		voice, harp or piano
2249	Je n'aimais plus	Gatayes	Frey		voice, harp or piano
2249	Le Refrain de Pronivial	Cornely, M. / Schrobilgen	Frey		voice, harp or piano
2249	Eleonore	Naderman, F.J.	Naderman		voice, harp or piano
2249	Dix Romances/ Les Adieux	Jaspin, E.	Freres Gaveaux		voice, harp or piano
2249	Six Nouvelles Romances	Blangini, Felix	H.C. Steup		voice, harp or piano
2249	Romance de la Belle au Bois Dormant	Doche, J.D.	Jouve		voice, harp or piano
2249	Serguis, ou le Prisonnier Russe	Lazzerini, Gustave	H.J. Godefroy		voice, harp or piano
2249	Le Frere Philippe	Dourlen, V.	Ph. Petit		voice, harp or piano
2249	La Veuve au bon Chatelain	Etienne, D.	Etienne		voice, harp or piano
2249	Le Prisonnier	Delamaria	Jmbault		voice, piano
2249	Romance	Xavier	Freres Gaveaux		voice, harp or piano

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2251	The Complete Vocal Instructor	Gilles, H.N.	Geo. Willig Jr.	1828[?]	voice, piano
2253	Morceaux de Salon / Berceuse	Winternitz, R.	Ed. Ebner		piano
2253	Indiana Waltz	Marcailhou	D.P. Foulds & Co.		piano
2253	Mazurka de Concert	Reichenbach, Rosalie	Thierry [?]		piano
2253	Souvenir de Varsovie / Mazurka	Schulhoff, J.	Miller & Beacham	\\pre-1870\\	piano
2253	Jagdzug	Spindler, Fritz	Julius Hainauer		piano
2253	O! du mein holder Abendstern	Wagner / Egghard	Jean Andre		piano
2253	Songe et Reveil a ma soeur Amelie	Yung, Jules	Petit Aine		piano
2253	2 Romances sans Paroles	Reichenbach, Rosalie	Thierry [?]		piano
2253	Marigena / Moonlight on the River	Hodges, Faustina H.	Beer & Schirmer	1862	piano
2253	Sonate No. 8	Mozart, W.A.	Edward Hallberger		piano
2253	Sonate No. 10	Mozart, W.A.	Edward Hallberger		piano
2253	Sonate No. 16, F Major	Mozart, W.A.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	//1858-1876//	piano
2253	Sonate No. 19, F Major	Mozart, W.A.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	//1858-1876//	piano
2253	Sonate No. 17, F Major	Mozart, W.A.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	//1858-1876//	piano
2253	Sonate No. 12, F Major	Mozart, W.A.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	//1858-1876//	piano
2253	Wnderstunden, No. 2 op. 80	Heller, Stephen	G. Schirmer		piano
2253	Wnderstunden, No. 4 op. 80	Heller, Stephen	G. Schirmer		piano
2253	Flowers & Thorns, op. 82	Heller, Stephen	Louis Meyer		piano
2253	Deux Nocturnes	Heller, Stephen	J. Maho		piano
2253	A L'allemande / Erinnerung / Moment Musical	Beethoven / Schumann / Schubert	Wood & Co.		piano
2253	Kinderscenen	Schumann, Robert	S.T. Gordon		piano
2254	Methode de Harpe	Pollet, B.	A Offenbach		harp
2259	Anna Bolene / Duo Concertant	Donizetti	Bernard, Latte		harp
2259	Duo pour Harpe et piano, op. 64	Labarre, T.			harp
2259	Duo, Harpe et Piano / Dieu et la Bayadere	Labarre, Theodore	E. Troupenas		harp
2259	Grand Duo Brilliant / Robert le Diable	Labarre, Theodore	Maurice Schlessinger		harp
2259	Fantasie et Variations / de Pre aux Clercs	Labarre, Theodore	E. Troupenas		harp
2259	Valse du Duc de Reichstadt	Lariviere, Edmond	Bernard, Latte		harp
2259	Anna Bolena / Cavatina	Donizetti	Bernard, Latte		voice, piano
2259	Anna Bolena	Donizetti	Bernard, Latte		voice, piano

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2259	Anna Bolena / Cielo a miei lunghi spasimi	Donizetti	Bernard, Latte	voice, piano
2259	Anna Bolena / Cavatina	Donizetti	Bernard, Latte	voice, piano
2259	Anna Bolena / Vivi tu	Donizetti	Bernard, Latte	voice, piano
2259	Le Pre aux Clercs	Herold, F.	E. Troupenas	vocal duet, piano
2259	Le Pre aux Clercs	Herold, F.	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Le Pre aux Clercs	Herold, F.	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Le Pre aux Clercs	Herold, F.	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Le Pre aux Clercs	Herold, F.	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Lestoco	Auber, D.F.E	E. Troupenas	vocal duet, piano
2259	Lestoco	Auber, D.F.E	E. Troupenas	vocal quartet, piano
2259	Lestoco	Auber, D.F.E	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Lestoco	Auber, D.F.E	E. Troupenas	solo, choir, piano
2259	Il Pirata / Tu vedrai la sventurata	Bellini	Bernard Latte	voice, piano
2259	Nel Pirata / Nel Furor Delle Tempeste	Bellini	Roy	voice, piano
2259	Nella Norma / Cata Diva	Bellini	Bernard Latte	voice, piano
2259	Nella Norma / Sola furtiva al tempio	Bellini	Bernard Latte	vocal duet
2259	Sorgi, oh Padre	Bellini, D.	Bernard Latte	voice, piano or harp
2259	Bianca e Fernando / Deh! non ferir	Bellini	Bernard Latte	voice, piano
2259	La Sonnambula / Care compagne	Bellini, Vincenzo	Launer	voice, piano
2259	La Sonnambula / No piu non reggio	Bellini, Vincenzo	Launer	vocal triot, piano
2259	Semiramis / Cavatina	Rossini	Bernard Latte	chorus, piano
2259	Semiramis	Rossini	Pacini	voice, piano
2259	Semiramide / Cavatina	Rossini		voice, piano
2259	Semiramide / Se la Vita Ancor t'e Cara	Rossini	Bernard Latte	vocal duet, piano
2259	La Muette de Portici	Auber, D.F.E.	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	La Muette de Portici	Auber, D.F.E.	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Barbiere di Seviglia / Fausto sempre	Donizetti	Bernard Lette	voice, piano
2259	Barbiere di Seviglia / Se il mio nome Saper	Rossini	Bernard Lette	voice, piano
2259	Ludovc	Herold et Halevy	Maurice Schlessinger	voice, piano
2259	L'Echo de la Rive	Masini, F.	Bernard Latte	vocal duet, piano
2259	La Jeune Fille	Labarre, Theodore	E. Troupenas	voice, piano
2259	Tragala	Grisar, Albert	Bernard Latte	voice, piano

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2259	Helene	Grisar, Albert	Bernard Latte		voice, castanettes, piano
2259	La Page Inconstant	Jansenne	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	La Folle	Grisar, Albert	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Al campo della gloria	Donizetti	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Se viver non poss'io	Marliani	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Or che son vicino a te	Nicolini	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	La Buona Notte	Rossini ?	Pacini		voice, piano or harp
2259	T'Abbraccio, ti stringo	Rossini	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Tant affetti in tal momento	Rossini			voice, piano
2259	Tirano Amore	Mercadante	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Numi, che intesi mai	Mercadante	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Soave immagine d'amor	Mercadante			voice, piano
2259	Parlar, spiegar non posso	Rossini	Bernard Latte		vocal duet, piano
2259	Triette alla Polacca	Keller, C. H.	manuscript		voice, piano or harp?
2259	Guarda que binca luna	Carulli, Gustavo	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Robert le Diable	Meyerbeer, G.	Maurice Schlesinger		voice, piano
2259	La Speranza	Masini, F.	Bernard Latte		voice, piano
2259	Il crociato in ecitto	Meyerbeer, G.			vocal trio, piano
2279	A la danse, A la danse	Campana, Fabius	Scip. De. Rossi		piano
2279	Pot-pourri per Piano Forte	Rossini / Florino	Bernardo Girard		piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 6	Donizetti	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 2	Donizetti	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 1	Donizetti	B. Gerard	1847	piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 3	Donizetti	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 4	Donizetti	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 5	Donizetti	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Mosaique de Lucia di Lammermoor / No. 7	Donizetti	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Petit Concerts de Famille	Donizetti / Albanesi	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	Petit Concerts de Famille	Donizetti / Albanesi	B. Gerard		piano 4-hands
2279	I Lonbardi alla Prima Crociata	Verdi, Giuseppe	Giovanni Ricordi		piano 4-hands
2279	L'Elisire d'Amore / Udite udite o Rustici	Donizetti	Gio. Ricordi		piano 4-hands

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2279	Beatrice di Tenda / O divina Agnese	Bellini	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2279	Torquato Tasso / Perche dell'aure	Donizetti	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2279	Le Nozza di Figaro / Non piu andrai farfallo	Mozart	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2279	L'Elisir D'Amore / Quanto amore	Donizetti	B. Gerard		vocal duet, piano
2279	Don Pasquale / Com'e gentil	Donizetti	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2279	Sonnambula / Ah! non credea	Bellini	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2279	Lucia di Lammermoor / Fra poco	Donizetti	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2279	Sonnambula / D'un pensiero	Bellini	B. Gerard		voice, piano
2287	Comrades	McGlennon, Felix	Richard A. Saalfield		voice, piano
2287	Come with me to the Mountain	Raymond, Eugene	Miller & Beacham	1856	voice, piano
2287	What are the Wild Waves Saying	Glover, Stephen	F.D. Benteen	\\pre-1870\\	vocal duet, piano
2287	The Sands o' Dee	Boott, F.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	1857	voice, piano
2287	Six Songs / Florence N. 2	Boott, F.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	1858	voice, piano
2287	Heres a health to thee Mary	Blanchor, F.	J.G. Osbourne Music Saloon		voice, Spanish guitar
2287	Comin thro' the rye		John Cole	\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2287	Rock me to sleep, Mother	Hewitt, John H.	Miller & Beacham	1861	voice, piano
2287	Murmuring Sea / Lays of the Night No. 2	Glover, Stephen	Miller & Beacham	\\pre-1870\\	vocal duet, piano
2287					voice, piano
2287	The Three Fishers	S.D.S	Oliver Ditson	1856	voice, piano
2287	What will you do love	Lover, S.		\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2287	Leave me not!	Offenbach, J.	Miller & Beacham	1858	voice, piano
2287	Di provenza il mar / La Traviata	Verdi, G.	Oliver Ditson	1856	voice, piano
2287	Six two-part songs / No. 3 Greeting	Mendelssohn, Felix	J.E. Gould	\\pre-1870\\	vocal duet, piano
2287	Libiamo ne lieti calici/ La Traviata	Verdi, G.	Oliver Ditson	ca.1859	voice, piano
2287	I would that my love / Ich wollt' meine Leib	Mendelssohn, Felix		\\pre-1870\\	vocal duet, piano
2287	Annie o' the banks o' Dee	Glover, Stephen	W.A. Evans & Bro.	\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2287	Castles in the Air	Landon	Lee & Walker	1856	voice, piano
2287	Last greeting	Schubert	Geo. P. Reed	\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2287	Clear and Cool. A Brook	Dolores	Lee & Walker	\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2287	The Elegy of Tears	Schubert	E.H. Wade	1848	voice, piano
2287	The Lament of the Irish Emigrant	Dempster, W.R.	\\Root & Cady?\\	\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2287	Hark! I Hear the Organ's Peal	Glover, Stephen	MIller & Beacham	\\pre-1870\\	vocal duet, piano

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2287	The Herdsman's Song	Ahlstrom	Saml. C. Jollie	1850	voice, piano
2287	The Minute Gun at Sea	King, M.P.	E.H. Wade	\\pre-1870\\	vocal duet, piano
2287	The Lonely Harp	Cowell, Miss A.	Firth Pond & Co.		voice, piano
2287	Mrs. Lofty and I	Hutchinson, J.J.	Oliver Ditson & Co.	1858	voice, piano
2287	The May Queen	Dempster, William R.	Oliver Ditson	1846	voice, piano
2287	A Mother's Prayer	Sutro, Otto	Henry McCaffrey	1862	voice, piano
2287	See, oh! see in holy stillness	Holland, Albert	Miller & Beacham	1857	voice, piano
2287	Guardian Angel Song	Gounod, Charles	Oliver Ditson & Co.	//1858-1876//	voice, piano
2287	Ruth and Naomi	Toplit, R.	F.D. Benteen	\\pre-1870\\	voice, piano
2294	Mose in Egitto	Rossini, G.	Ri. Teatri [?]	1829 [?]	vocal quartet, piano
2294	Souvenirs de Theatre Italien	Musard	Bernard Latte		piano
2294	Les Echos	Musard	Ph. Petit		piano, piston
2294	Trois Valses	Regny, M. Alphee	Bernard Latte		piano
2294	Air / Wohl Tauscht, ihr Vogelein	Mozart, W.A.	Jean August Boehme		voice, piano
2294	The Witches; a glee for three voices	King, M.J. [?]	manuscript		vocal trio
2294	Concerto for harp or piano-forte	Guilbert, Eugene	E. Guilbert	//1817-26//	Harp or piano
2294	Duettino (Give me your hand Zerlina)	Mozart	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
2294	Duetto (Sorge la bella aurora)		manuscript	ca. 1820	vocal duet, piano, guita
2294	Mary, Mary list awake	//Whitaker, John//	manuscript	July 13, 1823	voice, piano
2294	Quadrille Espagnol	Musard	Leduc		piano
2294	Ouverture aus der Oper Otello	Rossini, G.	L.A. Steine [?]		piano
2294	Souvenirs de Theatre Italien	Musard	Bernard Latte		piano
2294			Bernard Latte		piano
2294	Naples Quadrille	Musard	Bernard Latte		piano
2294	Les Etrangeres, op. 83	Herz, Henri	Bernard Latte		piano
2789	Soirees Musicales / La Promessa	Rossini/Liszt	Mayence		piano
2791	Sleep well thou sweet angel	Oesten	G. Andre & Co.		piano
2792	Overture / Ein Feldlager in Schlesien	Meyerbeer, G.	Schlesinger	1846	piano
2792	Belisar / Recitativo e Duetto	Donizetti, Catelan	Pietro Mechetti		vocal duet, piano
2792	Ball-Racketen Walzer	Strauss, Johann	Tobias Haslinger		piano
2792	Cavatina de Mme. Tacchinardi	Meyerbeer, G.	B. Girard		piano
2792	Auf dem See Lied	Mast, F.	manuscript		piano

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2792	Oh! dites lui	Kotshoubey, P.	manuscript		piano
2792	Oesterreichische Volks-Hymne	Haydn, Jos.	A. Diabelli und Comp.		chorus, piano
3915	Ferrari's Singing Tutor. 64.	Ferrari			text and vocal lines
4378	Oh rest thee Babe	Mannering, Guy	manuscript		flute? violin?
4378	Ah! What is the Bosom's Commotion	Kelly, M.	G. Willig	//1809?//	voice, piano
4378	Jessie the Flow'r o' Dumblane	Smith, R.A. / Tannahill	Carr	//ca.1815//	voice, piano, flute or flageolet descant
4378	Sweet is the Vale	Dutchess of Devonshire	Carr	//1809-13//	vocal duet, piano
4378	Mary I Believ'd Thee True	Moore, Thos. Esqr.	Carr	//1808-13//	voice, piano
4378	Wake Maid of Lorn	//Clarke, Dr. J.	A. Bacon & Co.	//1817?//	voice, piano
4378	The Blue ey'd Youth	King, M.P.	G. Willig	//1812?//	voice, piano
4378	A Prey to Tender Anguish	Haydn, Dr.	G. Willig		voice, piano, flute and/or guitar
4378	Within a Mile of Edinbourgh				voice, piano, flute
4378	On this cold flinty rock!	Braham	G. Willig	//1810-15//	voice, piano
4378	The Ballad Singer's Petition		G. Willig		voice, piano
4378	Thy Blue Waves O'Carron	Ross, John / Rannie	G.E. Blake	//1810-14//	voice, piano
4378	The Yellow Hair'd Laddie			//1807//	vocal duet, piano
4378	Eliza	Braham	G. Willig	//1808-09//	voice, piano
4378	I knew by the Smoak	Willson, J./T. Moore	G. Willig	//1809?//	voice, piano
4378	Oh My Darling Little Mary	Nicks, G.	G. Willig	//1805-09//	voice, piano
4378	Tis but fancy's sketch!	Braham, John	G.E. Blake	//1817-18//	voice, piano
4378	Said a Smile to a Tear	Braham	//John Aitken//	//1808?//	voice, piano
4378	See From Ocean Rising	Mazzinghi	Carr	//ca. 1808//	vocal duet, piano
4378	The Yorkshire Beauty or the Missfortune of being handsome	Major, Jno.	Clementi & Co.		voice, piano
4378	Paddy Carey's Fortune or Irish Promotion	Whitaker / Cherry	C. Taws	//ca. 1816//	voice, piano
4378	The Rose	Bray, John	G.E. Blake	//1807?//	voice, piano
4378	At the Front of a Cottage	Woodham/ //Kelly//	G.E. Blake	//1806?//	voice, piano
4378	Bonny Doon	Burns	Carr	//1803?//	vocal duet, piano
4378	Musette de Nina		G. Willig	//1816-17//	harp or piano
4378	Ouverture d'Una cosa rara	//Martin y Soler, Vicente//	G. Willig	//1804-10//	harp or piano

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4378	Le Retour de Cambridge	Gildon, J.	G. Willig	//ca. 1815//	harp or piano
4378	Sonata	Playel, I.	Bacon & Co.	//1818?//	piano 4-hands
4378	A Favorite Duett, Op. 22	Kozeluch, L.	J. Hewitt	//1807-10//	piano 4-hand
4378	Sonata	Mozart	G. Willig	//1804-10//	piano, missing violin
4378	Six Favorite Airs	Romberg, F.C.	A Bacon	//1818?//	piano
4378	The Downfall of Paris		G.E. Blake	//1810-14//	piano
4379	Ah Perdona	Mazzinghi			harp
4379	No. 3 Aria	Mazzinghi, J.	Goulding, Dalmaine, Potter & Co.		harp
4379	Caller Herring; A Favorite Scotch Air	Knapton, Philip	Goulding, Dalmaine, Potter & Co.		harp
4379	Recuil d'Airs Variee	Dallvimare, P.	Mlles. Erard		harp
4379	Ouverture du Calif de Bagdad	Boieldieu / Dalvimare	Mlles. Erard		harp, violin
4379	A Favorite Sonata for the Harp	Dussek, J.L.	Corri, Dussek & Co.		harp
4379	Bewilder'd Maid				harp
17397	Wien, Wieb und Gesang	Strauss, Johann	A. Eckel		piano 4-hand
17397	[music lesson work]				
17397			manuscript		vocal duet, piano
17397	Green Castle		manuscript		single melody
17397	Messiah	Handel	Boosey & Co.		Chorus w/piano
17397	The Butterfly Duets, or Twelve Easy Airs	Spahn, C.	Geo. Willig Jr.		piano 4 hand
17397	Deutsche Volkslieder				piano 4-hand
17397	Etudes de la Velocite	Czerny, Charles	A. Fiot		piano
17397	Loving Mazurka	Englebrecht, J. C.	Henry McCafffrey	post-1859	piano
17397	Ferrari's Singing Tutor - 64	Ferrari			voice, piano
17397	Ouverture zu den Oper L'ingano Felice (Die Gedauschen)	Rossini, G.	Verlag der k.k.pr. Chenie Druckery		piano 4-hand
17397					piano
17397					piano 4-hand
17397	Sonatina, Op. 20, No. 6	Dussek. J.L.	Henry Litolff's Verlag		piano
17397	Deutsche Volkslieder				piano 4-hand
17397	E Rimasto la Impietrato	\\Donizetti\\	Oliver Ditson	//1844-57//	vocal quartet, piano
17397	Di Tanti Palpiti	Latour / //Rossini//	G. Willig	//1822-23//	piano
18998	Improved Piano-Forte Instruction Book	Cramer, J.B.	Atwill		piano

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18999	A New and Complet Method for the Violin	Mazas, F.	Klemm & Brother		violin
19009	Etudes de la Velocite	Czerny, Charles	A. Fiot		piano
19010	Etudes de la Velocite	Czerny, Charles	Fiot, Meignen & Co		piano
19011	Fifty Progressive Lessons	Adam, L.	F.D. Benteen	ca. 1845	piano
19012	28 Melodious Excercises	Diabelli, A	S.T. Gordon & Son		piano 4-hand
19017	The Redemption; A Sacred Trilogy	Gounod, Charles	Novello, Ewer & Co.		chorus, piano
19033	Home Songs	various			chorus, piano or organ
20001	A Mother's Prayer	Sutro, Otto	Henry McCaffrey	1862	voice, piano
20002	Fidelio	Beethoven, L. v.	C. F. Peters		piano 4-hand
20003	Variations Brillantes / Aurora sorgerai	Rossini/Herz	Pacini		piano
20004	Sonatina no. 1, op. 36	Clementi, Muzio	Ashdown & Parry		piano
20005	La Sicilienne	St. Julien, D'Alfred de	W.C. Peters & Sons		piano
20006	Life Has No Power	Donizetti	S. Brainard & Sons		vocal trio, piano
20008	Bertini's Celebrated Studies for the Piano Forte	Bertini/Henry Lemoine	Robert Cocks & Co.		piano
20009	Etudes de la Velocite	Czerny	Oliver Ditson & Co.		piano
20010	Six Sonatines Progressives	Clementi	Benoit		piano
20011	Juvenile Album	Reinecke, Carl	Chappell & Co.		piano
20014	Music for the Church	Meineke, C.	J. Cole	1844	chorus, piano
20015	Ouverture zu den Oper L'ingano Felice (Die Gedauschen)	Rossini, G.	Verlag der k.k.pr. Chenie Druckery		piano 4 hand
20016	Robin Adair		Carr	//1813-1814//	piano, voice, flute
20017	Sinfonia				violin part
20017	Sonata III				Violincello
20017	Naples. Quadrille par P. Musard	Musard, P.[?]			Flageolet
20017	La Chase/Sonata pour Piano-Forte	Gyronvetz [?], A.	A Offenbach		violincello
20017	Trois Grandes Sonates Pour Forte-Piano	Pleyel, J.	[Gravees par Michot]		Basso/Violoncello
20017	Concerto	Cramer?			Violoncello
20017	[Concerto] title missing				Basse
20017	Concerto				Viola
20018	Genl. La Fayette's Waltz	Gilles, H. N.	G. Willig	Sept.2, 1824	piano
20018	The Orange Regiment March	Gyrowitz, A	G. Willig	//1823?//	piano

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20018	I Won't Be A Nun		Cole	//1822-1823//	piano and voice
20018	The Lavender Girl		John Cole	//1822-1823//	piano and voice
20018	The Queen of Prussia's Favorite Waltz	Himmel	G. Willig	//1812-1815//	piano
20018	The Berlin Waltz		G. Willig	//1824?//	piano
20018	The Copenhagen Waltz with Variations	Latour, T.	G. Balls	//ca. 1819//	piano
20018	Mad: de Nouville's Waltz		Geo: Willig	//1822?//	piano
20018	The Warrenton Waltz		T. Carr	//1821-1822//	piano
20018	The New-York Serenading Waltz	//Weldon, Peter//	J.A. & W. Geib	//1818-1821//	piano
20018	Of the Degrees of Time		T. Carr	//1821-1823//	educational text
20019	La Verginella	Bertoni / C. de Beriot			Flute or Violin
20019	Vanne ail Mio Bene	Blangini / C. de Beriot			Flute or Violin
20019	E Vezzosa Si La Rosa	Vaccai / C. de Beriot			Flute or Violin
20019	Deh! Non Voler Costringere / Anna Bolena	C. de Beriot/ \\Donizetti\\			Flute or Violin
20019	Non Giova il Sosprar	Donizetti / C. de Beriot			Flute or Violin
20019	Al Dolce Guidami \\ Anna Bolena\\	C. de Beriot/\\Donizetti\\			Flute or Violin
20024	Duo del Matrimonio per Raggiro	Cimarosa	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Duetto della Griselda \\Vederlo sol bramo?\\	Paer	manuscript	ca. 1820	vocal duet, piano
20024	Duetto Nella Clemenza di Tito	Mozart	manuscript	ca. 1820	vocal duet, piano
20024	Sul margine d'un rio		manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Duo nelle Nozze de Figaro	Mozart	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Duo del Sigr. Dellamaria		manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Ah cara d'amore Duo	Guglielini / Pacini	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Duetto Ah! Spiegarti	Weigh	manuscript	ca. 1820	vocal duet, piano
20024	Del mercato di malmentile	Cimarosa	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Tutto da voi dipende	Paesiello, Giovanni	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20024	Coro nel Idomeneo	Mozart	manuscript	ca. 1821	chorus, piano
20024	Si facio aninchino		manuscript		trio, piano
20024	Terzetto entre Amenaide Tancredile		manuscript		trio, piano
20024	Che sorpressa . . .		manuscript		vocal quintet, piano
20024	Trio et Canon	Fioravanti	manuscript		vocal trio, piano
20024	Little Winny Wilins	Whitaker	manuscript	//post-1810//	voice, piano, flute
20025	The Straw Hat		manuscript		piano

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20025	Ca=ira		manuscript		piano
20025	New Jersey		manuscript		piano
20025	The Plough Boy / A Country Dance	//Shield, William//	manuscript	//1806-1821//	piano
20025	Drink to me only		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Hymn / Children of the heavenly King	//Pleyel//	manuscript		voice, piano
20025			manuscript		piano
20025	Minuet di la Cour		manuscript		piano
20025	Whilst with village maid I stray	//Shield, William//	manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Shooting Song		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	O Richard		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Fair Aurora	//Arne, Thomas//	manuscript		vocal duet, piano
20025	Rosina / Light as thistle down		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	[Mary had a little lamb tune]	Mozart	manuscript		piano
20025	Allegro		manuscript		piano
20025	Vocal musick instructions		manuscript		text, theory
20025	excersizes		manuscript		piano
20025	Menuet		manuscript		piano
20025	Ma chere amie		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	The English Rejoicing		manuscript		piano
20025	Tell me charming creature	Giordani	manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Tho lovers like marksmen all aim at the heart		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	God Save the king		manuscript		piano
20025	A voyage o'er seas had not enter'd my head		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	In the inkle and yarico	Cumpley[?]	manuscript		voice, piano
20025			manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Duett in the Artaxerxes Opera		manuscript		vocal duet
20025	Poor Jacques		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	A Favorite Rondo / If I my heart surrender	Giordani	manuscript		voice, piano
20025	The Waxen Doll		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	French Song		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Robin Hood		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Come Florinda / French Tune		manuscript		voice, piano

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20025	Come gentle strains		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Song in the Rosina		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Encompas'd in an angels frame		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	Ma chere amie		manuscript		voice, piano
20025	La Prevoyante or the foreseer		manuscript		voice, piano
20030	Brightest Eyes	Stigelli, G.	Miller & Beacham	1856	voice, piano
20032	Night-Dews are Weeping	Verdi			voice, piano
20035	Lorena	Webster, J.P.			voice, piano
20037	If the Deep Voice of Sorrow	Donizetti	William Hall & Son	1844	voice, piano
20040	Gems of Faust: The Soldier's Chorus	Gounod	S.T. Gordon		piano
20042	The Rose-Bush	Hodges, Faustina Hasse	C. Breusing	1859	voice, piano
20044	VI. Symphonie Pastorale	Beethoven, L. v.	Peters, C. F.		piano 4-hand
20063	Little Fancies: The Campbells are Coming	Watson, Michael	Oliver Ditson & Co.		piano
20064	Rondo No. 1, Op. 59	Jansa, L.			violino
20068	Little Fancies 16: The Rose of Allandale	Watson, Michael	Oliver Ditson & Co.		piano
20070	Norma [Fleurs Italiennes 18]	Bellini [Ferd. Beyer]	Lee & Walker		piano
20074	E Rimasto la Impietrato	\\Donizetti\\	Oliver Ditson	1854	vocal quartet, piano
20075	Prince Imperial or Quadrille de Dames	Brookes	Firth, Son & Co.	1860	piano w/ dance steps
21001	Overture to the Celebrated Opera La Gazza Ladra	Rossini	John Cole		piano 4-hand
21003	Kiss Waltz (Il Bacio)	Bellak, James	Lee & Walker	1865	piano
21004	Gay and Happy	Forrest, Fanny	Henry McCaffrey	1860	voice, chorus, piano
21005	Nocturne Celebre in B, op. 32 no. 1	Chopin	G. Andre & Co.		piano
21006	Romance and Rondo	Hummel, J.N.	Ashdown & Parry	//pre-1837//	piano
21007	Kingdom Coming	Work, Henry C.	Root & Cady	1863	solo, chorus, piano
21008	Sechs Variationen	Beethoven, L.v.	Henry Litolff's Verlag		piano
21009	Grand March de Concert	Wollenhaupt, H.A.	William A. Pond & Co	1853	piano 4-hand
21010	Loving Mazurka	Engelbrecht, J.C.	Henry McCaffrey	1859	piano
21011	Ah! Se Il Fratel	Donizetti	Oliver Ditson & Co.	1858	vocal trio, piano
21012	E Rimasto la Impietrato	\\Donizetti\\	Oliver Ditson	1854	vocal quartet, piano
21013	At Length a Brilliant Day	Rossini	F.A. North & Co		voice, piano

21014	Charity	Rossini	G. Shirmer		solo and female chorus, piano
21015	The Mocking Bird Quick Step	Schaeffer, Augustus	Lee & Walker	1862	piano
21016	Life Has No Power	Donizetti	F.A. North & Co.		vocal trio, piano
21018	Mabel Waltzes	Godfrey, D.	S.T. Gordon		piano
21019	Les Bagatelles Dramatiques	Le Carpentier, A.	Leon Grus		piano
21020	Lorena	Grobe, Charles	H.M. Higgins	1864	piano
21021	Moonlight Waltz	Gernerd, J.M.M.	Lee & Walker	//1857-67//	piano
21022	Danish Dance (Lott' ist Todt)	Helmsmuller, F.B.	Beer & Schirmer	1860	piano

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