

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WELL-REGULATED AMUSEMENTS
AND THE LONGITUDINAL VIABILITY OF ROBERT OWEN'S
"PLAN FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF MANKIND":
NEW HARMONY, INDIANA: 1825–1874

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2019

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*For Vanita Gibbs,
whose faith never wavered.*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to many people who have served as compassionate witnesses to my scholarly journey and its various twists and turns. My lifelong friends instilled in me the importance of learning at an early age, especially Paul and the late Hilke Frayer, Claudette Frayer, Anne and the late Bill Crider, and Linda Van Hoy.

My Sigma Alpha Iota (SAI) ladies from Terre Haute, Indiana—Heather Pechin Myers, Peggy Cobb, Louise Clark, the late Evelyn Vaught, the late Lou Petrulis, and the late Kathryn George—showed me how music can sustain friendships, and without their initial support in college, I would have pursued a different path in life. Even at the age of 104, Peggy continues to serve as my free-spirited intellectual companion, who reminds me that by furnishing my mind well, I will always have a comfortable place to live.

Indiana State University professors N. Ann Rider, Angelo J. DiSalvo, and Donald Jennermann and librarians Carol DeFrance and Betsy Hine guided me to the life of the mind.

The inimitable late Samuel A. Floyd Jr. encouraged me to pursue a doctorate in musicology and taught me that a musical life is a life worth living. Even in retirement, he exemplified the importance of curiosity, the benefits of experiential learning, and the longitudinal implications of "sticking to your principles" for enacting social change. In so doing, he set the bar very high and challenged me every day to keep on keepin' on.

As a working student, I have been extremely fortunate to receive continued support from my Center for Black Music Research family. Marsha J. Heizer, Jan C. Chindlund, and Christopher Wilkinson deserve a type of gratitude that transcends the limitations imposed by mere words. Nevertheless, I extend to them my profound thanks. In the process of (finally) bringing this project to completion, I am indebted to T. J. Anderson, Kenneth Bilby, Anthony

Brown, Michelle Ferguson, Janet Harper, Gerhard Kubik, Raj Mago, Horace Maxile, Laurie Moses, Gayle Murchison, Lauren Noel, John F. (Del) Sawyer, Kirk Smith, and Trevor Weston for their sustained encouragement.

My incredible friends—Lance Anderson, Penny Blubaugh, Liz Boros-Kazai, Kacey Childs, Ron Elcock, Rob Greenspoon, Liz Hood, Ashley Jones, Eun Lee, Heather Pechin Myers, Suzi Wint, and Jennifer Yorke—have always provided a refreshing perspective over the past decade, for which I shall be eternally grateful. Without Eileen Fitzsimons, Kathy Jordan-Baker, Meg Mass, Anna-Lise Santella, Michelle Urberg, and, especially, Nathaniel Goggin, I never would have finished.

I would also like to thank Margaret Scherzinger, Librarian, and M. Ryan Rokicki, Director, both of the Working Men's Institute at New Harmony, Indiana, and Amanda Bryden, Historic Sites Collections Manager, at New Harmony, Indiana. I am appreciative of the patience and guidance extended to me over this wide swath of time by my advisor, Robert L. Kendrick, and my committee members Philip Bohlman, Kaley Mason, and Travis Jackson.

And, of course, without Grandma or the Zecks, life would have been much less interesting.

PREFACE

Located in the southwestern corner of Indiana, the town of New Harmony lies along the Wabash River in Posey County, approximately forty-two river miles north of the Illinois-Indiana-Kentucky tri-point on the Ohio River. Between 1814 and 1827, New Harmony was the site of two nineteenth-century social experiments, which resulted in three short-lived planned communities. The first community was established in 1814 by Johann Georg (George) Rapp (1757–1847), who, as a Lutheran Separatist from Württemberg, Germany, fled to the United States to escape religious persecution. He and his followers, known variously as the Harmonists or the Rappites, were Millennialists who practiced piety and celibacy in preparation for the Second Coming.

During their decade in New Harmony (1814–1824), the Harmonists erected approximately 180 buildings, many of which have survived. One such building—the fourth and final dormitory built immediately before their departure—was used to host dances, concerts, and lectures during the antebellum period, and in 1859, it was purchased by the New Harmony Dramatic Association, renamed Union Hall, and converted into an opera house and theater, thereby becoming the town's primary site of cultural events until World War I. Although these events did not incorporate the Harmonists' musical traditions, it should be noted that music was, in fact, important to Rapp and his followers and, over time, this repertory has been reintegrated into the performances of local musicians. For example, in 1820, the Harmonists published their *Harmonisches Gesangbuch*, which, in its initial iteration, contained 254 hymns, but once the Harmonists left New Harmony, these hymns fell out of local circulation. Today, however, they are recognized as an important component of New Harmony's musical heritage and, as such,

selections from the *Gesangbuch* were rendered by the New Harmony Community Choir during the town's bicentennial celebration in 2014.

In 1824, the Harmonists decided to reestablish their community in Economy, Pennsylvania, and they sold their buildings and land in Indiana to Robert Owen (1771–1858), a Welsh industrialist who, most recently, had managed a large textile mill and its adjacent company town in New Lanark, Scotland. Over the course of his twenty-five-year tenure there (ca. 1799–1824), he had grown increasingly concerned about what he considered to be the Industrial Revolution's negative effects on the working class in Europe, especially in Great Britain. In response, he published several essays in which he began to articulate what he would later codify at New Harmony as a "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind."

By the early 1820s, Owen started seeking opportunities through which he could develop his ameliorative intentions, which borrowed foundational concepts—especially with respect to education and happiness—from major figures of the Enlightenment, including John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Jeremy Bentham, among others. At the same time, he investigated the possibility of implementing his intentions in a self-contained, planned community, similar to those that had been established by communitarian groups—most notably, the Harmonists and the contemporaneous Shakers—and which were currently flourishing in the United States. However, unlike these and other American communitarian groups that had tapped into the burgeoning utopian impulse, Owen and his followers eschewed religion because they considered it, in combination with "private, or individual property" and "marriage founded on individual property," to constitute the trinity of evils compromising humanity's pursuit of happiness.¹

¹ Robert Owen, "Oration, Containing a Declaration of Mental Independence, Delivered in the Public Hall, at New-Harmony, Ind., by Robert Owen, at the Celebration of the Fourth of July, 1826," *New Harmony Gazette*, July 12, 1826.

The pursuit of happiness was positioned by Owen as the *raison d'etre* of his two planned communities at New Harmony—the Preliminary Society (May 1, 1825–February 4, 1826) and its successor, the Community of Equality (February 5, 1826–May 1827), which benefited from the financial support of Owen's new business partner, philanthropist William Maclure (1763–1840). Despite what the name of the second community implied, Owen and Maclure's collective endeavor was never intended to attract or welcome all parties equally. For example, membership was restricted to persons of European descent, and only rarely were persons of African descent on site in any capacity, as per Owen's wishes set forth for the Preliminary Society.² In contrast, Maclure expressed strong abolitionist views, and in his will from 1827, he made provisions for portions of his landholdings near New Harmony to be used for a colony of freedmen, which was ultimately unrealized.

Equality was difficult to achieve within the Community, as well. Even though all members were provided access to communal property, education, and regular opportunities for sanctioned leisure activities, they ultimately divided themselves along their pre-Community class lines, and the Community's intellectuals were in frequent tension with the laborers and working men. Within fifteen months following its establishment, the Community of Equality had splintered into ten smaller groups, and consequently, it collapsed entirely, bringing New Harmony's official communitarian era to a close in May 1827.³

² "Slavery," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 1, 1825; "Communications," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 15, 1825.

³ Lucy Jayne Botscharow has written about the members of the "better sort," which included William Maclure's entourage of Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (ANSP) scholars (see Chapter 2), whose values and aspirations differed from those held by members of the "common sort," which included artisans, farmers, laborers, and mechanics. See Lucy Jayne Botscharow, "Disharmony in Utopia: Social Categories in Robert Owen's New Harmony," *Communal Societies* 9 (1989).

The town's intellectuals wrote extensively about New Harmony and their perceptions of Owen's efforts, and their journals and correspondence have been preserved primarily in the archives at New Harmony's Working Men's Institute. In some cases, as with the correspondence between William Maclure and his confidante Marie Fretageot, the letters have been transcribed, edited, and annotated. Regrettably, information written by the local working men is scarce, and because the early local newspapers were vehicles for Owen and Maclure, little is known about the individual experiences of the "common sort" beyond what can be gleaned from the published complaints of splintering factions and occasional sketches by Maclure's colleague Charles Lesueur.

Much of Owen's original "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" collapsed along with the Community and was superseded by Maclure's efforts, by which the latter emerged as the town's *de facto* leader in the post-Community era. Whereas the Community's failure has been linked explicitly to Owen's poor business and organizational decisions, one overlooked aspect of his plan—the balance of industry and study with leisure—remained vital to the townspeople long after the Community ceased to exist. Owen argued that well-regulated amusements—namely, music and dance—were essential to creating happy, productive citizens, whose lives would then be characterized by this balance. Indeed, the presence of music in a planned community was not new, as evidenced by the musical output of the Harmonists, and music had long been associated with the utopian ideal in literature, as revealed by Plato's *Republic* and Thomas More's *Utopia*. But in the case of New Harmony, the townspeople continued to support and participate in a steady stream of well-regulated amusements, including music-filled concerts, balls, and theatrical productions, from 1825 until

1914. As such, the viability of Owen's plan—at least with respect to the balance of industry and study with leisure—should be reconsidered.

On the one hand, the musical activities of New Harmony's citizens are difficult to trace for two major reasons. First, the town did not have consistent newspaper coverage until 1867, with the establishment of the *New Harmony Register*. Whereas several Society, Community, and post-Community era newspapers existed, they did not report regularly or at length on cultural events. Second, New Harmony was, between 1825 and 1841, strictly secular; thus, there are no church records that might have otherwise been helpful in reconstructing the town's musical history. On the other hand, the copious theatrical records indicate that music was frequently included in productions as early as 1835. My research indicates that music was consistently part of the productions, beginning with the inception of the New Harmony Thespian Society in 1827 and continuing into the 1890s with the Golden Dramatic Combination.

Martin Golden (1835–1915), who had first performed in New Harmony in 1860 as part of William Rouse's Cincinnati Dramatic Company, returned to New Harmony with his wife, Bella (1842–1919), to perform intermittently alongside the local thespians between 1865 and 1873, while managing his own troupe in nearby Evansville, Indiana. Under Golden's management, these productions were filled with music, and they often featured Bella singing; in New Harmony, the local instrumental ensemble provided the accompaniment. As a manager, Martin Golden was critical to the longitudinal viability of Owen's plan for three reasons. First, in the mid-1860s, Golden published brief commentaries about the intellectual and moral value of theatrical productions in the newspapers where his troupe would be performing. These commentaries reveal that Golden shared Owen's opinions about well-regulated amusements, thereby aligning Golden's efforts ideologically with the traditions already in place.

Second, in the immediate postbellum era, Golden and his troupe performed extensively throughout southwestern Indiana. Beginning in 1864, their home theater was in Evansville, Indiana, which lies along the Ohio River approximately twenty-five miles southeast of New Harmony, and the troupe also performed in towns along the Wabash River, including Terre Haute, Indiana. At this time, these two cities, which were considerably larger than New Harmony, were poised to become important centers of commerce along their respective rivers, and in the case of Evansville, the local press encouraged residents to support the theater because it was an attraction that might entice businesses to establish themselves there. Even so, Golden struggled to keep his troupe afloat, and in 1873, he relocated his family and troupe to New Harmony permanently. In so doing, the tensions between the town's professional and amateur thespians blurred to the benefit of the audiences, and New Harmony became, at least temporarily, a center of musical-theatrical activity, to which citizens from the region came for amusement.

Third, with Golden steering New Harmony's postbellum cultural trajectory, the theater became a vital place for musicmaking, both within and in conjunction with theatrical productions. Instrumental ensembles, which had once served in an accompanying role, emerged from the theater as important stand-alone ensembles capable of providing music for social and civic events throughout southwestern Indiana. Thus, by the time New Harmony celebrated its centennial in 1914, the town had supported well-regulated amusements consistently during the nine decades of the post-Community era. By reframing these amusements as an extension of their original context, this part of Robert Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" can be reconsidered for its longitudinal viability.

CHAPTER 1

Robert Owen and "Well-Regulated Amusements": Operating at the Intersection of post-Enlightenment Discourse, American Communitarianism, and Utopian socialism

In 1824, the social reformer Robert Owen (1771–1858) purchased the town of New Harmony, Indiana, where he proceeded to "introduce an entire new state of society; to change it from the ignorant, selfish system, to an enlightened, social system, . . . gradually unite all interests into one, and remove all cause for contest between individuals."¹ In his so-called "quest for a new moral world,"² Owen left his textile mill in New Lanark, Scotland, to establish two planned communities in Indiana's southwestern tip near the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers—the Preliminary Society (1825–1826) and its immediate successor, the Community of Equality (1826–1827). The Preliminary Society's constitution, which went into effect on May 1, 1825, revealed the principles that undergirded Owen's quest: "The Preliminary Society is particularly formed to improve the character and condition of its own members and to prepare them to become associates of Independent Communities, having common property. The sole

¹ "Address Delivered by Robert Owen, of New Lanark," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 1, 1825.

² See Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian Origins and the Owenite Phase of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2012), 78. See also J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: The Quest for the New Moral World* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1969). Between 1836 and 1843, Owen wrote a series of essays titled *The Book of the Moral World*.

object of these Communities will be to procure for all their Members the greatest amount of happiness, to secure it to them, and to transmit it to their children to the latest posterity."³

Indeed, Owen positioned happiness as New Harmony's *raison d'être*, thereby rendering it the necessary prerequisite for productivity and progress.⁴ For Owen's followers, the majority of whom were European émigrés, the Preliminary Society and Community of Equality provided a welcomed respite from the deleterious effects of the Industrial Revolution, which had ravaged Europe's laboring class by the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁵ Owen argued that the Industrial Revolution had coincided with a surging interest in capitalism, and as such, it had prompted a shift in the relationship between workers and their employers from one of

³ "The Constitution of the Preliminary Society of New-Harmony, May 1, 1825," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 1, 1825. Within two years, Owen reported that "eight independent Communities of common property and equality have been formed upon the New Harmony estate." The ninth and tenth communities, including Maclure's School and Education Society, were excluded from Owen's count. For information about these additional communities, see Robert Owen, "Address Delivered on May 6, 1827," *New Harmony Gazette*, May 9, 1827.

⁴ Owen wrote extensively on the importance of happiness to a productive society, both prior to and during his time in New Harmony. See Robert Owen, "Essay First on the Formation of Character," *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character and the Application of the Principle to Practice* (London: Cadell and Davies, Strand, 1813), 13; Robert Owen, "View of New-Harmony, Concluded," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 29, 1825; Robert Owen, "New-Harmony Sunday Meeting for Instruction in the New-System. August 20, 1826," *New Harmony Gazette*, August 23, 1826.

⁵ Christopher A. Whatley has examined the effects of the Industrial Revolution on the Scottish working class, especially as evident in the unprecedented increase in Scotland's urban centers of population and the establishment of "planned villages," such as New Lanark, which were designed to house workers in adjacent factories. See chapter 4, "Social Aspects of the Scottish Industrial Revolution," in Christopher A. Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a close study on the impact of the Industrial Revolution on Scotland's working class and the resultant resistance, see chapter 8, "Making and Breaking of the Scottish Working Class," in Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707–1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).

interdependence in agrarian settings to one of extreme exploitation in manufacturing.⁶ He reasoned that this shift resulted in "competition, deception, superstition [unqualified belief in religion], bigotry, violence, insincerity, and immorality,"⁷ which caused workers to remain "ignorant, poor, oppressed, and consequently, vicious, and miserable." Under these conditions, he feared that "virtue and happiness cannot be attained, nor can man, strictly speaking, become a rational being." In contrast, New Harmony offered a reconceived model for living that was designed to facilitate the pursuit of happiness, whereby members shared communal property and resources, labored in safe and reasonable work environments, and were encouraged to pursue an education.⁸ Moreover, as part of his multi-faceted "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind," Owen insisted that all residents balance the demands of "industry and study" with regular opportunities to enjoy "well-regulated amusements," especially music and dance.⁹

As a child, Owen had played the clarinet and taken dance lessons, and in his autobiography, he recalled that "it was at these lessons that I first became conscious of the natural sympathies and dislikes or jealousies of children."¹⁰ As his biographer Ian L. Donnachie notes, "an enthusiasm for dancing and music was to stay with him throughout his youth and manhood and ultimately both came to play significant roles in his social philosophy and in the

⁶ Robert Owen, *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System: With Hints for the Improvement of Those Parts of It Which Are Most Injurious to Health and Morals*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817).

⁷ Robert Owen, "Address, Delivered on May 28, 1826," *New Harmony Gazette*, June 7, 1826.

⁸ "Address Delivered by Robert Owen, of New Lanark," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 1, 1825.

⁹ "View of New-Harmony, Concluded," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 29, 1825. The phrase "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" was employed in the concluding sentence of the five-essay series, and it provides an apt description of Owen's intentions that shall be employed henceforth in reference to Owen's ideology.

¹⁰ Robert Owen, *Robert Owen: Written by Himself, with Selections from His Writings and Correspondence*, vol. 1 (London: Effingham Wilson, 1857), 9-10.

life of both communities at New Lanark and New Harmony."¹¹ Owen's emphasis on the importance of education and well-regulated amusements, especially music and dance, is articulated in the final installment of a five-essay series titled *View of New-Harmony*, which appeared in the October 1825 issues of the *New Harmony Gazette*.

This society regards *education* as public property, in which every individual has an equal interest, and their principles enjoin, that the educating and training of youth should be among the first objects of its solicitude and care. To do this with the more effect, all children from two to twelve years of age are to be placed in houses fitted up for their accommodation, where they will be educated, boarded, and clothed at the public expense. On this plan our principal school is now established, at which about one hundred and thirty children reside. There are also day and evening schools, where every individual, both young and old, has an opportunity of acquiring elementary instruction.

Well-regulated amusements should be no less a part of the business of life than other occupations, but this important object has hitherto been mostly directed by chance: in consequence, immorality and disorder have to a great extent prevailed. . . . This society has made it its especial care to blend amusements with industry and study. Tuesday evenings are appropriated to balls, at which we have an able band of music, and a general attendance of the youthful population: Friday evenings to concerts, at which, in addition to the regular band, such of the children as have musical talent are introduced.¹²

By the end of 1825, the Preliminary Society boasted 1,000 members, and Owen's system of social edification through self-improvement, in which well-regulated amusements played a key role, created an environment in which equality and happiness were, at least for the moment, possible.¹³ The December 21, 1825, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette* mentioned several of the

¹¹ Ian L. Donnachie, *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony* (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 12. See also Ophélie Siméon, *Robert Owen's Experiment at New Lanark: From Paternalism to Socialism*, ed. Gregory Claeys, Palgrave Studies in Utopianism (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 78.

¹² "View of New-Harmony, Concluded," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 29, 1825. [Emphasis mine].

¹³ The December 21, 1825, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette* lists the Society population at "about 1000." In his retrospective account of this period, Robert Dale Owen, comments on these thrice-weekly opportunities for Preliminary Society members to come together. See Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way: Twenty-Seven Years of Autobiography* (London: Trübner & Co., 1874), 229. Robert Dale Owen's acknowledgement of the Society's

Society's achievements that had taken place within its first seven months of existence, and it noted that "judging from our present experience, we feel no hesitancy saying, that as our principles are generally diffused and reduced to practices, so will society increase in virtue, sincerity, good-feeling, intelligence, and happiness." As the Society continued to attract new members, it also received offers of financial support, and in January 1826, Owen welcomed his new business partner, the philanthropist William Maclure. Together, they pursued the second phase of Owen's original plan: "to constitute a Community of equality, with equal rights, property, and means of improvement and enjoyment."¹⁴

The Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality emerged during what historian Seymour Kesten refers to as the first phase of "utopian episodes" in the United States—that is, the 1820s.¹⁵ Over the course of three distinct phases—the 1820s, the mid-1840s, and the 1850s—approximately 100 "colonies of social reorganization" were established primarily, but not exclusively, by social reformers, most of whom settled along the major waterways of the eastern seaboard and the American frontier.¹⁶ But, of these, only Owen has been subjected to analysis as

three evening gatherings was brief, but it helps to establish the precedence of Robert Owen's plan, whose implementation continued into the Community of Equality.

¹⁴ Robert Owen, "Retrospect: Of the Commencement and Progress of the New System of Society for the First Year, in the United States," *New Harmony Gazette*, May 10, 1826. See also Robert Owen, "Inaugural Address," *New Harmony Gazette*, April 27, 1825.

¹⁵ Seymour R. Kesten, *Utopian Episodes: Daily Life in Experimental Colonies Dedicated to Changing the World*, Utopianism and Communitarianism (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 9.

¹⁶ See Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Checklist of Communitarian Experiments Initiated in the United States before 1860," in *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian Origins and the Owenite Phase of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2012).

a figure and actor in three interrelated currents of discourse and practice: the post-Enlightenment, American communitarianism, and utopian socialism.¹⁷

In the critical biographical and historical accounts of Owen dating from the early twentieth century, his efforts were examined regularly as extrapolations of Enlightenment discourse. For example, in what has been called the "first scholarly work on Owen and Owenism," Frank Podmore's 1906 biography traces Owen's conviction that man was a product of his circumstances to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Contrat Social* and Owen's thoughts on education to Rousseau's *Emile*.¹⁸ In the 1919 publication *A History of British Socialism*, Marxist historian Max Beer links Owen's emphasis on happiness directly to Jeremy Bentham, stating that "Bentham's formula is Owen's premise. The object of all human exertions is happiness."¹⁹ However, some later historians have shifted away from pinpointing precise sources, arguing that "perhaps a more profitable approach is to consider Owenism as part of the whole complex of ideas of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries."²⁰ Following this lead, investigations

¹⁷ Robert Owen, Henri de Saint-Simon, and Charles Fourier were labeled "utopian socialists" by Friedrich Engels in his book *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which was first published in 1880 in French and translated into English in 1892. Unlike Saint-Simon and Fourier, Owen was the only one of the three to come to the United States (in late 1824) to engage in the burgeoning movement of American communitarianism. In contrast, whereas the ideologies of Saint-Simon did not result in planned communities, each of the American Fourierist communities was established by Fourier's followers.

¹⁸ J. F. C. Harrison, "A New View of Mr. Owen," in *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor—Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth*, ed. Sidney Pollard and John Salt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1971), 2. Harrison distinguishes Podmore's efforts from those of the late nineteenth century that relied heavily on Owen's autobiographical writings; moreover, Harrison reveals the extent to which Owen was misunderstood by the Marxists in the mid- to late nineteenth century. In the intervening years between Podmore's and Harrison's publications, Harrison claimed that Podmore's biography remained "the most useful standard source." See Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1906), 108; 50-51.

¹⁹ Max Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1919), 163.

²⁰ J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, 4.

into this "complex of ideas" have confirmed what historian and Owenite scholar Edward Royle has stated in the opening sentence to *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium*, "Robert Owen is like a book without footnotes—the sources of his thought were seldom acknowledged."²¹

Although Owen's output did, in fact, reflect the ideas set forth by Bentham and Rousseau, utopia historian Arthur Bestor argues that Owen drew from other sources, as well, because his pursuit of happiness was brought to full fruition in communitarian projects.²² As Bestor's own research suggests, the communitarian impulse was strong in nineteenth-century America, but individual non-sectarian colonies rarely survived longer than a decade, collapsing because of illness, insolvency, ideological differences, and other hardships that their nascent infrastructures were unable to weather.²³ For example, Brook Farm (1841–1847)—a Transcendentalist then Fourierist community—suffered a fire and subsequent irrecoverable financial difficulties, and the Icarian Community at Cheltenham, Missouri, (1858–ca. 1864), which was adversely affected by irreconcilable conflicts among members, succumbed to a dysentery epidemic during the Civil

²¹ Edward Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium: A Study of the Harmony Community* (Manchester: New York, 1998), 7. As will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 2, Owen's sources of inspiration have been a subject of much debate, but John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi have appeared most regularly in these debates. For information on Locke and Owen, see Ophélie Siméon, *Robert Owen's Experiment at New Lanark: From Paternalism to Socialism*, ed. Gregory Claeys, Palgrave Studies in Utopianism (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 71. Podmore makes several allusions to Pestalozzi's work. See Podmore, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 126, 138, 151.

²² For a clear connection between Owen and Pestalozzi see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 135.

²³ See Bestor, "Checklist of Communitarian Experiments." See also Donald E. Pitzer, "Appendix: America's Communal Utopias Founded by 1965," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

War.²⁴ Owen's Community of Equality showed signs of distress almost immediately after it superseded the Preliminary Society, as the collaboration between Owen and Maclure, which had once held promise, deteriorated rapidly. Their disagreements originated with a difference of opinion on New Harmony's educational system, and this breach was compounded by the division of financial obligations.²⁵ In the early months of 1827, the two oldest sons of Robert Owen—Robert Dale Owen and his brother, William—overlooked the apparent popularity of the well-regulated amusements and conceded defeat on behalf of their father. They published their own rationale for their father's failure in the March 28, 1827, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*.

They proclaimed:

[w]e have yet to learn that the character of a person educated among the surroundings of the old world, can be entirely changed. The experiment, to ascertain at once whether a mixed and unassorted population could successfully govern their own affairs as a community, was a bold and hazardous attempt, and we think, a premature one. Our own opinion is that Robert Owen ascribed too little influence to the early antisocial circumstances that had surrounded many of the quickly collected inhabitants of New Harmony before their arrival here, and too much to the circumstances which experience might enable them to create around themselves in the future. He sought to abridge the period of human suffering by an immediate and decisive step, and the plan was boldly

²⁴ George Ripley's recounting of the March 3, 1846, fire was issued as "Fire at Brook Farm," *The Harbinger* (March 14, 1846): 220-222 and "To Our Friends," *The Harbinger* (March 21, 1846): 237-238. Former Brook Farmer John Thomas Codman paints the fire as "The Great Catastrophe" in his *Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs* (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), 186-202. The Icarian movement was put into motion by Etienne Cabet's 1840 novel *Voyage en Icarie* [*Voyage to Icaria*], which depicted a fictional island near the African coast whose inhabitants enjoyed equality, education, and sanctioned leisure activities, but "neither property nor money nor selling nor buying." See Robert Sutton, introduction to *Travels in Icaria*, by Etienne Cabet, trans. by Leslie Roberts (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), xii-xvii; Etienne Cabet, *Travels in Icaria*, trans. by Leslie Roberts (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 81. The demise of the Icarian Community at Cheltenham is described by Sutton, introduction to *Travels in Icaria*, xxxviii.

²⁵ For an account of this partnership and its rapid dissolution, see Charles Burgess, "The Boatload of Trouble: William Maclure and Robert Owen Revisited," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (1998): 138-51. For an overview to Owen's and Maclure's approaches to education, see Paul R. Bernard, Robert Owen, and William Maclure, "Irreconcilable Opinions: The Social and Educational Theories of Robert Owen and William Maclure," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8, no. 1 (1988): 21-44.

conceived; the failure would only afford proof that the conception in this particular case was not as practical as it was benevolent, inasmuch as the mass of the individuals at New Harmony were not prepared for so advanced a measure.²⁶

By June 1827, Owen had dissolved his partnership with Maclure and returned to Europe.²⁷

The narrative of Owen's failure has been perpetuated further by historians' focus on the unsuccessful social and economic aspects of the experiment, for which plentiful documentation is extant, and numerous accounts of New Harmony's untimely demise place the blame squarely at Owen's feet. Royle notes that despite Owen's initial, and notably substantial, financial investment in New Harmony, members of the Community of Equality were not prepared to continue to fund the experiment to the necessary extent.²⁸ Donnachie suggests that, in general, Owen's thinking on economic issues was "muddled," and his experience in governing a large mill and its company town in Scotland did not transfer readily to the operation of a classless village on the American frontier.²⁹ Utopia historian Donald Pitzer examines the entire scope of Owen's project and claims he "failed in areas crucial to all long-lasting communal societies [because] he did not unite all members in an inspiring purpose, clearly define or enforce members' financial commitment, develop a self-sustaining economic base, or institute a stable form of governance."³⁰ Like Royle, Donnachie, and Pitzer, historian Edward Spann finds fault with Owen, but his account, through which he offers due praise of Owen's intentions, hinges on

²⁶ *New Harmony Gazette*, March 28, 1827.

²⁷ See Robert Owen, "Robert Owen to the Ten Social Colonies of Equality and Common Property, forming on the New-Harmony Estate, on his leaving them in the Spring of 1827," *New Harmony Gazette*, May 30, 1827.

²⁸ Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement*, 18-19.

²⁹ Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 262.

³⁰ Pitzer, "The New Moral World of Robert Owen and New Harmony," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 120.

the following question: "[w]hy did the experiment fail so fast and so completely?" Spann claims that

if the Owenites had succeeded in transforming sectarian communalism at New Harmony, they might have changed the history of the world. The experiment began with several notable strengths: an already formed and thriving town, a generally well-educated and enthusiastic population, a wealthy and prestigious leader, and the good wishes of many outsiders. . . . Yet in less than three years after it began, Owen's great social machine destroyed itself, leaving behind a reputation that was long to cloud future hopes for cooperative communities.³¹

This narrative of Owen's failure has served consistently as the primary backdrop against which the history of New Harmony's post-Community era has been cast. Following the dramatic end to Owen's experiment, Maclure and his fellow intellectuals remained in New Harmony and made significant advancements in education and the natural sciences, which ultimately secured the town's international reputation for posterity. Maclure's commitment to lifelong learning is best illustrated in his 1838 establishment of the Working Men's Institute (WMI), which provided opportunities for all of New Harmony's citizens to discover the natural world around them. The WMI fostered a cross-pollination of education and the natural sciences, and, given the extent to which the resultant advancements in these two subjects have been chronicled, they have been perceived justifiably as the two main reasons for which New Harmony has been recognized as a nexus for progressive thought following its inauspicious utopian birth.³²

³¹ Edward K. Spann, *Brotherly Tomorrows: Movements for a Cooperative Society in America, 1820-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 46, 30.

³² As will be discussed in Chapter 2, Maclure's Working Men's Institute (WMI) was his most important contribution to New Harmony during the post-Community era. The WMI and Maclure's commitment to furthering adult education have been examined in Chapter 19 of Leonard Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony: Scientist, Progressive Educator, Radical Philanthropist* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 285-93. See also John W. Frich and David M. Hovde, "Library Programs in Indiana in the 1850s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 111, no. 4 (2015); Jeffrey Douglas, "William Maclure and the New Harmony Working Men's Institute," *Libraries & Culture* 26, no. 2 (1991); Josephine Mirabella Elliott, "William

But historians have not yet considered fully a significant aspect of Owen's plan that was sustained alongside the efforts instigated by Maclure: well-regulated amusements. From 1828 until the onset of World War I, New Harmony continued to provide its residents with a steady stream of music-filled concerts, balls, and theatrical productions as originally prescribed by Owen. Moreover, well-regulated amusements were an important part of the town's restoration efforts spearheaded by Jane Blaffer Owen following World War II, and they were featured at the town's bicentennial celebration in 2014. Even so, New Harmony's cultural heritage has been mistakenly marginalized or ignored by most mainstream accounts in favor of the educational and scientific achievements that have come to define the post-Community era.

This dissertation examines the ongoing musical values and activities of New Harmony after the failure of the economic and social aspects of Owen's utopian project and, as such, it is a study in musical sociability as practiced within utopian ruins of the nineteenth century. It builds on the intellectual histories written by music historian Claude Sluder and theater historian Brian Sajko, who independently recovered significant details about New Harmony's musical, theatrical, and musical-theatrical performances from the historical annals and demonstrated that the town emerged as a regional center of cultural activity during the post-Community era. Sluder

Maclure: Patron Saint of Indiana Libraries," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (June 1998); Donald E. Pitzer, "The Original Boatload of Knowledge Down the Ohio River: William Maclure's and Robert Owen's Transfer of Science and Education to the Midwest, 1825-1826," *Ohio Journal of Science* 89, no. 5 (1989); Charles Burgess, "William Maclure and Education for a Good Society," *History of Education Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (1963); Dan A. Williams, "The New Harmony Working Men's Institute," *The Library Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1950). Chapter 2 will also provide more details about Maclure's writings on geological subjects and those of his fellow intellectuals. For an overview to Maclure's work, see Donald E. Pitzer, "William Maclure's Boatload of Knowledge: Science and Education into the Midwest," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (1998); Markes E. Johnson, "The Parallel Impacts of William Maclure and Amos Eaton on American Geology, Education, and Public Service," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (June 1998).

investigated the printed and manuscript sources available to New Harmony's musicians between 1825 and 1865 and confirmed the presence of musical and musical-theatrical activities during the antebellum. In closing, he submitted that several of New Harmony's music-making traditions were continued during the postbellum era.³³ Sajko, who addressed music as an important aspect of theater, concluded that two of Robert Owen's ideologies—namely, gender equality and equality among the classes—were perpetuated through theatrical productions performed by New Harmony's series of troupes between 1828 and 1913.³⁴

This dissertation argues that these well-regulated amusements were always vital to New Harmony's townspeople and their sense of belonging to this community through each of its iterations. But it also seeks to reconceptualize the relevance of music, dance, and theater to the town's identity through three case studies that examine the ongoing demand for, participation in, and support of well-regulated amusements, which in turn, enables the longitudinal viability of a critical part of Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" to be reconsidered. Finally, it aims to add a third element to the current, but incomplete, understanding of New Harmony's history and recast this aspect of Owen's utopian efforts within a larger cultural narrative.

³³ Claude K. Sluder, "Music in New Harmony, Indiana, 1825-1865: A Study of the Music and Musical Activities of Robert Owen's Community of Equality (1825-1827) and Its Cultural Afterglow (1827-1865)" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1987), 266.

³⁴ Brian Paul Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia: The History of Theatre in New Harmony, Indiana, 1827-1913" (Ph. D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 1993).

Utopia

The term "utopia" was coined in 1516 by Sir Thomas More for the name of the idyllic island in his political satire *Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia*, known more commonly by its shortened title *Utopia*.³⁵ The inherent duality of "utopia," as intended by More's neologism has, according to Ruth Levitas, given rise to "lasting confusion" and prompted multifarious interpretations of the term.³⁶ In the introduction to *The Concept of Utopia*, Levitas proposes a definition of utopia as "the expression of the desire for a better way of living" and explores, but ultimately cautions against, the strict categorization of utopias in terms of form, content, and function. Nevertheless, this tripartite construct provides the point of departure for her efforts in exploring the term's evolution; moreover, it provides a guide—albeit compartmentalized—to recognizing and initiating an evaluation of a range of social phenomena with roots in Ancient Greece. By mapping Levitas's definition onto a more fluid version of this construct, the American colonies of social organization, including Owen's Preliminary Society and Community of Equality, can be considered as part of a trans-historical current of utopian thought that was expressed through literature and legends long before communitarian interpretations were fully realized. Such

³⁵ More's neologism "utopia" exemplifies More's "scholarly wordplay" through his deliberate employment of the ambiguously transliterated prefix "u," which could have been rendered in Greek as either of two homophonic prefixes: εὖ (eu), which means "good," or οὐ (ou), which means "no." The root τόπος (topos) is translated as "place"; but with addition of the prefix, the first literal translation becomes "good place" and the second becomes "nowhere or no place." See Mara-Daria Cojocaru, "Realizing Utopia? Reconstructing Its Normative Potential," *RCC Perspectives*, no. 8 (2012): 45-46; James Romm, "More's Strategy of Naming in the Utopia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22, no. 2 (1991): 182.

³⁶ Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, Ralahine Utopian Studies (Oxford: New York, 2010), 3.

mapping also allows for a trans-genre approach to utopian studies, which opens the hermeneutic space of "utopia" to incorporate the expressions prevalent among Owen's contemporaries who operated outside the communitarian realm, especially composers and political philosophers.³⁷

Utopia as Form: Early Utopian Literature

Plato's *Republic* is widely recognized as one of the earliest written accounts of what would later be deemed utopian thinking, but Levitas posits that the actual genre or "form" of utopian literature was instigated by More's *Utopia*.³⁸ Plato's influence on More was first recognized by More's own readership, and later scholars, including Thomas White and František Novotný, have acknowledged some similarities between the two texts.³⁹ For example, Plato and More address the purpose of education and the divisions of labor, but Novotný posits that the differences in their approaches to creating an ideal state or world result from their underlying motivations, whereby Plato was focusing on moral improvement and More was responding to contemporary economic disparities.⁴⁰ In accordance with Levitas's assessment above, More's response in *Utopia* may have resonated with its readership as a catalyst for change, and in its literary form, it may have served as a model for future expressions of the utopian trope that has been succinctly described by philosopher Mara-Daria Cojocaru as "the perception of a crisis

³⁷ Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 9, 14.

³⁸ Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 5.

³⁹ See Thomas I. White, "A Study of the Influence of Plato and Aristotle on Thomas More's 'Utopia'" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1974); František Novotný, *The Posthumous Life of Plato*, trans. Jana Fábryová (Prague: Academia, 1977), 419-21.

⁴⁰ Novotný, *The Posthumous Life of Plato*, 420.

from which an alternative system must arise."⁴¹ In the approximately 450 years between the publication of *Utopia* and the institutionalization of utopian studies as a discipline, approximately 1,500 works of utopian literature, including those considered science fiction, were written.⁴² Well-known contributors to this form include Sir Philip Sidney (*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* [*Arcadia*], ca. 1590), Francis Bacon (*New Atlantis*, 1627), Francis Godwin (*The Man in the Moone*, 1638), Jonathan Swift (*Gulliver's Travels*, 1726).⁴³

Many examples of utopian literature, including Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia*, emphasize the importance of music and musicmaking. For example, in the *Republic*, Socrates explains to his two companions, Glaucon and Adeimantus, that "surely when children make a good start with their amusements, and are equipped through *mousikē* with a law-abiding spirit, this spirit . . . will follow along with everything and augment it, and will set right anything in the city that was previously laid low."⁴⁴ Plato's favorable opinion of music is infused later into the narrative of *Laws*, whereby the main speaker (the Athenian stranger) states that "the uneducated man is without choric expertise, while the educated man is to be reckoned adequately trained in

⁴¹ Cojocar, "Realizing Utopia," 49. Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman has observed that "the creation of utopia arises from the recognition of the need for difference." See Philip V. Bohlman, *Revival and Reconciliation: Sacred Music in the Making of European Modernity* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 244.

⁴² See Lyman Tower Sargent, "Themes in Utopian Fiction in English before Wells," *Science Fiction Studies* 3, no. 3 (1976). For information about utopias outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition, see Jacqueline Dutton and Lyman Tower Sargent, "Introduction: Utopias from Other Cultural Traditions," *Utopian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2013). For information about the codification in the mid-1970s of utopian studies as an academic discipline, see Donald Elden Pitzer and Paul Samuel Boyer, *America's Communal Utopias* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), xv-xvi.

⁴³ See Sargent, "Themes," 276-277.

⁴⁴ Plato, *Republic*, 425a. Andrew Barker, ed. *Greek Musical Writings*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *The Musician and his Art*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 140.

the art of the chorus."⁴⁵ These writings suggest that Plato viewed music as an indispensable component of education, which, in turn, was crucial for the development of the ideal state and the well-being of its citizenry.

In More's *Utopia*, the purpose of the island community was "to give each person as much time free from physical drudgery as the needs of the community will allow, so that he can cultivate his mind—which [the Utopians] regard as the secret of a happy life."⁴⁶ As such, the Utopians gravitated toward intellectual pleasures, such as music, literature, and conversation,⁴⁷ and they reveled in the "satisfaction that one gets from understanding something, or from contemplating truth." More's Utopians made and listened to music daily, both during and after their evening meals, and on special occasions, such as end-of-life celebrations. As More envisioned, "All their music, whether played on instruments or sung by the human voice, so renders and expresses the natural feelings, so suits the sound to the matter (whether the words be supplicatory or joyful or propitiatory or troubled or mournful or angry), and so represents the meaning by the form of the melody that it wonderfully affects, penetrates, and inflames the souls of the hearers."⁴⁸ Considering this attempt to weave music into the islanders' social and communal fabric, Renaissance scholar Nan C. Carpenter has posited that More's "Utopia (no place) or Eutopia (happy place) was literally launched on the wings of a song."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Plato, *Laws*, 654a-b. Andrew Barker, ed. *Greek Musical Writings*, 2 vols., vol. 1: The Musician and his Art, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 141.

⁴⁶ Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Paul Turner (London: Penguin 1983), 79.

⁴⁷ Nan C. Carpenter, "A Song for All Seasons: Sir Thomas More and Music," *Comparative Literature* 33, no. 2 (1981): 128.

⁴⁸ More, *Utopia*, 96, 127.

⁴⁹ Carpenter, "A Song for All Seasons," 133.

Utopia as Content: A Utopian Legend and Music

As evidenced by Plato's *Republic*, the "dreams of living together in a better way" were extant long before the neologism appeared in More's satire.⁵⁰ In his search for the origins of the utopian impulse, Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch turned to the legend of Syrinx from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which Pan creates a set of pipes from reeds after his beloved, Syrinx, transformed into these reeds while resisting Pan's advances. Because Syrinx is simultaneously not present in her original state, but present in the pipes and in Pan's mind, Bloch is able to use the story to "explain both the need for music in the experience of lack, and the origin of music as a well-ordered series of notes, a genuinely expressive medium."⁵¹ For Bloch, this legend demonstrates that music "begins longingly and already definitely as a call to that which is missing," and these notes, in particular, illustrate that "the subjective and utopian dimensions of music are intimately connected."⁵²

Bloch's considerations of music in utopia and music as utopia have appeared in several of his writings, especially *Geist der Utopie* [*The Spirit of Utopia*] and *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* [*The Principle of Hope*], in addition to several smaller essays, and they have been facilitated by his own system of nomenclature, whereby the idea of "Not-Yet and of the intention towards it" can

⁵⁰ See Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight, 3 vols., vol. 2, *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 479.

⁵¹ Gary Zabel, "Ernst Bloch and the Utopian Dimension of Music," *The Musical Times* 131, no. 1764 (1990): 84.

⁵² Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight, 3 vols., vol. 3, *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 1059; Zabel, "Ernst Bloch," 84.

be conveyed through a "breadth of the anticipations, wishful images, hope-contents."⁵³ As Bloch compares music to the other arts, he writes that "music has a very special juice, suitable for the invocation of that still wordless something which is added instrumentally to the song and in the sung word may also penetrate to its undertone and surplus."⁵⁴ Synthesizing Bloch's exegesis, Ruth Levitas states that the "power of music as a utopian form rests in its nonverbal, nonrepresentational, abstract character, and its consequent capacity to transcend the utterable. It does not merely prefigure a better world but invokes it."⁵⁵ Her description of music's character and capacity aligns with the word of caution she issued regarding the strict tripartite categorization of utopia, and as such, music can be in a utopian place, such as on More's island, and it can be employed to convey a utopian concept or sentiment.

Utopia as Content: Where the Utopian Meaning Resides in Music

As both Bloch and Levitas make evident, music was a common vehicle for conveying utopian concepts or sentiments in art music, especially during the nineteenth century, during which time the communities of social reorganization, as described by Kesten, were emerging, and, in many cases, employing music to further an underlying ideology. In her own recent efforts to understand where "the utopian meaning resides," Levitas turns to the lyrics of Franz Schubert's 1817 lied, "An die Musik," which is a setting of the poem by Franz von Schober. In

⁵³ Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight, 3 vols., vol. 1, *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 15.

⁵⁴ Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, vol. 3, 1069.

⁵⁵ Ruth Levitas, "In Eine Bess're Welt Entrückt: Reflections on Music and Utopia," *Utopian Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010): 220-21.

the last line of the first stanza, the phrase "In eine bess're Welt entrückt" ["transported to a better world"] makes a clear reference to what Bloch has deemed the "Not-Yet and of the intention towards it."⁵⁶

Yet, not all musical texts are employed in such an explicit expression of a wishful image, and their utopian meaning resides not in (or not just in) the expression of a desire for a better world but (also) in the appeal to unity and equality. This appeal to unity and equality undergirded the line of utopian thought propagated by Robert Owen and his French contemporary, Charles Fourier, in the first half of the nineteenth century, as both reformers championed the suppression of the individual in the name of collective rights within communitarianism. Meanwhile, this appeal is also evident in the contemporaneous music of Ludwig van Beethoven, especially in his ninth symphony. In his own efforts to understand the binary of Beethoven's middle and late styles, musicologist Jeffrey Swinkin considers the idea of "solidarity" conveyed in Beethoven's setting of Friedrich Schiller's "Ode to Joy" text. For Swinkin, this "solidarity" is aligned with Beethoven's middle style because it is emblematic of the composer's "revolutionary fervor,"⁵⁷ and consequently, the final movement of the symphony can be seen in much the same way that Cojocarú has defined utopia—that is, "solidarity" represents the alternative system that stands in contrast to the revolutionary crisis. Swinkin recalls Maynard Solomon's interpretation of "Ode to Joy," in which Solomon claims that, for Beethoven, this text is "a principle of order in a chaotic universe." Moreover, the phrase "Alle Menschen werden Brüder" is isolated by Solomon to

⁵⁶ Levitas, "In Eine Bess're Welt," 215-16. In his book *Jewish Music and Modernity*, Bohlman links the utopian with the eschatological, and, drawing from the writings of Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, states that the utopian has potential to represent what "should be." See Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 131.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Swinkin, "The Middle Style/Late Style Dialectic: Problematizing Adorno's Theory of Beethoven," *The Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 3 (2013): 319-20.

illustrate "an archaic battle cry in which both revolution and utopia are yet to come."⁵⁸ Thus, as would be expected with an embodiment of utopia's inherent duality, Beethoven's work conveys two utopian aspects simultaneously: the pursuit of a better world—that is, Bloch's "not yet and the intentions toward it"—and the plea for equality among mankind. Solomon states:

Though the revolution is over, betrayed, defeated, there are residues—the memory of altruistic fervor, the glimpse of social justice, the sense of brotherhood, the licensing of parricidal impulses, the overthrow of convention. It is the sense of an unrealized felicity that Beethoven seeks to symbolize.

However, the summoning up of the spirit of utopia inevitably disinters its darker side as well. Schiller's thrilling slogan trivializes, or at least diminishes, actual brotherhood, for if all men are brothers, simple fraternal kinship has lost its meaning. And by its unremitting embrace of fraternity, the "ode to Joy" suggests a suppression of individuality reminiscent of the coercive egalitarianism that has characterized every utopian blueprint from . . . Sir Thomas More to . . . Charles Fourier. That may be why the implications of Schiller's text include not only a tender sigh for a better world but an authoritarian insistence on conformity as a precondition of salvation.⁵⁹

The textual component of "Ode to Joy" notwithstanding, the final movement of Beethoven's ninth symphony has been considered by Tobias Pontara as a conveyor of transcendence in its brief appearance in Andrei Tarkovsky's film *Stalker*. Drawing on Lawrence Kramer's notion of "expressive doubling," Pontara subjects "Ode to Joy" to what Kramer identifies as "reinterpretation and revaluation" in an attempt to identify how subsequent iterations of the familiar tune "inscribes the sought-for historical progress from the actual to the ideal within a definite temporal frame." Pontara concludes that as the music accompanies the opening and closing scenes of the movie, which portray a shift in a character endowed with supernatural

⁵⁸ Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: The Sense of an Ending," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 2 (1991): 297, 301.

⁵⁹ Given the emphasis on "equality" at New Harmony, Robert Owen could have been legitimately added alongside Fourier in Solomon's list. Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," 301.

powers, the music can be reevaluated for its ability to convey the concept of transcendence and subsequently be bound with Levitas's invocation of a better world.⁶⁰

As the writings of Swinkin, Solomon, Pontara, and Kramer demonstrate, even the same piece of music can function as a vector of utopian expression in different ways. Given the fusion of choral and orchestral forces in Beethoven's ninth symphony, it could be considered a precursor to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of Richard Wagner, which, according to musicologist Sara Heimbecker, seeks to "reunite the arts—which had disintegrated into discrete 'arts' in the eighteenth century—and, second, to model a utopian society that is similarly 'integrated'."⁶¹ As with Swinkin's assessment of solidarity, Heimbecker considers this integration of the arts in the metaphorical sense to represent a "unified society," which, once again, aligns effectively with the contemporaneous communitarian manifestations of the utopian ideal.

Utopia as Function: Nineteenth-Century Communitarianism and Utopian Socialism

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, these utopian ideals of a "better world," "unity," "equality," "brotherhood," and "solidarity" transcended the metaphorical realm of music, as explored above, and were realized through communitarian experiments—that is, in colonies of social reorganization. As per Levitas's tripartite construct, these colonies have been critiqued with respect to their utopian function; but she notes that during the nineteenth century, some

⁶⁰ For Kramer's definition of "expressive doubling," see Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 22; Tobias Pontara, "Beethoven Overcome: Romantic and Existentialist Utopia in Andrei Tarkovsky's *Stalker*," *19th-Century Music* 34, no. 3 (2011): 312-313.

⁶¹ Sara Heimbecker, "Hpschd, Gesamtkunstwerk, and Utopia," *American Music* 26, no. 4 (2008): 480.

reformers, such as Owen, would have considered his own utopian efforts to be transformative, while others, such as Marx and Engels, considered resultant transformative utopias to be a "distraction from the struggle for change."⁶² In the first half of the nineteenth century, transformative utopias, such as the Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality, capitalized on the growing desire to express what Cojocarú declares as the desire to bring "one's own life into a harmonious relationship with a collective identity." In a way, these transformative utopias attempted to bring underlying wishful images to full fruition and offered viable, if temporary, counternarratives to the societal upheaval prompted by the Industrial and French Revolutions.⁶³

As evidenced in the approximately 100 colonies active during Kesten's three utopian episodes, transformative utopias remained largely intact through the 1850s, but the term "utopia" eventually morphed into a synonym for pre-Marxian socialism. This identification was first suggested by *The Communist Manifesto* and later cemented by Friedrich Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which referred, collectively, to Henri Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen as the "three great utopians" and their philosophy as "utopian socialism."⁶⁴ Engels employed the descriptor "utopian" derogatorily in order to distinguish this type of socialism from that of scientific socialism, of which he and Marx were the primary figures.⁶⁵ He saw these three reformers as insufficiently radical precursors to scientific socialism because they were still tainted by the Enlightenment fascination with Reason, which precluded them from dealing

⁶² Levitas, "In Eine Bess're Welt," 217.

⁶³ Cojocarú, "Realizing Utopia," 49. Bohlman describes this phenomenon as offering a "counterhistory." See Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, 132.

⁶⁴ Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "The Evolution of the Socialist Vocabulary," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 9, no. 3 (1948): 287-88.

⁶⁵ Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, trans. Edward Aveling (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892).

effectively with class conflict.⁶⁶ But, Engels's own focus on economic issues led him to neglect the cultural dimensions of the utopians' visions, which were to prove among their most enduring legacies.

All three utopians considered music to be essential to the activation and propagation of their plan. As their copious writings attest, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen each advocated on behalf of the poor and working classes by promoting opportunities for continual self-improvement, social edification, and, notably, leisure. At the time in which these utopians were operating, there were three main views on music's social roles in circulation, and in his study of Saint-Simon, musicologist Ralph Locke has assigned names to each view: "utilitarian," "sociological," and "democratic." The utilitarian view, to which the Saint-Simonians ascribed, holds that "the arts find meaning and indeed justification in supporting the essential life-sustaining activities of daily existence (rather than in promoting relaxation after [the] day is done)." According to the sociological view, "works of art cannot help but express a society's aspirations and reveal its innermost conflicts and concerns." Like Saint-Simon, Fourier seems to have viewed music from the utilitarian perspective, but some of his disciples who were following a modified Fourierist doctrine in the 1850s, appear to have considered music from the sociological view. In contrast, Owen's approach to well-regulated amusements rests squarely in the democratic domain, by which Locke describes as "a wholesome leisure-time activity for all

⁶⁶ Engels, *Socialism*, 5-6, 8, 10. It should be noted that Engels considered Fourier's work to be an extension of the Enlightenment, but in an essay titled "Universal Harmony," Fourier blamed Voltaire and Rousseau for having believed wrongfully that "civilization was the social destiny of the human race." See Charles Fourier, "Universal Harmony," in *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction*, ed. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 81-82.

the active, productive members of society, even the most humble."⁶⁷ Given that Locke's commentary focuses on music's roles in nineteenth-century Europe, he restricts his assessment to Owen's use of music at New Lanark, Scotland. But, in so doing, he paves the way for the current study.

Music and the Three Great Utopians

Henri Saint-Simon

In her assessment of music's role in the work of Saint-Simon and Fourier, musicologist Jane Fulcher writes that the arts were deployed "to cultivate necessary virtues in man to insure the appropriate inclinations or constructive emotional states."⁶⁸ Both reformers regarded the physical, intellectual, and moral improvement of their followers as paramount to their efforts in social reorganization following the French Revolution. Henri Saint-Simon sought to curb the powers of the aristocracy and argued that

the most direct way to bring about an improvement in the moral and physical well-being of the majority of the population is to give priority in State expenditure to the provision of work for all fit men, so as to assure their physical existence; to disseminate as quickly as possible among the proletarian class the positive knowledge which has been acquired; and finally to ensure that the individuals composing this class have forms of leisure and interests which will develop their intelligence.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 16-17.

⁶⁸ Jane Fulcher, "Music and the Communal Order: The Vision of Utopian Socialism in France," *Current Musicology* (1979): 30.

⁶⁹ Henri Saint-Simon, "Third Fragment: Extract from *De L'organisation Sociale*," in *Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825): Selected Writings on Science, Industry, and Social Organization*, ed. and trans. Keith Taylor (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1975), 265-66.

He also sought to elevate the status of artists, including musicians, in society, but the extent to which artists were to be leaders of humanity has been subject to debate. Following his death in 1825, his work was expanded, and in some cases—such as the determination of the actual leadership position of artists—altered by his disciples, who referred to themselves as members of the "Ecole saint-simonienne." Whereas the extent to which the Saint-Simonians participated in the larger movement varied, Locke notes that any such participation was indicative of "a particularly intense manifestation of a widespread trend toward greater involvement in the life of society."⁷⁰

Charles Fourier

This trend was also evident in the work of Charles Fourier, who, like Saint-Simon, addressed the state of society in the aftermath of the French Revolution, especially the "calamities affecting social industry: poverty, unemployment, the success of rascality . . ." ⁷¹ In a rebuke of his Enlightenment predecessors, Fourier noted that "it was evident that neither the philosophers nor their rivals possessed a remedy for the social distresses, and that their dogmas only served to perpetuate the most disgraceful calamities, among others, poverty." He argued that these calamities had helped to "push civilized society back toward the state of barbarism"

⁷⁰ According to Locke, the Saint-Simonians believed that "the power of art [is] to influence the behavior of its audience in desirable ways, and especially to stir their enthusiasm for the work that needs to be done if society is to advance." See Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians*, 8, 17, 122.

⁷¹ See Charles Fourier, "Indices and Methods Which Led to the Discovery," in *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*, ed. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 99-100, 94. For more details on Fourier's own experiences during the French Revolution, see Robert C. Bowles, "The Reaction of Charles Fourier to the French Revolution," *French Historical Studies* 1, no. 3 (1960): 349, 56. See also Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu, "Introduction: The Genesis of Utopia," in *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction*, ed. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press 1971), 5-6, 8.

and that they warranted immediate attention.⁷² In response, he posited that society should be reorganized into cooperative communities called "phalanxes" or "associations," each of which was a "single, unified family" that attracted all persons, regardless of class, and aligned their individual vocational responsibilities with their "passions" so that they could engage in "attractive work," live a fulfilling existence, and achieve "Harmony."⁷³

Education was critical to discovering what Fourier called an individual's "instinctual vocation," but, of equal importance to the phalanx's viability was education's refining effects on members who hailed previously from the lower class.⁷⁴ His system of education championed the development of the body and the soul simultaneously and ensured that all children understand "common norms of civility, speech, and behavior." As such, Fourier insisted that the children of the phalanx be provided with opportunities to cultivate good manners, and he proposed that opera was the "most powerful means" through which children would be educated.⁷⁵ Fulcher comments that engagement with opera through singing and choreography was "part of the child's training in 'harmony' or 'cooperation,' for the child of the poor would happily stand and sing with the child of the rich. Even before understanding, rationally, why cooperation within the whole

⁷² Fourier, "Indices," 93.

⁷³ Charles Fourier, "Education, Refinement, and Social Harmony," in *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*, ed. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 260; Charles Fourier, "Civilized Work is Unproductive," in *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*, ed. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 128-30. See Carl J. Guarneri, "Brook Farm and the Fourierist Phalanxes: Immediatism, Gradualism, and American Utopian Socialism," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 159-60.

⁷⁴ Fourier, "Education, Refinement, and Social Harmony," 257-58. See also David Zeldin, *The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier (1772-1837)* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1969), 32.

⁷⁵ Fourier, "Education, Refinement, and Social Harmony," 259-260.

[of society] was necessary, the child would be instilled with a sense of the beauty and pleasure of the harmonious mean."⁷⁶

Spread of Fourierism

Fourier had articulated his ideas of social reform as early as 1808, but they did not circulate widely among French intellectuals until the 1830s, and even prior to Fourier's death in 1837, questions remained as to the extent his work was presented in an unadulterated fashion.⁷⁷ In 1832, a Fourierist journal, *Le Phalanstère*, was established as "a forum for the elaboration of Fourier's ideas," and its articles promoted the construction of a "trial Phalanx."⁷⁸ *Le Phalanstère* printed Fourier's own latest commentary on social reform, but it also featured different interpretations of Fourierism set forth by Fourier's disciples, which, in turn, prompted Fourier to engage in what historian Jonathan Beecher describes as "a series of particularly bitter confrontations" over the direction of his ideas. In 1836, a new journal was established titled *La Phalange*, and it was designed as a "popular journal that could mold public opinion." Its contents sparked a rift between the journal's editor, Victor Considerant, and Fourier's other disciples, and Fourier died shortly thereafter in 1837 before he was able to unify all of his followers in their understanding of Fourierist principles.⁷⁹ In 1840, Fourier's former private pupil, Albert Brisbane, created an Americanized version of Fourierism and published it under the title *Social Destiny of*

⁷⁶ Fulcher, "Music and the Communal Order," 33.

⁷⁷ Guarneri, "Brook Farm and the Fourierist Phalanxes," 160.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 46.

⁷⁹ Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 49-50, 71, 74-75.

Man; or Association and Reorganization of Industry.⁸⁰ Brisbane's model of Fourierism was then implemented in several American planned communities, including Brook Farm (Massachusetts, 1841–1847) and La Réunion (Texas, 1855–1858).⁸¹

Brook Farm was founded in 1841 by George and Sophia Ripley and located in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, near Boston. It was originally inspired, in part, by Transcendentalism, which championed the "heightened immediate experience" of its self-reliant adherents.⁸² As a community, Brook Farm allowed its members to contribute vocationally by doing what came naturally to them.⁸³ This premise brought scrutiny, but the purpose was to divide necessary physical labors among all members so that everyone could enjoy intellectual pursuits, as well.⁸⁴ In response to what some perceived as the community's fatal flaw—namely, the possibility that members might not contribute their fair share of the physical labor and simply enjoy the community's intellectual fruits—Brook Farmers were convinced in 1844 by Brisbane's writings to consider subscribing to a different social model based on the theories of Charles Fourier.⁸⁵ Through Fourierism, the Ripleys could achieve two goals: renew Brook Farm's original mission and positively remunerate members who completed undesirable or unpleasant acts of physical

⁸⁰ Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr. "Albert Brisbane: Propagandist for Socialism in the 1840s," *New York History* 28, no. 2 (1947): 141.

⁸¹ Bestor, "Albert Brisbane," 147, 150. See also John Michael Cooper, "Escape to—and from—Utopia: Fourierist Philosophy and Musical Life in the Colony of La Réunion, Texas," *American Music* 33, no. 2 (2015). For a chronological listing of phalanxes in the United States, see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 282-284.

⁸² Carl J. Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 49.

⁸³ Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), 15-16; Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative*, 45.

⁸⁴ Kesten, *Utopian Episodes*, 144.

⁸⁵ Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative*, 51-54.

labor.⁸⁶ In spite of its new ideological source of inspiration, Brook Farm ceased operations in 1847.

Although the community itself was short-lived, many Brook Farmers continued to produce artistically and intellectually in much the same way they had during the community's prime. One such member, John Sullivan Dwight, organized musical and theatrical activities for the community, taught music and Latin, and contributed musical critiques to the *Harbinger*, Brook Farm's Fourierist newspaper. On February 29, 1844, he delivered a lecture before the New England Fourier Society, from which the role of music in American Fourierist associations can be gleaned. "Music should be valued in an Association, if not as a study, yet as a pervading presence. He that makes music, from no other motive but mere love of it, does even a greater good than he that teaches it. There should be music floating about in the air, which should never suffer it to be a dull atmosphere. . . . Music is the outpouring of the lives, of the hopes and prayers and faith of men like Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven. It is good to have them with us." In his description of an Association's educational program, he proclaims that "there must be exercises which cultivate the senses and perceptive faculties," including singing, drawing, and dancing.⁸⁷ Although Brook Farm collapsed, Dwight continued to promote music and its relevance to society, but on a broader scale through his serial *Dwight's Journal of Music*, which was established in 1852 and for which he is now is considered America's first music critic.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Spann, *Brotherly Tomorrows*, 64-65, 70.

⁸⁷ John Sullivan Dwight, *Lecture on Association, in Its Connection with Education, Delivered before the New England Fourier Society, in Boston, February 29, 1844* (Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1844), 16-17, 21.

⁸⁸ For an overview to the musical life at Brook Farm, see Chapter 9 in John Thomas Codman, *Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs* (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894).

Meanwhile, also in 1852, Brisbane and Considerant were in the process of constructing an association in Texas that, in contrast to Brook Farm, which did not assume its Fourierist identity until its fourth year, was designed explicitly as a Fourierist enterprise. Following Considerant's popular 1854 publication *Au Texas!*, Considerant helped to establish the Colonization Society, which funded the association La Réunion. Unfortunately, the members of La Réunion, most of whom had come from Europe, experienced difficulties almost from the beginning, especially harsh weather, and La Réunion was dissolved in early 1858.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, over the course of this short-lived social experiment, members enjoyed dancing and listening to chamber music. In his account of La Réunion's musical life, musicologist John Michael Cooper proposes that the colony's singing course was organized to boost morale, and even though the resources at La Réunion were insufficient to put on operatic productions, as would have been in keeping with orthodox Fourierism, at least one of the extant songs from this course reflects the contemporary plight of "the rejected masses of workers compelled to leave their homelands." Cooper also examined the colony's songbook and argues that the twenty-six entries did, in fact, "thematize the issues that occupied Fourierists and the disillusioned European public of the mid-nineteenth century, including not only generally patriotic topics but also songs of loneliness and travel, of old soldiers reflecting on the glories of battles long past and what they represented or of familial separation."⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative*, 329-31.

⁹⁰ John Michael Cooper, "Escape to—and from—Utopia," 157, 159.

Robert Owen

Music was vital to the efforts of Saint-Simon and Fourier, and it featured prominently in the communities of Fourier's disciples, but, as Locke has claimed, it served a different purpose in the efforts of Owen. Indeed, Owen's "democratic" use of music at New Lanark, Scotland, has been recently contextualized by documentary evidence uncovered by Lorna Davidson, who served as the director of the New Lanark Trust for thirty-three years until her retirement in 2016. During her tenure, she contributed an article to the 2010 special issue of *Utopian Studies* titled "Music and Utopia," whose introductory material was co-written by Ruth Levitas and Tom Moylan. Levitas and Moylan denote that within the field of utopian studies (Bloch's efforts notwithstanding), "there has been limited attention to music" prior to this collection of essays.⁹¹

The writings of Locke and Davidson indicate and illustrate, respectively, the presence of music in Owen's ameliorative intentions at New Lanark, but the implementation of well-regulated amusements at New Harmony has only been featured in the intellectual histories written by Sluder and Sajko.⁹² As such, this dissertation seeks to revisit these histories through the lens provided by Locke's mode of inquiry and demonstrate that New Harmony's post-Community identity, and its connection to Owen, was predicated on the consistent presence and availability of democratic, well-regulated amusements.

⁹¹ Ruth Levitas and Tom Moylan, "Introduction: The Once and Future Orpheus," *Utopian Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010).

⁹² Even so, the lack of available documentation—e.g., between 1828 and 1834—requires speculation regarding the presence of and extent to which musicmaking took place beyond the traditional salon, recital, or concert.

Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind": Implications for History of American Music Education

Owen's implementation of well-regulated amusements at New Harmony predated similar efforts of Fourier's disciples, and given Owen's own emphasis on education, an examination of his efforts may shed new light on the philosophical impulse behind the institutionalization of music education in the United States. In the traditional foundational story, Lowell Mason earned the title "the father of music education" after petitioning successfully in 1837 before the Boston School Committee to inaugurate the first music education program in American public schools.⁹³

An excerpt from the petition reads as follows:

There is, —who has not felt it, —a mysterious connection, ordained undoubtedly for wise purposes, between certain sounds and the moral sentiments of man . . . [if] there be this necessary concordance between certain sounds and certain trains of moral feeling, is it unphilosophical to say that exercises in vocal Music may be so directed and arranged as to produce those habits of feeling of which these sounds are the types? Besides, happiness, contentment, cheerfulness, tranquility, —these are the natural effects of Music. These qualities are connected intimately with the moral government of the individual. Why should they not, under proper management, be rendered equally efficient in the moral government of the school?⁹⁴

In honor of the 150th anniversary of Mason's accomplishment, music educator and MayDay Group⁹⁵ co-founder J. Terry Gates reflected that "[d]uring the period of our national history that

⁹³ Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work*, Studies in Musicology (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), ix.

⁹⁴ See "Report on the Propriety and Utility of making Vocal Music a branch of instruction in Common Schools," *Boston Musical Gazette*, November 28, 1838.

⁹⁵ The MayDay Group, founded by Thomas A. Regelski and J. Terry Gates in 1993, functions as an international think tank whose purpose is "identify, critique, and change taken-for-granted patterns of professional activity, polemical approaches to method and philosophy, and educational politics and public pressures that threaten effective practice and critical communication in music education." "About Us," MayGroup, accessed June 2, 2018, <http://www.maydaygroup.org>

witnessed the rise of school music, there was faith among local and national leaders that education was a primary means of social engineering, a process that Theodore Brameld and George Counts, a century later, called reconstructionism. Proposals for music instruction were considered seriously by local [school] boards in Lowell Mason's America because these policy-makers felt that wide-spread musicality in our population would have positive social consequences." He went on to clarify that "the term 'reconstructionism' is normally applied to attempts . . . to cure social ills through a variety of educational strategies."⁹⁶

As educators and educational theorists, Brameld and Counts followed the ideals set forth by John Dewey, who utilized the phrase "social reconstruction" in "Article Five" of his famous 1897 essay, "My Pedagogic Creed."

I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform. I believe that all reforms which rest simply upon the enactment of law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical or outward arrangements, are transitory and futile. I believe that education is a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction.⁹⁷

In 1956, Brameld wrote *Toward A Reconstructed Philosophy of Education*, in which he presented his theory of social reconstructionism as a fortified version of Dewey's progressivism—one that "preserved and extended" the best of the latter's work. Brameld proposed his theory during a time of worldwide turmoil following World War II and claimed that reconstructionism answered the "need for a philosophy of culture-and-education, dedicated to the attainment of a world-wide democratic order." In his historical overview to similar attempts at

⁹⁶ J. Terry Gates, "Lowell Mason's America: Social Reconstructionism and Music in the Schools," in *Music in American Schools, 1838–1988: Symposium at the University of Maryland at College Park August 26-28, 1988, Celebrating the Sesquicentennial of Music in American Public Education*, ed. Marie McCarthy and Bruce D. Wilson (College Park, MD: University of Maryland, 1998), 62.

⁹⁷ John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," *School Journal* 54 (1897).

reform, Brameld referenced Saint-Simon, Fourier, and in particular, Owen; in his subsequent references to Owen, he hinted at the importance of education and leisure activities to the utopian's plan. "Of the educational theories of the Utopian Socialists, Owen's have had perhaps widest influence. He favored universal and compulsory schooling from which no one would be excluded because of social-class status. In the strong belief that human nature is shaped by the culture, he recommended that all education, from infancy onward, be designed to provide rich opportunities for experience in cooperation and creative work." He also recognized Owen's emphasis on a system of cooperative labor and a work-life balance, stating that in Owen's utopia, "everyone might have the benefits of fresh air, gardens, and space in which to work and play."⁹⁸

The ideological relationship between social reconstructionism, as expressed by Dewey, Counts, and Brameld, and "Lowell Mason's America," as mentioned previously by Gates, has been succinctly articulated by American historian Vicki Eaklor. In her 1985 article "Music, Education, and Music Education in Antebellum America," she wrote "if public education was partly a means of assuring the moral character and social responsibility of America's youth, then music according to such arguments was its natural ally; the cultivation of music for its own sake, to musical and educational reformers alike, was secondary to its use as a means of social control in an era of instability."⁹⁹

By examining the efforts of these reformers, Eaklor tapped into a much larger and multifaceted movement sweeping the United States prior to the Civil War that, as this

⁹⁸ Theodore Brameld, *Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education*, Dryden Press Professional Books in Education (New York: Dryden Press, 1956), 15, 18, 151, 28.

⁹⁹ Vicki L. Eaklor, "Roots of an Ambivalent Culture: Music, Education, and Music Education in Antebellum America," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 33, no. 2 (1985): 93. Dewey's opinion on arts education is explored in Donald Arnstine, "Teaching What's Dangerous: Ethical Practice in Music Education," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 8, no. 1 (2000): 5-6.

dissertation will assert, includes the efforts of Robert Owen in New Harmony. Moreover, Lorna Davidson's recent essay demonstrates Owen had implemented music education and regular musicmaking activities in New Lanark, Scotland, approximately a decade before his "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" was published in 1825, which, in turn, predated Mason's 1837 petition in Boston by twelve years. Thus, Owen's use of music at New Harmony warrants further investigation, particularly as he is the only reformer to have operated in the United States at the intersection of post-Enlightenment discourse, American communitarianism, and utopian socialism.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 2 divides into three subsections, which are organized in chronological order to illustrate the importance of music and other well-regulated amusements to Owen at various stages of his ameliorative projects in Scotland and the United States. In the first subsection, I position Owen's experimentation in social reform, beginning ca. 1800, as first, a response to the Industrial Revolution's impact on the poor and working classes in his native Scotland, second, in tension with the Enlightenment and third, in conjunction with the burgeoning interest in communitarianism. Drawing on the recent discoveries of Lorna Davidson, I posit that Owen viewed well-regulated amusements, especially music, as vital to his intentions prior to coming to New Harmony.

In the second subsection, I discuss his plan for social reform and the implementation thereof at New Harmony and consider the plan's immediate impact on his followers, especially with respect to education and well-regulated amusements. I illustrate that his initial successes

secured—albeit temporarily—his reputation as a social reformer and attracted his future business partner, William Maclure. I also provide an overview to the Community's dissolution and demonstrate that, in spite of the irrevocably damaging disagreements between Owen and Maclure, the ideals associated with well-regulated amusements were actively engaged throughout the antebellum.

In the third subsection, I reveal an aspect of New Harmony's post-Community cultural life that has not yet been integrated into the town's copious historical accounts—namely, the efforts of William Maclure and the *New Harmony Gazette* in endorsing theatrical activities. Maclure is typically recognized for his substantial contributions to the educational endeavors and scientific discourse for which New Harmony earned and enjoyed an international reputation during the nineteenth century. But shortly following the collapse of the Community of Equality, Maclure issued a poignant statement in the *Gazette*, in which he identified the compatibility of theater with New Harmony's foundational ideology proposed by Robert Owen. Even though Maclure remained tied to New Harmony long after Robert Owen's 1827 departure, Maclure's writing on theater has been overlooked in favor of his other intellectual contributions.

In Chapter 3, I demonstrate that the ideals associated with well-regulated amusements were evidenced first in the efforts of Robert Owen's son William Owen and his organization, the New Harmony Thespian Society, whose three objectives were improvement, instruction, and amusement. Founded just months after the Community dissolved, William Owen's troupe was the first of several that would bring refined entertainment to New Harmony's citizens in the post-Community era. As per early to mid-nineteenth-century theatrical convention, many of the Society's dramatic performances included music, both vocal and instrumental, and the instrumental ensembles that provided the accompaniment for these troupes were also featured in

a number of stand-alone performances. In an extensive analysis of this convention, musicologist Katherine Preston noted that it is "impossible, for most of the nineteenth century, to view the repertory of 'musical theater' as different and distinct from the repertory of the 'theater'" because most theatrical productions had at least some music in them, even if the original printed play did not.¹⁰⁰ Preston's point allows for a musical conversation to take place about the Society's theatrical productions, since the corresponding play scripts sometimes appear to represent a strictly spoken phenomenon. In addition, it creates a viable space in which to discuss New Harmony's ongoing musical life, which was facilitated by the opportunities afforded through theatrical performances.

Thus, as I revisit the intellectual history of New Harmony's musical-theatrical productions and musical performances, I position the Thespian Society's three objectives as my point of departure and employ them as a thematic guide to the town's cultural productivity throughout the antebellum. I assert that these cultural events provided regular occasions for New Harmony's citizens of the post-Community era to come together and recreate the essence once so integral to their identity.

The demand for this kind of entertainment was practically uninterrupted (except for a brief five-year period following the 1850 gold rush, during which most of the townsmen went west in search of gold) from 1827 to the beginning of World War I. In Chapter 4, I examine the work of New Harmony's premier postbellum thespian troupe, the Golden Family Troupe, which entertained audiences with music-filled theatrical programs throughout the town, region, and nation. As numerous newspapers attest, the troupe was received with appreciation and

¹⁰⁰ Katherine K. Preston, "American Musical Theatre before the Twentieth Century," ed. William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird, *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 28.

admiration by audiences and critics, alike, and the reception history of the troupe reveals that both its premise and accomplishments exemplified the ideals pertinent to this dissertation—the intersection of music with education and social reconstruction.

In the epilogue, I reassess and ultimately reject the totality of Owen's heretofore accepted failure by considering the ways in which his well-regulated amusements have contributed to the communal feel of New Harmony long after the Community's collapse. Through a critical account of the town's 2014 bicentennial celebration, I position the Bicentennial Capstone "Week" as a site of commemoration at which two sets of contradictory narratives are expressed in parallel without any direct scholarly intervention. By drawing on the evidence presented in the previous chapters, I offer a different interpretation of the celebration's function, which places music, as a well-regulated amusement, at the center of New Harmony's history and culture. In so doing, I consider the longitudinal implications of Owen's intentions, as expressed through his "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind," for New Harmony's future.

CHAPTER 2

A New System of Social Reform: From New Lanark to New Harmony

In the twenty-five years prior to purchasing the town of New Harmony, Robert Owen emerged as one of Great Britain's most outspoken proponents of social edification and progress, having "set out more assiduously than almost any other philanthropist of the time to put his theories into practice."¹ Born in Newton, Wales, in 1771, Owen received little formal education but was an avid reader, and, after moving to London, England, he spent his childhood as a draper's apprentice and his young adulthood as a haberdasher's assistant.² At age seventeen, he

¹ See "Introduction" to Robert Davis and Frank O'Hagan, *Robert Owen*, Continuum Library of Educational Thought (London; New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014). In consideration of his socially progressive views, Owen was given the moniker of "the father of British Socialism" in 1923 by Sidney Webb, who was a Socialist and member of the Socialist organization, the Fabian Society. See Bertram Benedict, "The Socialist Movement in Great Britain and the United States," *The American Political Science Review* 18, no. 2 (1924): 278. This moniker held throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, and it has recently been recontextualized by contemporary Owenite scholar, Ophélie Siméon, who links former Prime Minister Tony Blair's "Third Way" with the socialism of Robert Owen, thereby demonstrating the longitudinal viability of Owen's legacy. See Ophélie Siméon, "Robert Owen: The Father of British Socialism?," *Books and Ideas* (2012): <http://www.booksandideas.net/Robert-Owen-The-Father-of-British.htm>; Ophélie Siméon, *Robert Owen's Experiment at New Lanark: From Paternalism to Socialism*, ed. Gregory Claeys, Palgrave Studies in Utopianism (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 5.

² Ian L. Donnachie, *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony* (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 2, 22, 30. In his overview to the written accounts of Robert Owen's life, Donnachie notes that, until his own efforts, "Owen's early life has never been explored in any detail," and he indicates that his own attempts to excavate information about Owen's formative years were more thorough than those conducted during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which relied on Owen's autobiography. Donnachie's research resulted in three chapters in *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony*. In the first of these three chapters, Donnachie addresses Owen's penchant for music and dance, which was referenced in the introduction, and notes that Owen referred to himself as "the best dancer of my class." See Owen, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 11-12. Regardless of the accuracy of Owen's self-

left London for Manchester, where he pursued a career as a machine maker and became immersed in the cotton industry. During a trip to Scotland, he met his future wife Caroline Dale and after their marriage in 1799, Owen assumed the management of her father David Dale's textile mill in New Lanark, Scotland.³

As was frequently the case during the Industrial Revolution, Dale's employees hailed from the lowest rungs of society's ladder and exhibited behaviors that ultimately compromised the success of his enterprise at New Lanark. In *A Statement Regarding the Establishment at New Lanark*, Owen describes the workers as "generally indolent and much addicted to theft, drunkenness and falsehood, with all their concomitant evils . . ." ⁴ Yet, Owen believed that these behaviors were, at least in part, in response to the conditions in which the employees were forced to work. As compared to other contemporary factory owners in the late eighteenth century,

assessment, his experiences with dance and music do seem to have had an effect on his outlook. In contrast to the efforts of Donnachie, Podmore's 1906 biography is considered the first scholarly study of Owen but provides little information of Owen's childhood, and J. F. C. Harrison's 1969 biography focuses more on Owen's ideologies than his actual life experiences. See Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography*, 2 vols., (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1906); J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: The Quest for the New Moral World* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1969). Davis and O'Hagan offer reasons for this, noting that "the materials for reconstructing Owen's childhood and adolescence are incomplete and sometimes unreliable." They also argue that, at the time Owen wrote his memoir, he had a "failing memory and an understandable tendency to embellish self-servingly the recollections of his early years." See Chapter 1 in Davis and O'Hagan. It should be noted that the dissertations of Claude Sluder and Brian Sajko were written prior to Donnachie's biography. Sluder states that his biographical information on Owen comes from William E. Wilson, *The Angel and the Serpent; the Story of New Harmony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964). Wilson's monograph contains no notes, but its bibliography lists the following biographies: William Lucas Sargant, *Robert Owen, and His Social Philosophy* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1860); G. D. H. Cole, *The Life of Robert Owen* (London: Macmillan, 1930); Rowland Hill Harvey, *Robert Owen, Social Idealist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Podmore, *Robert Owen*, vol 1. Sajko references Cole.

³ Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 32, 75. Donnachie provides details of Owen's initial forays into machinery and the cotton industry in Chapters 3 and 4.

⁴ See Robert Owen, *A Statement Regarding the New Lanark Establishment*, 1st ed. reprinted ed. (Glasgow: Molendinar Press, 1973), 5.

however, Dale had been benevolent, but the employees were still required to labor for long hours in the presence of open flames and dangerous machinery, and they lived in "crowded tenements" in the company's adjacent village.⁵ Over time, Owen discovered that these conditions were not unique to New Lanark but emblematic of larger systemic issues, and in his essay titled *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System*, he blamed the wealthy elites who depended on cheap labor, especially in the cotton industry, for their personal pecuniary gains.⁶

During his tenure at New Lanark, Owen experimented with his multi-faceted approach to social edification, which he would go on to codify and employ at New Harmony. Over this wide swath of time, he campaigned regularly against the exploitation of workers nationwide and strove to enhance the productivity of his own workers organically by rendering them

⁵ "David Dale," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen in Four Volumes*, ed. Robert Chambers (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1855), 174. In this dictionary entry, David Dale is referred to as "The Benevolent Magistrate," and he is depicted as such in an engraving, a reprint image of which is contained in James Paton, ed., *Scottish National Memorials: A Record of the Historical and Archaeological Collection in the Bishop's Castle, Glasgow, 1888* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1890), 228. Regarding Dale's benevolence at New Lanark, in the form of providing education for child workers, see Michael Morris, "The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Improvement: David Dale, Robert Owen and New Lanark Cotton," in *Cultures of Improvement in Scottish Romanticism, 1707-1840*, ed. Alex Benchimol and Gerard Lee McKeever (New York: Routledge, 2018). Dale had made a fortune by implementing the water-frame spinning machine invented by Richard Arkwright. This machine was powered by the local Clyde River, and whereas it had increased the mill's output dramatically, Owen quickly recognized that the factory setting was perpetuating unsafe conditions for the nearly 1500 employees he now supervised. In Chapter 4 of his 1906 biography of Owen, Podmore offers details about the conditions of mills in the late eighteenth-century. With respect to the specific working and living conditions at New Lanark, Donnachie notes that illnesses posed a major threat in the unsanitary "crowded tenements" and that workers had no other place to socialize when they were not working. See Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 80-81. For a description of Owen's attempts to clean these tenements, see Edward Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement*, 13-14.

⁶ Robert Owen, *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System: With Hints for the Improvement of Those Parts of It Which Are Most Injurious to Health and Morals*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 3-6. See also Ian L. Donnachie, "Robert Owen: Reputations and Burning Issues," in *Robert Owen and His Legacy*, ed. Noel Thompson and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 15-16.

knowledgeable and happy.⁷ For example, he placed heavy restrictions on child labor and implemented an educational system designed to empower New Lanark citizens opportunities by which they could transcend the limitations of their social class.⁸ Moreover, he offered his workers "healthy rational sports and amusements" —especially dancing and music—in an effort to prevent them from engaging in harmful, immoral, and illegal activities in their spare time.⁹ Thus, New Lanark, under Owen's leadership, functioned as the figurative dress rehearsal for his new moral world at New Harmony.

Owen and Social Reform: New Lanark, 1813-1824

Owen issued his first major statement of social reform in a four-essay series titled *A New View of Society; or Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice* and published the individual essays between 1813 and

⁷ In Chapter 5 of *Robert Owen*, Podmore describes the extensive reforms that were introduced by Owen. See also Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 80-81; Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement*, 12-15.

⁸ Podmore discusses Owen's opinions on children's employment and his attempts to improve the plight of working children. See chapter 4 in Podmore, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1.

⁹ In his 1815 publication *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System*, Owen reflected on the pre-industrial society of Great Britain and praised landed proprietors who had enacted a balance between work and leisure for their peasant workers. He argued that this balance would positively affect productivity in the post-industrial factory system that had replaced agrarian society. "[T]he lower orders experienced not only a considerable degree of comfort, but they had also frequent opportunities of enjoying healthy rational sports and amusements; and in consequence they became strongly attached to those on whom they depended, their services were willingly performed; and mutual good offices bound the parties by the strongest ties of human nature, to consider each other as friends in somewhat different situations; the servant indeed often enjoying more solid comfort and ease than his master." See Robert Owen, *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System: With Hints for the Improvement of Those Parts of It Which Are Most Injurious to Health and Morals*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 9.

1816.¹⁰ He called attention to the contemporary social iniquities that had resulted in a wave of poverty and despair, and he pled with Great Britain's legislature to "endeavor to arrest and overcome this mighty evil" currently affecting twelve million persons.¹¹ Although Owen did not address specific well-regulated amusements in this series, such as dancing or music, in any detail, he did explore the concept of happiness at length, which, according to Donnachie, was made possible through Owen's "view of environmental planning and education."¹² Indeed, Owen stressed the importance of enjoying leisure activities and pursuing modes of self-improvement by imploring "those, then who desire to give mankind the character which it would be for the happiness of all that they should possess, [to] not fail to make careful provision for their amusement and recreation."¹³

In a retrospective account of this series nearly 200 years after its publication, Owen's biographer Francis O'Hagan deemed *A New View of Society* to be a "utopian plan [that] has come to be regarded as a general treatise on education which sets out and promotes Owen's visionary

¹⁰ According to Owen's autobiography, he wrote the first essay in 1812 and the second essay in 1813. He notes that the "Third and Fourth were written about the same time, and circulated among the principal political, literary, and religious characters in this country and on the Continent . . . They were first printed for sale (Second Edition), in July 1816." See Owen, *Robert Owen*: vol. 1, 255-6. Subsequently, several editions have been published, and beginning with the second edition (dated 1816), the title was changed to: *A New View of Society; or Essays on the Formation of the Human Character, Preparatory to the Development of a Plan for Gradually Ameliorating the Condition of Mankind*.

¹¹ Robert Owen, "Essay First on the Formation of Character," *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character and the Application of the Principle to Practice* (London: Cadell and Davies, Strand, 1813), 5.

¹² Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 117. In the "Essay Third," Owen made a single reference to the implementation of dancing at the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark, which had gone into effect in early 1816. See Robert Owen, "Essay Third," in *A New View of Society: Or, Essays on the Formation of the Human Character, Preparatory to the Development of a Plan for Gradually Ameliorating the Condition of Mankind* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 102.

¹³ Owen, "Essay Third," 85.

hopes of a society completely transformed by education."¹⁴ In the first of the four essays, Owen contended that no man can place limitations on another's state of intelligence, and that an individual's own sense of happiness correlates directly with the happiness and fulfillment of his community members.¹⁵ He also reasoned in this essay that man's negative behaviors resulted from his circumstances because "the character of man is made for him, not by him."¹⁶ In the second essay, he explored the economic and socio-political causes of these circumstances, such as capitalism and its resultant social stratification, and he posited the plausible antidote of enlightened reform.¹⁷ In the third essay, he explained how education could be deployed to combat social ills and, in the final essay, he concluded the series by calling on the government to facilitate issuing what biographer Frank Podmore has deemed "a comprehensive and clearly reasoned scheme of social reconstruction."¹⁸

Donnachie notes that even before their publication in *A New View of Society*, the ideas expressed in the series had "provoked considerable reaction," and once they were in print, Owen's ingenuity—namely, the extent to which his view was actually "new"—was called into question immediately by the English writer and commentator, William Hazlitt.¹⁹ In his critical essay dated August 4, 1816, he wrote:

A NEW View of Society—No, Mr. Owen, that we deny. It may be true, but it is not new. It is no coeval, whatever the author and proprietor may think, with the New Lanark mills,

¹⁴ Frank O'Hagan, "Robert Owen and Education," in *Robert Owen and His Legacy*, ed. Noel W. Thompson and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2011), 79.

¹⁵ Robert Owen, "Essay First," 3.

¹⁶ This quotation characterized Owen's ideology and was later printed as the slogan in the masthead of the Owenite periodical, *The New Moral World: of the Gazette of the Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists*.

¹⁷ Robert Owen, "Essay Second," *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character and the Application of the Principle to Practice* (London: Cadell and Davies, Strand, 1813).

¹⁸ Podmore, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 121.

¹⁹ Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 121, 141.

but it is as old as the royal borough of Lanark, or as the county of Lanark itself. It is as old as the "Political Justice" of Mr. Godwin, as the "Oceana" of Harrington, as the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More, as the "Republic" of Plato; it is as old as society itself, and as the attempts to reform it by shewing what it ought to be, or by teaching that the good of the whole is the good of the individual—an opinion by which fools and honest men have been sometime deceived, but which has never yet taken in the knaves and knowing ones. The doctrines of Universal Benevolence, the belief in the Omnipotence of Truth, and in the Perfectibility of Human Nature, are not new, but "Old, old," Master Robert Owen;—why then do you say that they are new? . . . Why does Mr. Owen put the word "New" in black-letter at the head of the advertisements of his plan of reform? In what does the New Lanark differ from the Utopia? . . . Does not Mr. Owen know that the same scheme, the same principles, the same philosophy of motives and actions, of causes and consequences, of knowledge and virtue, of virtue and happiness, were rife in the year 1793 [year of Godwin's publication]. . . ?²⁰

Hazlitt's specific references situate Owen within the larger trans-historic utopian construct rooted in Ancient Greece and perpetuated through literature.²¹

Even so, Hazlitt does not mention anything about music in his commentary. Such an omission seems unusual, especially given that his essay is advertised as a response to Owen's *A New View of Society* and to Owen's January 1, 1816, *Address on Opening the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark*, in which Owen announces, for what appears to be the first time, the importance of dancing and music in the lives of children. Indeed, Hazlitt focuses almost exclusively on *A New View of Society*; but had he considered the extent to which Owen was planning to incorporate music education at New Lanark, Hazlitt would have been able to bolster his attack on Owen's claim of ingenuity further by comparing the use of music at New Lanark with that described in the *Republic* and *Utopia*.

²⁰ William Hazlitt, *Political Essays, with Sketches of Public Characters* (London: William Hone, 1819), 97-99.

²¹ The dates of Hazlitt's references are as follows: Plato's *Republic* (ca. 380 BC), Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), James Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), and William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness* (1793).

Owen's *Address* was written in conjunction with the momentous eponymous occasion—that is, the grand opening of his Institution for the Formation of Character (hereafter, the Institution)—and, in the address, he provides an account of the Institution's mission, infrastructure, and educational program. Owen designed the Institution to improve the quality of children's lives by providing them with useful instruction. In addition to subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, and knitting, he added dancing, physical exercise, and music into the curriculum.

For the benefit of the health and spirits of the children, both boys and girls will be taught to dance, and the boys will be instructed in military exercises; those of each sex who may have good voices, will be taught to sing, and those among the boys who have a taste for music, will be taught to play upon some instrument; for it is intended to give them as much diversified innocent amusement as the local circumstances of the establishment will admit.²²

In the address, Owen declares that he is setting aside two evenings each week for dancing and music so that New Lanark's adults would also have access to wholesome activities during their leisure time, thereby setting a precedent that he would later emulate at New Harmony through his 1825 "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind." Thus, by enhancing the intelligence, happiness, and well-being of New Lanark's children and adults, Owen was initiating a type of social reform that would serve as the foundation of his future project at New Harmony.

According to John Griscom, who was a visitor at New Lanark and a witness to Owen's ameliorative endeavors,

Owen's aim in all this is to make his villagers a moral and happy people. He wishes to relieve their minds and bodies as much as possible from the fatigues of labour . . . and he has discovered that dancing is one of the means of reforming vicious habits. This he

²² Owen, *Address on Opening the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark*, 9-10.

thinks it effects by promoting cheerfulness and contentment, and thus diverting the attention from things that are vile and degrading.²³

Owen's oldest son, Robert Dale Owen, would later remark in his article "Outline of the System of Education: At New-Lanark" that "the children are instructed in music and dancing; which are found essentially to contribute towards moral refinement, and improvement. When properly conducted, each of these acquirements becomes a pure and natural source of enjoyment, and it is a well authenticated fact, that the best method of making a people virtuous, is to begin by rendering their situation comfortable and happy."²⁴

Robert Dale Owen explained the corresponding pedagogical methodologies as follows:

[Children] begin by learning the names and sounds of the notes, and by singing the gamut; then proceed to strike the distances [singing the intervals], and finally acquire such a knowledge of the elements of the science of music, as they may easily reduce to practice. The musical notes and signs, as well as a variety of musical exercises are represented on a large scale, on a rolled canvas, similar to that on which the botanical species are painted. A small selection of simple airs is made, for the school, every three months. The words to these are printed on sheets, one of which is given to every child. Spirited songs, in the bravura style, are found to be much more adapted to children under ten years of age, than more slow and pathetic airs, into the spirit of which they seldom seem to enter, while the former are uniformly their favourite songs, particularly any lively national airs with merry words.²⁵

By recounting the use of an age-appropriate curriculum at New Lanark, Robert Dale Owen reveals that his father's pedagogical methods were influenced by what music education historian Estelle Jorgensen would later call "the spirit of Pestalozzi's teaching"—namely, the emphasis on

²³ John Griscom, *A Year in Europe Comprising a Journal of Observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the North of Italy and Holland in 1818 and 1819*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: Collins & Co., 1823), 378.

²⁴ Robert Dale Owen, "Outline of the System of Education: At New-Lanark," *New Harmony Gazette*, November 30, 1825. The "Outline" was reprinted over five issues of the *New Harmony Gazette*: November 12, November 19, November 23, November 30, and December 7, 1825.

²⁵ Robert Dale Owen, "Outline," *New Harmony Gazette*, November 30, 1825.

"experience[ing] before conceptualizing music."²⁶ Indeed, the renowned Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) believed that in education, "the first rule, is to teach always by things rather than by words . . . [and] the second rule . . . is this: let the child not only be acted upon, but let him be an agent in intellectual education."²⁷ As such, the so-called Pestalozzian Method reflected the child-focused, child-driven incremental learning strategies that Rousseau had outlined in *Émile*.²⁸

The Pestalozzian Method has long been associated with music education, due, in part, to the writings of American music educator Lowell Mason, but music was not a formal subject of instruction in Pestalozzi's schools.²⁹ Although music was a part of the daily lives of Pestalozzi's students, music educator Wilfried Gruhn asserts that Pestalozzi "rarely talked about music

²⁶ In her book *Pictures of Music Education*, Jorgensen argues that the process by which children "experience music before they learn the concepts and terms to name these experiences" was "attributed by Hans Georg Nägeli, Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, William Channing Woodbridge, and Lowell Mason to Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who took a similar approach to the study of school subject matter. Although they were mistaken in this attribution, the spirit of Pestalozzi's teaching of 'sound before sight,' or experience before conceptualizing music, stuck." See Estelle R. Jorgensen, *Pictures of Music Education* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), 120-21, 309n58.

²⁷ Letter XXVIII, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi to J. P. Greaves, in Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Letters on Early Education Addressed to J. P. Greaves, Esq. By Pestalozzi Translated from the German Manuscript with a Memoir of Pestalozzi* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1827), 122-23.

²⁸ *Émile* functioned as Rousseau's response to teachers who failed to take into account a child's capacity to understand a concept. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Rousseau's Émile, or Treatise on Education*, ed. and trans. William H. Payne, International Education Series (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), xlii. For a discussion of Rousseau's proposed pedagogy and its relationship to Owen and New Harmony, see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 135.

²⁹ See, for example, Lowell Mason, *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music, for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music, on the System of Pestalozzi*, 2nd ed. (Boston: J.H. Wilkins & R.B. Carter, 1836); Lowell Mason and Theodore F. Seward, *The Pestalozzian Music Teacher: Or Class Instructor in Elementary Music, in Accordance with the Analytic Method* (New York: C. H. Ditson & Company, 1871).

explicitly," with the important exception of his 1801 book *How Gertrud Teaches her Children*.³⁰ Music historian Bennett Zon states that whereas *How Gertrud Teaches her Children* did indicate that, for Pestalozzi, "teaching music is an art which must be systematically developed from nature to nurture, . . . it was left to others to build upon his work."³¹ Indeed, Pestalozzi's teachings were adapted eventually to music by Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, a music teacher who had enrolled in one of Pestalozzi's training courses, and Hans George Nägeli, who worked as a writer and music publisher. Together, they issued the 1810 publication *Die Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen*, which was brought to the United States by education reformer William Woodbridge, who, in turn, "strongly influenced" Mason in the Pestalozzian Method.³²

Robert Dale Owen had first-hand knowledge of this "spirit of Pestalozzi's teaching" because he and his brother, William, had studied with Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771–1844), a former disciple of Pestalozzi.³³ In 1818, Robert Owen sent his sons to Fellenberg's school in Hofwyl, Switzerland, following his own visit with the schoolmaster earlier that year.³⁴

³⁰ See Wilfried Gruhn, "Is Lowell Mason's 'Manual' Based on Pestalozzian Principles? An Inquiry into the Controversy of Methods in the Nineteenth Century," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 14, no. 2 (1993): 94.

³¹ Bennett Zon, *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 155.

³² Gruhn, "Lowell Mason's 'Manual,'" 95.

³³ For more information on the relationship between Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, see Henry Barnard, *Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism: Life, Educational Principles, and Methods, of John Henry Pestalozzi, with Biographical Sketches of Several of His Assistants and Disciples*, 2nd ed. (New York: F.C. Brownell, 1859), 87; Mildred Sanderson Fenner, "The Pestalozzi Bicentennial," *The Journal of Education* 129, no. 1 (1946): 16.

³⁴ See Owen, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 179; Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way: Twenty-Seven Years of Autobiography* (London: Trübner & Co., 1874), 122; Arthur H. Estabrook, "The Family History of Robert Owen," *Indiana Magazine of History* 19, no. 1 (1923): 72, 79, 88. Robert Owen indicates that he sent his "two sons" to study with Fellenberg following his trip to Hofwyl, and Robert Dale Owen writes that it was he and William who were sent. Owenite historian Arthur Estabrook states that their younger brothers, David Dale Owen and Richard

The eldest Owen later recalled in his autobiography from 1857 that he had been captivated by several features of Fellenberg's work, including the latter's emphasis on vocational education and his attention to young children, who were typically excluded by the then-standard educational programs. He praised Fellenberg and remarked that he "had seen nothing to equal the existing projected arrangements of surroundings at [Fellenberg's] establishment."³⁵

In contrast to Pestalozzi, Fellenberg linked musical studies with moral aptitude, stating that "music is to be considered as a branch of physical education having powerful moral influences. The succession of study, labor, musical instruction, and play, should be carefully attended to."³⁶ In his own autobiography of 1874, Robert Dale Owen reflected on the regular musicmaking activities to which he and William were exposed in Hofwyl. "There were among us, as among German students there always are, good musicians, well trained to sing their stirring national airs, together with gems from the best operas or the like,—duets, trios, quartets. . . . It was our habit to call a halt for music. . . . Our vocalists drew from their knapsacks the

Owen, were also sent to study with Fellenberg but does not indicate whether the second pair of Owens were sent at a different time. In the preface to *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824, to April 20, 1825*, Joel W. Hiatt writes that his father-in-law William Owen, who was born in 1802, was sent to Hofwyl at the age of fifteen with Robert Dale and "completed the course . . . in three years, but nothing is known of his life between his graduation at Hofwyl and the commencement of this diary in 1824." See Joel W. Hiatt, "Preface," in *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824 to April 20, 1825* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1906), iv.

³⁵ Owen, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 179. During his 1818 tour through continental Europe, Owen also visited Pestalozzi and pedagogue Father J. F. Oberlin. Podmore suggests that Owen had visited at a financially unstable time for the elderly Pestalozzi. See Podmore, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 128. Nevertheless, Owen's respect for the pedagogue is clear in his recollection that Pestalozzi was a "good and benevolent man, acting for the benefit of his poor children to the extent of his knowledge and means. He was doing, he said, all he could to cultivate the heart, the head, and the hands of his pupils. His theory was good, but his means and experience were very limited, and his principles were those of the old system." Owen, *Robert Owen*, vol: 1, 177.

³⁶ Fellenberg's remarks have been made widely available in English. See Emanuel de Fellenberg, "Remarks on Education," in *Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of Girard College for Orphans*, ed. Alexander D. Bache (Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey, 1839).

slender *cahier* containing melodies arranged, in parts, for the occasion; and we had, under charming circumstances, an impromptu concert. I have heard much better music since, but never any that I enjoyed more."³⁷

In his autobiography, Robert Dale Owen also commented on the extent to which vocal music classes were prevalent in New Lanark under his father's governance, noting that, at one point, 150 students were enrolled and that "under a well-qualified teacher [had] made wonderful progress." Although the younger Owen was not the official music teacher, he eventually assumed the role of selecting and printing music for the class and took pride in the class's rendering of "national Scottish melodies." The musical prowess of New Lanark's youth was impressive within the community and to others beyond the direct influence of the elder Owen's plan for social reform, and in his autobiography, Robert Dale Owen recalled that "it was not the graver studies that had chiefly interested and pleased [the] numerous visitors: the dancing and music lessons formed the chief attraction."³⁸

Robert Owen's autobiography and Robert Dale Owen's "Outline of the System of Education: At New Lanark" are noted by Lorna Davidson, who has reconstructed the village's musical activities between 1816 and 1825. Interestingly, Davidson did not employ the commentary found in Robert Dale Owen's autobiography; rather, she consulted the Institution for the Formation of Character cashbook, a concert advertisement poster from 1821, and several

³⁷ Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 145.

³⁸ Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 114. If Robert Dale Owen, like his brother William, studied under Fellenberg for three years, then it is reasonable to conclude that Robert Dale Owen was responsible for "selecting and printing music" for the vocal class at New Lanark following his return to the village, as early as 1821. In *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, Harrison (161) notes that, according to the New Lanark Cashbook, the village experienced a high turnover rate among teachers, and music and painting were taught by additional staff. According to Donnachie, New Lanark welcomed approximately 20,000 visitors between 1815 and 1825. See Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 170.

other first-hand accounts in journals and correspondence. According to the cashbook, which provided a "detailed monthly expenditure account for the years 1816–1825," purchases were made for musical instruments, including flutes, clarinets, bassoons, trumpets, violins, and drums, in addition to instrument parts, including bassoon reeds and violin strings, and song sheets. The cashbook also lists purchases related specifically to the Village Instrumental Band, which performed in 1816 when Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia visited New Lanark. The 1821 concert advertisement lists a performance of the New Lanark Vocal and Instrumental Bands, in which several popular Scottish songs were rendered in between instrumental dance tunes.³⁹

In order to assess the quality of the performances at New Lanark, Davidson consulted a variety of first-hand personal accounts, including those that have "come to light more recently." As an example, the travel diary of Reverend J. Shaw from July 1824, which, according to Davidson, had been held in a private collection, recounts Shaw's observation of the music and dance lessons at New Lanark. Shaw notes that, in a conversation with Robert Owen on the benefits of such instruction, the latter made mention of the direct correlation between increased knowledge and increased happiness.⁴⁰ Shaw's observation resonated with that of William Maclure, who also visited in the summer of 1824 from his school and residence in Spain. Of this

³⁹ Davidson writes that "Some of these sources are well known and have often been quoted in relation to the history of New Lanark. Others have come to light more recently, found in most cases by descendants of the writers among private papers." Whereas she refers to several important accounts of music in New Lanark, Robert Dale Owen's autobiography describes his own musical background and training, which, in turn, lends credence to his commentary on his father's efforts in "Outline of the System of Education: At New-Lanark." See Lorna Davidson, "A Quest for Harmony: The Role of Music in Robert Owen's New Lanark Community," *Utopian Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010): 238-40. She notes (240) that this cashbook was "written up by clerks working in the New Lanark Counting House."

⁴⁰ Davidson states that, whereas many documents related to the New Lanark experience have been widely available for nearly 200 years, others remained unpublished and/or in private collections. Davidson, "A Quest for Harmony," 242-43. Other recently "uncovered" accounts include those of Dr. Anthony Todd Thomson and Samuel Hailstone.

experience, Maclure noted, "I spent 3 or 4 days, the most pleasant of my life . . . I never saw so many Men, Women, and children with happy & contented countenances, nor so orderly, cheerfull [sic] & sober a Society without any coercion [sic] or physical constraint."⁴¹ Maclure was so taken by the atmosphere at New Lanark that he began to entertain the possibility of partnering with Owen.

William Maclure

William Maclure (1763–1840) was born southwest of New Lanark, in Ayr, Scotland, on the Firth of Clyde, and had a successful career in commerce that necessitated frequent international travel.⁴² After making a substantial fortune, he retired from his business, settled in Philadelphia, and became an American citizen in 1796.⁴³ Thereafter, he pursued philanthropic projects through which he could improve the lives of systemically disadvantaged members of the poor and working classes whom he called the "Governed."⁴⁴ In his opening essay published in *Opinions on Various Subjects*, Maclure wrote that whereas the Governed far outnumbered the "Governors" of the upper class, the Governed had not been able to overcome the societal forces that had kept them oppressed.⁴⁵ Ultimately, Maclure derived his solution to this social problem from Francis Bacon's aphorism "knowledge is power" and concluded that only through the life

⁴¹ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, August 25, 1824, IM. 12.1. Maclure's correspondence with Fretageot is not included in Davidson's account.

⁴² John S. Doskey, "Introduction," in *The European Journals of William Maclure* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), xvii-xix.

⁴³ Donald E. Pitzer, "William Maclure's Boatload of Knowledge," 110. See also Doskey, "Introduction," xix.

⁴⁴ In his biography of Maclure, Leonard Warren describes Maclure's philanthropic endeavors as "remarkable" and attributes them to Maclure's desire to be "useful, without untidy, direct engagement." See Leonard Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 16.

⁴⁵ William Maclure, "On the Effects of Representative Governments," in *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 1: 1.

experience of social and political equality, as obtained through education, could man could become moral and humane.⁴⁶

Unlike Owen, however, Maclure did not have an immediate community like New Lanark in which to test his solution. Even so, the two men would eventually come to similar conclusions on the relevance of education and amusements in social reform. For example, whereas Owen's interests in well-regulated amusements featured prominently in his writing by 1816, Maclure's opinions on amusements would not appear in print for another decade. Nevertheless, as a survey of Maclure's early nineteenth-century philanthropic endeavors reveals, he affiliated himself with, and ultimately underwrote, an educator, whose pedagogical methods emphasized musicmaking.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Maclure cultivated his growing interests in the natural sciences, which resulted in an investigation of the relationship between the process of learning and the subject matters that were incorporated into formal pedagogical methods. He wrote prolifically about his own research on rocks and soil and argued that education should be rooted in realism—that is, in useful subjects, such as geology and geography. Through his written works, he demonstrated that nature's endless bounty provided the inquiring mind with unlimited food for thought, and, in turn, the observation and examination of one's surroundings would lead to deep inquiry.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ William Maclure, "Industrial System of Education. Obstacles to Reform in Education," in *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 1: 67. Previously published in *New Harmony Gazette*, August 8, 1827.

⁴⁷ Maclure conducted research throughout the United States and the West Indies, which resulted in detailed addresses and essays, such as "Observations on the Geology of the United States, Explanatory of a Geological Map," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia: C. and A. Conrad and Co., 1809); *Observations on the Geology of the United States of America; with Some Remarks on the Effect Produced on the Nature and Fertility of Soils, by the Decomposition of the Different Classes of Rocks; and an Application to the Fertility of Every State in the Union, in Reference to the Accompanying Geological Map* (Philadelphia: A. Small, 1817); "Essay on the Formation of Rocks, or an Inquiry into the

Maclure's three-volume *Opinions on Various Subjects* reveals that, in his search for a model or method of education, Maclure familiarized himself Enlightenment ideals, including those of John Locke, Claude-Adrien Helvétius, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and fellow Philadelphian Benjamin Franklin.⁴⁸ But, as Maclure's biographer Leonard Warren asserts, "Maclure's thinking about education's reformatory power became clear only after he came upon the system of education devised by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and his student Philipp Emmanuel von Fellenberg, in Switzerland, and practiced in their schools."⁴⁹

Probable Origin of Their Present Form and Structure," *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 1, no. Part 2 (1818).

⁴⁸ See William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers*, 3 vols. (New Harmony: School Press, 1831, 1837, 1838). See also Charles Burgess, "William Maclure and Education for a Good Society," *History of Education Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (1963): 60.

⁴⁹ In this statement, Warren reflects Maclure's own conflation of the educational models of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, which is most apparent in Maclure's essay "Fellenberg's and other Industrial Schools." In this essay, Maclure writes that "Mr. Fellenberg began his experiment, by taking fifteen or twenty poor boys, whom he educated as they wrought on the farm, by the Pestalozzian system, taught by the questions and answers, without the help of books. . . . In thus joining mental, with corporeal labor, the Pestalozzian system has a great advantage in all schools of industry . . ." See William Maclure, "Fellenberg's and Other Industrial Schools," *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 1: 87. Previously published in *New Harmony Gazette*, September 26, 1827. According to John Doskey, there were points in Maclure's interactions with Pestalozzi and Fellenberg—as indicated in Maclure's journal entries from 1813—at which Maclure appears to have been disappointed by the "imitation of Pestalozzi's system" put into place by Fellenberg at Hofwyl. See Doskey, "Introduction," xxxii. In his journal entry dated July 24, 1813, Maclure disagrees with Fellenberg's belief that "the enlightened higher orders will be the class most likely to imitate him in giving education to the poor." William Maclure and John S. Doskey, *The European Journals of William Maclure*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), 623. Moreover, Maclure attacks what Doskey calls Fellenberg's "anti-democratic views," whereby Fellenberg believes that "the influential families (of which his is one) has [sic] all the power, and the power and rights of the people are an illusion which is necessary for their own good." See Doskey, "Introduction," xxxii; Maclure and Doskey, *The European Journals*, 623.

Throughout his adult life, Pestalozzi had supported underprivileged and inherently poor Swiss peasants by leveraging education as a tool for upward mobility and social reform.⁵⁰ He provided these youth with a learning environment in which they could master subjects "by their own observations" and form what Maclure called "good habits."⁵¹ Above all, Pestalozzi guided his pupils to discover and pursue their natural talents and encouraged them to make good decisions when faced with ethical dilemmas and their implications.⁵²

Maclure first visited Pestalozzi on October 3, 1805, at the latter's institute in Yverdon, Switzerland, and was immediately impressed, calling it "the most rational system of education I have seen."⁵³ He later qualified his first impression of the Pestalozzian Method:

One of the most beneficial consequences, is the pleasure all Pestalozzi's pupils take, in mental labor and study. Agreeable sensation being catenated to intellectual employment from the earliest dawn of reason, it continues to be an ornament through life; and all my experience forces me firmly to believe, that education may, with great ease and pleasure be so conducted, as to render, by early habits, all the useful and necessary operations of both males and females, as pastime and amusement, converting life itself into a play in spite of the delusion of the imagination.

Maclure had been reared in the "old artificial system" of education, which he described as "the imprisoning of children . . . to a task of irksome and disgusting study, which nothing but the fear of punishment, could force them to perform; after which they are let loose on society for eight hours, full of revenge and retaliation against their jailors, exerting all their ingenuity to do

⁵⁰ Daniel Tröhler, *Pestalozzi and the Educationalization of the World*, First edition. ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 36-39, 113-16.

⁵¹ William Maclure, "Advantages of the Pestalozzian System of Education," in *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 62. Previously published in *New Harmony Gazette*, July 25, 1827.

⁵² Maclure, "Advantages of the Pestalozzian System," 60. For early biographies of Pestalozzi, see Barnard; Roger de Guimps, *Pestalozzi: His Life and Work*, trans. J. Russell, International Education Series (New York: D. Appleton, 1890).

⁵³ Maclure and Doskey, *The European Journals*, 75. It should be noted that Maclure's visits with Pestalozzi predated those of Owen by over a decade.

mischievous indiscriminately to all older than themselves, from considering them all as accessory to their persecution and confinement." In contrast, he contended that "a more rational system of education . . . shall prevent the violent passions from being sown in the fertile and productive minds of youth."⁵⁴

Maclure made a total of seven trips to observe Pestalozzi and his students and offered the master pedagogue the opportunity to come to the United States to teach in a new school that Maclure hoped to establish.⁵⁵ Pestalozzi, due to his advanced age and inability to speak English, declined Maclure's generous offer but suggested that it be extended to one of his faithful disciples and fellow practitioners, Joseph Neef.⁵⁶ At that time, Neef was dissatisfied with his teaching position in France, where he was utilizing the Pestalozzian Method, and was eager to accept. At Maclure's expense, Neef relocated to Philadelphia in 1806 and spent his first three years improving his English and writing *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education*.⁵⁷ Maclure hoped that Neef's training and experience would inspire American teachers to use Pestalozzi's work as a model for the revision of the authoritarian educational system currently in place that had been imported from Europe.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Maclure, "Advantages of the Pestalozzian System," 60–61.

⁵⁵ Maclure, "Advantages of the Pestalozzian System," 60–61.

⁵⁶ Will S. Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States* (Syracuse, NY: G. W. Bardeen, 1907; repr., 1969, Arno Press and the New York Times), 44.

⁵⁷ Maclure later called Neef's *Sketch* "the only rational thing I have seen on education." William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, June 13, 1820, IM. 1.3. See also William Maclure, Marie Duclos Fretageot, and Josephine M. Elliott, *Partnership for Posterity: The Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1994), 25 n.1.

⁵⁸ Joseph Neef, *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education, Founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties and Natural Reason, Suitable for the Offspring of a Free People and for All Rational Beings* (Philadelphia, 1808), 4-5. See also Chapter 2 in Gerald Lee Gutek, *Joseph Neef, the Americanization of Pestalozzianism* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1978).

Neef dedicated a chapter on music in his *Sketch*, claiming "[w]hat a miserable creature would man be, had not a kind and benevolent Providence strewed the thorny paths of life with innocent joy and harmless mirth. I should therefore, think myself to be guilty of rebellion against an all-wise Providence, were I to exclude music from my plan of Education." This plan divides into three sections—speaking, writing, and reading—and, in adherence to the Pestalozzian Method, it sets forth the basic concepts and builds on them over time. Neef focused first on the creation and imitation of tones and the process of determining one pitch's relevance to another, both together and in succession. Then, he taught students to notate what they hear, both melodically and harmonically. Finally, once students had mastered these two skills, he trained them to read and understand previously unfamiliar compositions. By learning these three skills, his students "shall not merely acquire a tolerable knowledge of vocal music, but also lay a good and solid foundation for instrumental music."⁵⁹

Neef's *Sketch* was published immediately prior to the opening of Maclure's Pestalozzian school in suburban Philadelphia, at which Neef was the schoolmaster.⁶⁰ One of his former pupils, C. D. Gardette, wrote an essay in which he reflected on Neef's *Sketch* and how the principles contained within guided the schoolmaster's teaching. Neef's interpretation of the Pestalozzian Method is evident in a brief comment issued by Gardette, whereby the latter states that "[Pestalozzi] dispenses, however, with the use of grammars and all other class books, just as in teaching music he dispenses with notes. For, 'Query,' says he, 'do you believe the first singer

⁵⁹ Neef, *Sketch of a Plan*, 136, 138. By employing this pedagogical method in music theory, Neef facilitated an oral, non-notated performance practice before introducing students to written music.

⁶⁰ Under the auspices of Maclure, Neef opened the school for boys at the Falls of the Schuylkill, Pennsylvania, which lies along the Schuylkill River north of Philadelphia. See Maclure and Doskey, *The European Journals*, 231-32.

learned to sing by notes?"⁶¹ This rare glimpse into Neef's practice illustrates how Neef applied Pestalozzi's "experience before context" construct in music education. Although the school was the first of its kind in the United States and met with great success, Neef opted to move the school in 1813 to Village Green, Pennsylvania, and, in 1814, to Louisville, Kentucky.⁶² Neither venture recaptured the original momentum of his first school, and Neef turned his attention eventually to farming in Kentucky.⁶³

By the time of his 1824 meeting with Owen, Maclure was supporting a school in Paris, a second school in Philadelphia to supersede Neef's attempt, and another in Spain, each of which espoused the Pestalozzian Method.⁶⁴ But after visiting New Lanark, he revealed to his new lead

⁶¹ C. D. Gardette, "Pestalozzi in America," *The Galaxy: A Magazine of Entertaining Reading* (August 1867): 435.

⁶² Maclure and Doskey, *The European Journals*, 232. Gutek writes that Neef moved the school from the Falls at Schuylkill to Village Green "for some unaccounted reason" and notes that "Neef was reluctant to remain long in any one place." See Gutek, *Joseph Neef, the Americanization*, 26.

⁶³ The first twenty years of Neef's life in the United States—that is, from 1806 to approximately 1825—is examined in Chapter 5 in Monroe. See also Chapter 2 in Gutek, *Joseph Neef, the Americanization*, 29.

⁶⁴ According to Leonard Warren, Maclure hired Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Phiquepal d'Arusmont (known also as William Phiquepal) to run his institution in Paris, and he engaged Phiquepal's former assistant, Madame Marie Fretageot, to serve as the head teacher in Philadelphia. See Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 91-93. The written correspondence between Maclure and Fretageot spanned 1820 to 1833 (Fretageot's death), and in the earliest of these letters, Phiquepal's attempts to extrapolate the Pestalozzian Method are described in detail. See William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, January 24, 1820, IM. 1.1; William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, May 22, 1820, IM. 1.2; William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, July 9, 1820, IM. 1.3. In 1823, Maclure purchased 10,000 acres of land along the southeast coast of Spain, in Alicante. According to contemporary biographer Samuel George Morton, "his plan was to establish a great agricultural school, in which physical labour should be combined with moral and intellectual culture. His views were almost exclusively directed to the lower, and consequently uneducated, classes whom he hoped to elevate above the thralldom to which they had been subjected by the institutions of their country." See Samuel George Morton, *A Memoir of William Maclure Esq.: Late President of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1844), 18. Unfortunately, Maclure's plans were thwarted by a French overthrow of the Spanish government, from which he had purchased the land. In a letter to Fretageot, who had become his long-term confidante, he reported that his land

instructor at Philadelphia, Marie Fretageot, that he was impressed by "the vast improvement in society effected by Mr. Robert Owens [sic] courage and perseverance in spite of an inveterate and malignant opposition."⁶⁵ In subsequent correspondence to Fretageot, he called Owen "the only man in Europe who has a proper idea of mankind and the use he ought to make of his faculties." Knowing that Owen was planning to continue his efforts in the United States, Maclure wrote that, if Owen were to succeed abroad, the new establishment "will mark an epoch in the history of man that will elevate him far above what he has yet been, or perhaps expected to be."⁶⁶

Owen Comes to the United States

Certainly, Maclure's favorable impressions gave the indication that Owen's mission—to render his villagers at New Lanark happy and productive—had been successful. This initial meeting between Owen and Maclure would prove to have planted the seeds of their future partnership at New Harmony. Shortly after their meeting, Owen left New Lanark for the United States, accompanied by his son, William Owen, to observe the Shakers and Harmonists and to search for land on which to build a new community.⁶⁷ Although Robert Owen was known as a

had been confiscated, and should the Spanish government declare bankruptcy, he expected to lose between \$30,000 and \$40,000. See William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, January 18, 1824, IM 11.1.

⁶⁵ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, August 25, 1824, IM. 12.1.

⁶⁶ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, September 10, 1824, IM. 12.2.

⁶⁷ In his assessment of the rationale behind Owen's departure from New Lanark, sociologist Joel Nathan Rosen states that Owen's partners were annoyed with Owen's "incessant experimentation and his mounting attacks on religion, private property, and marriage," which Owen would later call the "trinity of the most monstrous evils that could be combined to inflict mental and physical evil . . ." in his "Declaration of Mental Independence," delivered at New Harmony on July 4, 1826. Joel Nathan Rosen, *From New Lanark to Mound Bayou: Owenism in the Mississippi Delta* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2011), 60. See also Robert Owen, "Oration, Containing a Declaration of Mental Independence, Delivered in the Public Hall, at New-Harmony, Ind., by Robert Owen, at the Celebration of the Fourth of July, 1826," *New Harmony Gazette* (July 12, 1826). Donnachie emphasizes that many of Owen's partners were

staunch secularist, he had become interested in these two religious groups because they had successfully navigated trans-Atlantic migration, constructed functional communities with the physical and social infrastructure necessary to practice their ideology and, for extended periods, withstood external pressures.⁶⁸ Both groups established communities prior to the first era of utopian activity, as cordoned off by historian Seymour Kesten, but have been recognized by utopia historian Arthur Bestor as "communitarian experiments," thereby functioning as prototypes for the community Owen envisioned.⁶⁹

Quakers, as his association with members of the Society of Friends dates to the 1790s, and they grew concerned that Owen was actually atheist. According to Harrison, Owen refused to allow the Bible to be taught in his classes at New Lanark. See Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, 162. Donnachie cites other problems, too, including an outbreak of typhoid fever that cast a shadow over Owen's plans to improve the living conditions at New Lanark, which had been integral to his early efforts in reform. In his father's absence, Robert Dale Owen had been left in charge of his father's business at New Lanark and, presumably, over the family, as his mother and five of his siblings remained at home. See Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 56, 197, 206.

⁶⁸ Royle notes that the Shakers were made known to Europeans through the writings of W.S. Warder, whose account of Ann Lee's group was published in 1817 by Robert Owen. See Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement*, 47. This publication, "A Brief Sketch of the Religious Society of People called Shakers," is printed as Appendix K in Robert Owen, *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of the Life of Robert Owen Containing a Series of Reports, Addresses, Memorials, and Other Documents, Referred to in That Volume: 1803-1820* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858). The unsigned editorial commentary that prefaces this appendix contains references to Owen's "A New View of Society" and indicates the superiority of the Shakers' communal existence, as compared "against the system everywhere existing among the bulk of mankind." See Appendix K, *A Supplementary Appendix*, 146. In a letter dated August 4, 1820, and addressed to George Rapp, Robert Owen reveals that he learned of Rapp's Society (then in its second iteration at New Harmony, Indiana) through John Melish's 1812 publication "Travels through the United States of America." In this letter, Owen requests that Rapp send to him "authentic, printed or manuscript, statement of the rise, progress, and present state of Harmony" because Owen was "in the midst of preparing a further development of the system I have in view." This letter is reprinted in full in Karl John Richard Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 226-27.

⁶⁹ Bestor, "Checklist of Communitarian Experiments," 277. In her essay on the Shakers, Priscilla J. Brewer lauds the Shakers as "one of America's most successful communal sects." See Priscilla J. Brewer, "The Shakers of Mother Ann Lee," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Arndt claims that for Rapp and his followers, "communal living was adopted partly out of necessity." He also notes that "the Harmony Society had a strong influence on other religious and nonsectarian movements

In 1817, Robert Owen published a "A Brief Sketch of the Religious Society of People called Shakers," which was communicated to him by Mr. W. S. Warder, who was a member of the Society of Friends.⁷⁰ As such, Owen knew of the group known formally as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing long before visiting their community in Niskayuna, New York, in November 1824.⁷¹ In his autobiography, Owen commended the Shakers' use of public property for the benefit of all members and noted that, by infusing material equality into daily transactions, the Shakers reaped personal and communal advantages made otherwise impossible in a society divided into classes.⁷² According to Owen, the Shakers

that chose the communal way." See Karl John Richard Arndt, "George Rapp's Harmony Society," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 63, 82.

⁷⁰ According to the frontmatter of Warder's "Sketch," he was a Quaker from Philadelphia. See Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement*, 47. Whereas Owen's working relationships with Quakers predates his time at New Lanark, Harrison notes that in 1812-1813, Owen established an official partnership with four Quakers, an Anglican, and Jeremy Bentham for his enterprise at New Lanark. Thus, whereas neither Owen's precise relationship with Warder nor the manner in which Warner communicated the sketch with Owen has been determined, it is reasonable to assume that Warder may have been connected to New Lanark, and thus to Owen, through his association with fellow members of the Society of Friends. See Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, 157.

⁷¹ The Shakers had relocated from England to the northeastern United States in 1774 under the guidance of their leader, Mother Ann Lee. See F. W. Evans, *Ann Lee (the Founder of the Shakers): A Biography with Memoirs of William Lee, James Whittaker, J. Hocknall, J. Meacham, and Lucy Wright; Also a Compendium of the Origin, History, Principles, Rules, and Regulations, and Government and Doctrines of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing*, ed. F. W. Evans, 4th ed. ed. (London: J. Burns; Mount Lebanon, N.Y.: F.W. Evans, 1871), 23-24. Owen refers briefly to "A Brief Sketch of the Religions Society of People called Shakers," in his autobiography.

⁷²Owen, *Robert Owen*, vol 1, 242–243. Robert Owen visited the Shakers at Niskayuna, New York, and although they were well-known for their musical activity, he mentioned nothing about their music in his autobiography. William Owen, who accompanied his father on this visit, wrote a detailed account of the Shaker community in his diary, but this account focused on the Shakers' hospitality to visitors and their occupations. See Joel W. Hiatt, ed., *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824, to April 20, 1825* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1906), 9-15. Nevertheless, the Shakers have been studied extensively for their musical output, which was used primarily in worship and in praise of God. By the time of the Owens' 1824 American tour, the Shakers had already published their first hymnal, titled *Millennial Praises*, in

"proved for many years to be far more correct in morals and conduct than populations similar in number living under the individual competitive system." Moreover, they set an enviable example through their ability to provide material needs to each member of the community, thereby removing the "fear of want."⁷³

After a brief visit with the Shakers in Niskayuna, New York, Robert and William Owen stopped over in Philadelphia, where Marie Fretageot was directing the Pestalozzian school at Maclure's behest.⁷⁴ During this visit, the elder Owen impressed Fretageot, most notably with his ideas of educating children.⁷⁵ They both agreed that the education of children should commence as soon after birth as possible, "in order to write in those blanck [sic] paper but what is correct . . ."⁷⁶

Noting the intense pleasure she felt when "talking by the side of a man whose actions and principles are so much in harmony with mine," she penned a series of letters to Maclure between November 1824 and March 1825, in which she articulated the similarities between the two men's ideologies and sought to convince Maclure that his next project in educational reform should be

1812 and 1813, but had just recently, around 1820, begun to use manuscript hymnals that contained melodic lines.⁷² In the New York bishopric—that is, the governing unit comprising Niskayuna (also called Watervliet)—Seth Y. Wells assumed the role of music instructor in 1821 and began providing regular singing lessons for members of the communities he served. See Edward D. Andrews, *Songs, Dances and Rituals of the American Shakers* (New York: Dover Publications, (1940) 1962), 13-14. According to William Owen, Wells escorted him around the community. Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 9.

⁷³ Owen, *Robert Owen*, vol. 1, 243, 242.

⁷⁴ According to William Owen's diary, he and his father arrived at the Shaker settlement, which he refers to as "Wiskeyana," in New York on November 11, 1824. See Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 9.

⁷⁵ According to William Owen's diary, he and his father arrived in Philadelphia on November 19, 1824, and the elder Owen visited Fretageot on November 21, 1824. See Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 28, 31.

⁷⁶ Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, November 28, 1824, IM. 12.7.

back in the United States.⁷⁷ As her familiarity with Owen's work grew, she continued to persuade Maclure to collaborate with Owen. In a letter dated February 11, 1825, she claimed that Owen already had a "great many proselites," [sic] including some of Maclure's professional acquaintances in the United States, who were prepared to move to New Harmony.⁷⁸ Within a week, Fretageot received a letter from Owen in which he implied that Maclure's advice on educational matters would be useful to his American endeavors of reform.⁷⁹ By March, Fretageot exclaimed that "the more I know of that man, of his plan and of his high sense, the more I am convinced that we will join in his undertaking." In the same letter, Fretageot hinted that she had experienced "prejudices" that prevented her from implementing Maclure's educational ideology, as based on the Pestalozzian Method, in Philadelphia and that she would like to teach in New Harmony.⁸⁰ Given this evidence, it appears that Owen's preference for Fellenberg's methodology and Maclure's adherence to the Pestalozzian Method were not, to Fretageot's interpretation at that moment, incongruous.⁸¹ Thus, she was largely responsible for facilitating the initial partnership between Owen and Maclure, as she was in a unique position to understand the educational principles and practices of both men.

⁷⁷ Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, November 28, 1824, IM. 12.7; see also Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, January 13, 1825, IM. 13.3 and Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, February 11, 1825, IM. 13.6.

⁷⁸ Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, February 11, 1825, IM.13.6. In this letter, Fretageot mentions Dr. Gerard Troost, Mr. Thomas Say, and Mr. John Speakman.

⁷⁹ Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, February 18, 1825, IM. 13.8.

⁸⁰ Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, March 9 and 13, 1825, IM 13.10.

⁸¹ Leonard Warren uses the phrase "Pestalozzi-Fellenberg schools" in reference to the type of educational system Maclure hoped to emulate. Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 79.

Owen Visits New Harmony

Following his time with Fretageot, Robert and William Owen stopped in Ökonomie (Economy), Pennsylvania, where Father Johann Georg (George) Rapp and his followers had very recently begun resettling after having lived in their community at New Harmony, Indiana, since 1814. The elder Owen and Rapp met at least twice during this visit, and according to William Owen's diary, the two men "appeared to agree" on Owen's ideas about the "formation of character."⁸² After their brief time in Economy, the Owens set sail on the Ohio River for New Harmony, Indiana, which Rapp was selling "by private contract."⁸³ A printed advertisement highlighted New Harmony's proximity to major waterways because it made the town "peculiarly advantageous for trade." In addition, the advertisement stated that the "rich fertile" land was suitable for cotton, grains, vineyards, and fruit-bearing trees, including apple, pear, and peach.⁸⁴ Indeed, New Harmony's location and natural resources were attractive to Robert Owen.

Rapp and his followers hailed from Württemberg, Germany, which has been recognized as a "hotbed for the germination of new ideas in religion" throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁵ Rapp's own writings suggest that he began formally to question Lutheran hegemony in the 1780s because the Church "did not permit the individual to express himself as

⁸² In his diary, William Owen indicates that his father and Rapp enjoyed lengthy conversations beginning on December 4, 1824. He also recounts that, during his two-day stay, he witnessed a worship service during which approximately 100 Harmonists sang a "hymn on Friendship remarkably well" and that music was rendered throughout their visit by members of the community. See Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 53-54.

⁸³ For a reprint of the first page of *Particulars of the Settlement and Town of Harmony, State of Indiana, North America*, see Karl John Richard Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society: 1814-1824*, 2 vols., vol. 2: 1820-1824 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1978), 916.

⁸⁴ Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society: 1814-1824*, 2: 1820-1824, 916.

⁸⁵ See Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 18-22.

the spirit of God moved him."⁸⁶ In a letter dated April 17, 1785, he responded to the Church Council's request that he submit, in writing, his reasons for "staying away from the church." Harmonist historian Karl Arndt comments that with this statement "made eighteen years before he [Rapp] came to America, we have the beginning of the Harmony Society." In brief, Rapp refused to attend Lutheran church services or take communion because his "longing for a closer communion with Christ" was not met by what Arndt describes as the "cold formality of an established church service conducted by university-trained pastors."⁸⁷ To satisfy his own millennialist convictions, whereby the return of Christ was imminent, Rapp began to hold religious private meetings that attracted a growing constituency of followers, but his actions made him a target of extreme vitriol and retaliation by the Church.⁸⁸ Indeed, nearly twenty years after writing his response, Rapp and his followers were forced to flee to the United States in order to escape continued "harassment" in the form of court summons, fines, and, on occasion, collective imprisonment.⁸⁹

Rapp and his followers established their first American settlement, Harmonie (Harmony), in southwestern Pennsylvania, along the Connoquenessing River in Butler County. The

⁸⁶ For Rapp's personal reasons for leaving the Lutheran Church, see John Samuel Duss, *The Harmonists: A Personal History* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943), 7.

⁸⁷ Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 17-19. In Part One of *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, Arndt contextualizes the underlying theological and ethical impulses of Separatism and explores Rapp's emergence as a leader in Württemberg.

⁸⁸ New Harmony historian Donald Pitzer has summarized Rapp's beliefs as "four Ps and a C: pietism, an emotional conversion experience and personal relationship with God; perfectionism, a goal that eventually demanded celibacy; pacifism, peaceful resolution of disputes and refusal to serve in the military; and postmillennialism, the optimistic idea that progress in human nature and human affairs was preparing the world for Christ's return . . . [and] Christian communalism, based on the community of goods practiced by the first-century congregation of Peter in Jerusalem and described in Acts 2 and 4." See Donald E. Pitzer and Darryl Jones, *New Harmony Then & Now* (Bloomington, IN: Quarry Books, 2012), 6.

⁸⁹ See Duss, *The Harmonists*, 13; Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 30, 44.

Harmonists spent ten years there beginning in 1804, during which time they cleared hundreds of acres of land for farming, and erected log houses, barns, mills, an inn, and a brewery.⁹⁰ As fellow Harmonist and historian John Duss reports, these initial efforts of Rapp and his followers were so successful that, within a decade, the settlement had simply "outgrown its location."⁹¹ In 1814, Rapp made the propitious decision to sell the entire town in Pennsylvania, and, excited by the prospects of the American frontier, purchased land in the southwestern tip of the Indiana Territory and resettled his community there.⁹²

Over the next ten years, Rapp and his followers erected the first of three planned communities to occupy the region, which they initially called Harmonie and renamed "neu Harmonie" (New Harmony).⁹³ The success of Rapp's community was predicated, in no small part, on New Harmony's proximity to the Ohio River, by way of the Wabash River, which formed the town's western border. In a letter dated May 10, 1814, the elder Rapp explains to his adopted son Frederick that "the Wabash is a large stream of water, it is considerably larger than

⁹⁰ Rapp chose the name "Harmonie" for his community to honor the ideas of Johann Gottfried von Herder, especially those in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* and *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*. In his article "Herder and the Harmony Society," Arndt compares Herder's use of the word "Humanität" with Rapp's use of the word "Harmonie" and concludes that they are "practically the same in [their] connotations." See Karl John Richard Arndt, "Herder and the Harmony Society," *Germanic Review* 16 (1941): 111-12. Arndt drew heavily from the aforementioned article in *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 70, 72, 255-57, 105-09.

⁹¹ Duss, *The Harmonists*, 34.

⁹² Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 135-40.

⁹³ The correspondence between George Rapp and his adopted son Frederick Rapp indicates that both men employed the term "Harmoni" for the name of their new settlement in Indiana until at least May 10, 1814. But, George Rapp begins to call the settlement "Neu Harmony" as early as September 27, 1814. See George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, May 10, 1814; George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, September 27, 1814; George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, October 4, 1814, in Karl John Richard Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society: 1814-1824*, vol. 1: 1814-1819 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975), 8, 48-49, 52-54.

the Allegheny. Throughout the year, there will be no hindrance to shipping to New Orleans."⁹⁴

Indeed, the Wabash and Ohio Rivers provided ample opportunities for trade, and the Harmonists had access to the materials necessary to equip the town with a granary, mill, school house, cotton factory, two churches, approximately eighty dwellings, and 100 log cabins.⁹⁵

Yet during this prolific period in Indiana, they also experienced some setbacks, including internal religious and ideological conflicts, harsh environmental conditions along the frontier, and antagonistic neighbors, which prompted Rapp and remaining followers to retreat back east to Pennsylvania.⁹⁶ Thus, Rapp sold his land and the town of New Harmony to Robert Owen for \$95,000, who assumed ownership on January 1, 1825.⁹⁷ The *New Harmony Gazette* estimated Rapp had owned more than 30,000 acres of land in the region, which, along with "improvements, stock, and personal effects," was appraised at \$1 million.⁹⁸

With George Rapp in Economy during the latter part of 1824, Robert Owen dealt primarily with Frederick Rapp, who was still in New Harmony, as ownership of the town changed hands. Although many of the Harmonists had already followed the elder Rapp to Economy, William Owen reports that several members of the community had not yet traveled east, and on several occasions, offered musical renderings such that he exclaimed "the principal

⁹⁴ See George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, May 10, 1814, in Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society: 1814-1824*, 1: 1814-1819, 8.

⁹⁵ *New Harmony Times*, April 25, 1919. Throughout most of their decade in Indiana, the Harmonists were able to sell their flour, butter, and pork in New Orleans. See John Shriver's "Expenses, Sales, and Purchases in New Orleans," November 2, 1822, in Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society: 1814-1824*, 2: 1820-1824, 495-98.

⁹⁶ Duss, *The Harmonists*, 57. Arndt notes that some people were frustrated with the prices charged by the Harmonists for services such as grinding. See *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 261.

⁹⁷ Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, *Partnership for Posterity*, 290.

⁹⁸ "View of New Harmony," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 1, 1825.

observable occupations of the Harmonians was music."⁹⁹ Whereas the Harmonists did perform instrumental numbers, they remain best known for their *Harmonisches Gesangbuch*. This collection of 254 hymns was printed in 1820 and reprinted in 1827 with an additional 290 texts, and its contents reflect the Harmonists' German heritage and Lutheran roots. Many of the hymns and songs in these and other collections have been attributed to prominent members of the community, including both Rapps and various musicians who joined the community following its return to Pennsylvania, such as Johann Christoph Müller, Jacob Henrici, who was the elder Rapp's successor at Economy, and Henrici's successor, John S. Duss.¹⁰⁰

In the preeminent work on music in the Harmonist Society, Richard D. Wetzel examines these hymns and explores the instrumental compositions of Müller, Henrici, and Duss. Müller (d. 1845), who played the piano, flute, and violin, was known for his songs and short instrumental pieces. He served as the music director of the Harmonists immediately after they relocated to Pennsylvania, during which time the community's small orchestra grew.¹⁰¹ In addition to composing, Henrici (1804–1892) facilitated the music program at Economy from 1833 to

⁹⁹ Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 102. Sluder explores the musical activities of the Harmonists who were still in New Harmony during the first four months of 1825. See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 109-34.

¹⁰⁰ A number of works have been written that document the music-making activities among the Rappites, both during their decade in Indiana and their subsequent time in Pennsylvania. See, for example, Lee Seaman Spear, "Vocal Music in the Harmonist Society: 1804-1832" (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 1979); Richard D. Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians on the Connoquenessing, Wabash, and Ohio: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society (1805-1906)* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976).

¹⁰¹ Wetzel includes detailed information on various instrument purchases and some partial scores in Appendix A so that the orchestra's development can be traced. Müller's "Freundschaft March" has been recorded by Ian Henderson on fortepiano and can be heard on *American Communal Music of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Music of the Ephrata Cloister, Harmonists and Moravians, Volume 2*, which was released by the National Historic Communal Societies Association in 1984.

1892.¹⁰² During his reign, a men's choir and a mixed choir were active. He was succeeded as music director by Duss, who built a band that performed his own compositions locally and while on tour throughout the Pittsburgh region. According to Wetzel, Duss's band also rendered works by Saint-Saens, Massenet, and Meyerbeer.¹⁰³

Owen Establishes the Preliminary Society at New Harmony

Because Rapp and his followers had already created a functional town, Robert Owen was able to begin immediately with the implementation of the plans that had been percolating during his tenure at New Lanark, thereby establishing the Preliminary Society on May 1, 1825. The Society's inchoate months are chronicled in retrospective essays published in the *New Harmony Gazette*, which was launched on October 1, 1825, to serve, primarily, as the vehicle through which Owen could disseminate his ideas to his followers each week. The inaugural five-part series titled *View of New Harmony* provided an overview to the history of Rapp and New Harmony's first planned community, explored the natural benefits of New Harmony's land for farming and study, and described Owen's vision for the Preliminary Society. In this vision, Owen advocated for a type of secularity in his Preliminary Society that was rooted in moral consciousness, noting that

the rules of this society prescribe no particular mode of religious worship, but while the most perfect toleration of opinions is secured, each is left to follow the course sanctioned by his conscience. Dogmas and forms are considered of little importance, if the great end of improving the moral and social condition of man be attained; and this is attempted through the adoption of the most perfect code of moral rules, and an exact practice under them.— Man is taken as he is, and surrounded by those circumstances which experience points out as most conducive to his happiness.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Arndt, "George Rapp's Harmony Society," 80.

¹⁰³ Richard D. Wetzel, "The Music Collection of Georg Rapp's Harmonie Gesellschaft (1805-1906)," *Monatshefte* 68, no. 2 (1976): 168.

¹⁰⁴ "View of New-Harmony, Concluded," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 29, 1825.

Alongside the series, the *Gazette* published on other topics that complemented Owen's vision, such a comparative overview to religious freedoms across various sects and the effect of early impressions in forming character. In its second issue dated October 8, 1825, the *Gazette* included an unsigned commentary on the benefits of dancing. This commentary echoed the approach to dance instruction that Owen had implemented at New Lanark, whereby dancing was "taught as a pleasant, healthful, natural and social exercise, calculated to improve the carriage and deportment, and to raise the spirits and increase the cheerfulness and hilarity of those engaged in it."¹⁰⁵ The *Gazette* author claimed

that pleasure, when properly used . . . is essential in a degree, and that the ingredients requisite to form a religious and virtuous life, are not impaired by an occasional engagement with rational amusement. Many persons have taken up the pen of censure against that highly-accomplished and pleasing amusement, Dancing, as being both destructive to morals and health; —others have labored to prove its effect of an opposite tendency; and, indeed, it has been attempted to establish that Dancing is wise by the following deduction:—

First—Dancing is exercise.

Second—Exercise is serviceable to life.

Ergo—Dancing is serviceable to life.

First—Dancing is serviceable to life.

Second—Whatever is serviceable to life is *wise*.¹⁰⁶

By positioning dance as critical to a virtuous life and to wisdom, the *Gazette's* author took a strong stance in what dance historian Ann Wagner refers to as the "debate over movement, manners, and morals [that] has constituted the core of the historical polemic against

¹⁰⁵ Robert Dale Owen, "Outline of the System of Education: At New-Lanark," *New Harmony Gazette*, November 30, 1825.

¹⁰⁶ Although the author has not been identified, the essay was published during William Owen's editorship of the *Gazette*. It seems unlikely that he, or his father, wrote this particular essay, given that neither would have sought to form a "religious" life. William Owen's co-editor, Robert L. Jennings had been a Universalist minister prior, but Leonard Warren indicates that while living in New Harmony, Jennings "countered the religious sermons of itinerant preachers in and around New Harmony with devastating sermons of his own." Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 215-16.

dance for the past five hundred years."¹⁰⁷ Dance scholar Mark Knowles illustrates that the anti-dance sentiment was rooted ideologically in the Reformation and particularly prominent in Germany. He also states that in mid- to late sixteenth-century England, the virtue of dance was the subject of "more virulent attacks" due to the current of Calvinism sweeping the nation, and the resultant anti-dance stance was brought to the United States by Puritans.¹⁰⁸

In her article "Musical Currents of the Scottish Enlightenment," music historian June C. Ottenberg notes that in Scotland, dancing was "forbidden" until the early eighteenth century, and by the time Owen arrived in New Lanark at the end of the century, it had already become "progressively more popular."¹⁰⁹ But as musicologist Ruth Katz has explored, dances continued to divide their practitioners along class lines throughout Europe until the Vienna Congress (1814–1815).¹¹⁰ There, the waltz "reigned supreme" and, according to Knowles, was used as a

¹⁰⁷ In her overview to those who have, as described by the *Gazette*, "taken up the pen of censure of dance," Wagner categorizes and evaluates the seven major themes apparent in dance opposition literature: (1) dancing is a "savage" and "primitive" activity, (2) dancing can be used to distinguish among "social classes," (3) "dancing is of the flesh" and, therefore, evil, (4) dancing is enjoyed by "fallen women," and therefore, is part of a larger conversation on "prejudicial gender roles," (5) dancing has been prohibited in certain sects of Christianity, (6) dancing is incongruous with pious living, and (7) dancing is forbidden by the Bible. Ann Louise Wagner, *Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 363. Dance historian Skiles Howard traces the "controversy over dancing" to "The Dance" of Lucian, which was written ca. 162–165 as a dialogue that proclaims the benefits of dancing. See Skiles Howard, "Rival Discourses of Dancing in Early Modern England," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 36, no. 1 (1996): 31, 50-51. An overview to the anti-dance sentiment is also found in Chapter 1 of Mark Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances: Outrage at Couple Dancing in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009).

¹⁰⁸ Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz*, 22, 5.

¹⁰⁹ June C. Ottenberg, "Musical Currents of the Scottish Enlightenment," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 9, no. 1 (1978): 106.

¹¹⁰ Ruth Katz, "The Egalitarian Waltz," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3 (1973).

"symbol of a new society" in which members from all classes of society could "embrace" their dance partner in a way that had been considered previously as "scandalous."¹¹¹

According to his *Address on Opening the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark*, Robert Owen integrated dancing into the curriculum and evening activities at the same time the participants at the Vienna Congress were returning home and publicizing their love of dance. Even so, dance's precise role in Owen's scheme of social reform has continued to prompt much speculation. For example, in their essay on the history of New Lanark, conservator Jim Arnold and trustee Lorna Davidson emphasize dance's effect on physical well-being, stating that "dancing was considered by Owen to be a healthy, social and pleasurable form of exercise . . ."¹¹² In contrast, O'Hagan explores the relationship of amusements, such as dancing, with self-improvement. He claims that "the prominence of music and dance at New Lanark was a potent metaphor for Owen in conveying his passionate understanding of the contribution of education to the cultivation of the good life. In music and dance, individual talent and self-expression were affirmed but always inseparable from co-operation with the group."¹¹³ Owen's biographer, J. F. C. Harrison, underscores the use of dancing for amusement, and comments that "of course no Owenite gathering was complete without dancing . . . the Owenites amused themselves with their cotillions, reels and waltzes. [Owen's] new moral world was to be no place for puritans."¹¹⁴

This *Gazette* article insinuates that dancing provides at least three benefits, and, in so doing, foreshadows the positive attributes of well-regulated amusements listed in Owen's "Plan

¹¹¹ Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz*, 27.

¹¹² Lorna Davidson and Jim Arnold, "The Great Experiment: New Lanark from Robert Owen to World Heritage Site," in *Robert Owen and His Legacy*, ed. Noel Thompson and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 61.

¹¹³ O'Hagan, "Robert Owen and Education," 74-75.

¹¹⁴ Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, 190.

for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind," which would appear in the *Gazette* three weeks later. It should be emphasized that, whereas the concept of amusements was covered twice in the *Gazette's* first month of publication, the newspaper rarely printed any coverage of actual dances or musical programs over the course of its four-year publication run.¹¹⁵ Indeed, while examining the dissemination of information on local cultural events, New Harmony theater historian Brian Sajko laments that the town's newspapers, beginning with the *Gazette*, were "satisfied" to merely announce upcoming performances and then to note them for the historical record.¹¹⁶ He attempts to explain the rationale behind the resultant historiographical gaps, by quoting a statement printed in the April 9, 1828, issue of the *Gazette* that claims "individual criticism or individual commendation are foreign to the character that our *Gazette* has always maintained."

Owen and Maclure Reunite and Form the Community of Equality at New Harmony

While Owen began setting the groundwork for the Preliminary Society in the winter and spring of 1825, Maclure returned to the United States from Europe and rekindled his professional relationships with his colleagues in the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (ANSP).¹¹⁷ Maclure was a charter member of ANSP, which was established in 1812 "for the encouragement and cultivation of the sciences and the advancement of useful learning." Although he frequently

¹¹⁵ Dancing in New Harmony does not appear to have been depicted visually, or in print, as it was in New Lanark. For example, G. Hunt's colored engraving titled "Dancing Class, The Institute, New Lanark, c. 1820" depicts three groups of eight young women, with each group dancing in a circle to the music performed by three violinists.

¹¹⁶ See Brian Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 8. Whereas Sajko is referring to a lack of coverage on theatrical events, the same holds true for the musical performances and dances.

¹¹⁷ After purchasing New Harmony, Robert Owen left the town in the care of William Owen in order to travel and generate interest in his community.

traveled internationally and could not attend all of the society's meetings, he was elected its president in 1817, a position he held until 1839, the year before his death.¹¹⁸

Just as Fretageot had suggested earlier, several members of the esteemed ANSP, whom she had called "proselytes," were willing to join Owen and Maclure in New Harmony. Thus, in December 1825, Maclure and his entourage set sail along the Ohio River on the *Philanthropist*, a keelboat commonly referred to as the "Boatload of Knowledge," which received its nickname in recognition of the number of scholars on board.¹¹⁹ Among the *Philanthropist's* passengers were four charter members of the ANSP, including Maclure. The organization's first president, Gerard Troost, was trained as a paleontologist and geologist and was joined on the boat by Thomas Say, who had edited the Academy's journal and was known for his scholarly contributions to entomology and conchology. Prior to his time in New Harmony, he had served as a professor of natural history at University of Pennsylvania. Accompanying them was Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, who was an ichthyologist by training but was best known in New Harmony for his skills as a sketch artist. Following the *Philanthropist's* January 26, 1826, arrival, the February 6 issue of the *New Harmony Gazette* announced the official supersession of the Preliminary

¹¹⁸ Morton, *A Memoir of William Maclure Esq.*, 15.

¹¹⁹ The phrase "Boatload of Knowledge" has been used consistently in contemporary and historical writings about New Harmony. See "Mrs. Thomas (Sarah) Pears to Mrs. Benjamin Bakewell, March 10, 1826," in *New Harmony. An Adventure in Happiness: Papers of Thomas and Sarah Pears*, ed. Thomas Clinton Jr. Pears, Indiana Historical Society Publications (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937), 71. Donald E. Pitzer, "The Original Boatload of Knowledge," 128-42; Pitzer, "William Maclure's Boatload of Knowledge," 110-37. For a list of the people on board the *Philanthropist*, see Nora C. Fretageot and W. V. Mangrum, *Historic New Harmony: Official Guide, Centennial Edition* (New Harmony: Working Men's Institute, 1914), 39.

Society by "The New-Harmony Community of Equality [. . .] which will go into operation as soon as practicable."¹²⁰

Owen, Maclure, and the Community of Equality

With this influx of the scholars from the ANSP, New Harmony quickly emerged as a nexus for innovative scientific and educational projects. In a letter dated February 8, 1826, (just three days after the Community of Equality's constitution was adopted), Community member William Pelham stated that he was "right in coming here" and that he and the other members were anticipating a "vast collection of books, philosophical apparatus & musical instruments," which was currently in transit and destined to help form "the best Library & and the best School in the United States."¹²¹ The promise of intellectual opportunities grew out of the fundamental premise that ignorance was the basic condition under which inequality thrived, and Owen and Maclure attempted to combat both simultaneously by offering an education to all members, regardless of gender, and entrusting female members with professional duties that required particular skills, such as editing the *New Harmony Gazette* and teaching local students.¹²²

Throughout the Community of Equality's fifteen-month existence, the relationship between self-improvement and communal progress remained central to Owen and Maclure's

¹²⁰ The constitution of New Harmony's Community of Equality was adopted on February 5, 1826, and published in the *New Harmony Gazette* on February 15, 1826.

¹²¹ William Pelham to William C. Pelham, February 8, 1826, The Pelham Collection, Folder 23, Branigin Archive, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Pelham, who would become editor of the *New Harmony Gazette* for six months beginning in March 1826, noted also that the Community of Equality's constitution "has been transcribed into a book, and 300 names have already been subscribed to it."

¹²² Owen, for example, allowed accomplished women, such as Frances Wright, to publish in and serve as editor of the *New Harmony Gazette*. Maclure relied heavily on his ongoing, intellectual exchange with Marie Fretageot, to whom he turned over governance of his educational pursuits at New Harmony.

plans, and well-regulated amusements were featured regularly, just as they had been following the precedent set forth in Owen's Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition Mankind.¹²³ The Friday night musical concerts provided weekly entertainment for the Community members and received favorable reception by even the most esteemed of visitors, including Karl Bernhard, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. The Duke visited New Harmony in April 1826, approximately eight weeks after the Community of Equality had been established. According to his account,

[i]n the evening Mr. Owen conducted me to a concert in the non-descript building. Most of the members of the society were present. The orchestra was not numerous; it consisted at first of only one violin, one violoncello, once clarionet, and two flutes. Nevertheless, the concert was surprisingly good, especially as the musicians have not been together a year. The clarionet player performed particularly well. . . .Several good male and female vocalists then took a part; they sang among other things a trio accompanied by the clarionet only. . . . I was, on the whole, much amused.¹²⁴

Surprise and amusement were also expressed by Owen's son, Robert Dale Owen, who had commented earlier on the amusements available to the citizens of New Lanark. As a witness to this ongoing tradition, the younger Owen noted the excitement generated through other evening activities:

The Evening gatherings, too, delighted me; the weekly meetings for discussion of our principles, in which I took part at once; the weekly concert, with an excellent leader, Josiah Warren, and a performance of music, instrumental and vocal, much beyond what I had expected in the backwoods; last, not least, the weekly ball, where I found crowds of young people, bright and genial if not specially cultivated, and was passionately fond of dancing as, in those days, I myself was.¹²⁵

¹²³ For a narrative on the musical activities that took place at the Community, see Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 40-151.

¹²⁴ Karl Bernhard (Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach), *Travels through North America, During the Years 1825 and 1826*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1828), 110. Bernhard commented regularly on the musicmaking activities he witnessed during his travels in North America, and while he was enroute to New Harmony along the Mississippi River (going from New Orleans to St. Louis), he mentioned the music of "negroes" who were working on southern plantations along the river (85).

¹²⁵ Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 245.

Robert Dale Owen's commentary implies that Josiah Warren (1798–1874) was a central musical figure in New Harmony while the Community of Equality was in full swing, but details of Warren's musical activities remain a subject of speculation for three reasons. As mentioned earlier, the *New Harmony Gazette* focused its attention on socio-political events and trends, especially those in which Robert Owen was involved, rather than on the cultural events in which Warren, according to Robert Dale Owen, was participating. In addition, whereas the archives at New Harmony do have items related to Warren and his musical life, they are all dated from the decade following the collapse of the Community of Equality and beyond.¹²⁶ Finally, and in separate biographical accounts, George Washington Warren and William Bailie (Josiah Warren's

¹²⁶ The Working Men's Institute contains a variety of documentation pertaining to the life of Josiah Warren, but it all postdates his association with the Community of Equality. New Harmony Series V contains one of Warren's notebooks that dates from 1844 (Series V, Box 5, Folder 35). New Harmony Series IV contains documentation on the patent for Warren's lamp burning grease and the patent for the stereotype plates for his printing press. New Harmony Series XIV contains the February 28, 1840, issue of the *Southwestern Sentinel*, which was published in nearby Evansville, Indiana, and considered the first newspaper to be printed on Warren's invention, the continuous roll web press. New Harmony Series VIII contains documentation regarding Warren's purchase of land following his return to New Harmony. Sluder's comments on Warren are also focused on the latter's post-Community musical activities and his personal utopian vision, which he pursued following the collapse of the Community of Equality. For example, Sluder asserts that, for Warren, "music [is] a science of sound . . . which reflected a rational means for the harmonization of mankind." On this aspect of "harmony," Sluder claims that "Owenites found music to be the fullest development of 'harmonic ideals' that were similar to those they hoped to bring to society at large." See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 140-41. It should be recalled, however, that the evidence provided by Karl Arndt indicates that it was Rapp, not Owen, who selected the names "Harmonie/Harmony" and "neu Harmonie/New Harmony" for the community in Indiana. Sluder's statement suggests that a relationship existed between the Owenites' ideology and nomenclature, which could, in turn, be the reason that Owen did not change the name of the town after purchasing it. But additional evidence has not surfaced to support or disprove this claim.

son and biographer, respectively) glossed over the Warren's contributions to the Community of Equality.¹²⁷

Although Bailie's 1906 monograph *Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist* is limited in its depth, it has not yet been superseded in terms of its overall coverage. As indicated by the title, Bailie explored Warren's political views and his attempts to construct his own utopian communities after adhering to, and then breaking away from, the ideas of Robert Owen. In the text, Warren's musical experiences have been confined to those that occurred before and after his time in the Community of Equality. Nevertheless, Bailie did indicate that Warren and his brother George, who were born and raised in Boston, were talented enough as teenagers to perform with local instrumental bands and that, at age twenty, Josiah Warren relocated to Cincinnati, where he established himself as an "orchestra leader and teacher of music." While in Cincinnati, Warren demonstrated his intellectual versatility by inventing a lard-burning lamp, for which he received a patent. He also began investigating alternative socio-political viewpoints and, after hearing Owen speak of his intentions to create a planned community, relocated, once again, to New Harmony in 1825.¹²⁸

Following the collapse of the Community of Equality, Warren returned to Cincinnati, where he proceeded to establish his "time store" concept, which he would eventually extrapolate

¹²⁷ University of Evansville (Indiana) professor Clark Kimberlin maintains a website that provides biographical essays on the "scientists, educators, writers, and artists," who were active in nineteenth-century New Harmony. Kimberlin, with the permission of the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan, published the younger Warren's account of his father's life and career, which, unfortunately does not include any information to corroborate Robert Dale Owen's commentary regarding the elder Warren's musical leadership. See <http://faculty.evansville.edu/ck6/bstud/warren.html> (accessed August 1, 2018).

¹²⁸ William Bailie, *Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906), 2. Warren's early life is described in the first eight pages of Bailie's work.

and use to undergird the three planned communities he would go on to establish between 1833 and 1863.¹²⁹ According to his son, the Warrens moved back to New Harmony to open a similar business there, but the endeavor was short-lived. Thus, the elder Warren resumed his interests in designing and inventing machines, and he built a new printing press, on which he printed his innovative system of musical notation.¹³⁰ Subsequently, he settled in nearby Evansville, where he opened a music store that catered to the region's growing constituency of musicians.¹³¹

Thus, Warren possessed the musical prowess necessary to lead the Community's musical activities, but the few remaining eye-witness accounts, such as the one written by William Pelham, confirm only the popularity and regularity of balls with addressing the performers or actual music to which Society or Community members danced.¹³² In the case of Robert Dale

¹²⁹ Warren's Time Store Cooperative Movement and its resultant communities (Equity Community [Tuscarawas County, Ohio, 1833–1835], Utopia [Clermont County, Utopia, 1847–1851] and Modern Times [1851–1863]) are listed in Donald E. Pitzer, "Appendix: America's Communal Utopias Founded by 1965," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 489. Bailie's *Josiah Warren* contains descriptions of Warren's endeavors: for a description of Equity, see 39–40; for a description of Utopia, see 50–56; for a description of Modern Times, see 57–82.

¹³⁰ In an October 5, 1839, letter, Warren describes his new printing "apparatus" to William Maclure. See correspondence between Josiah Warren and William Maclure, October 5, 1839, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812–1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 54, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. The drawings of Warren's printing press are held in the New Harmony Indiana, Collection, 1814–1884, 1920, 1964, Series 9 (New Harmony and Lanark Views), Folder 3, William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

¹³¹ Laura Hostetter, "New Harmony Told in Story: Interesting Features that Made New Harmony Historic Being Written," *New Harmony Times*, May 15, 1914.

¹³² In a letter to his son, Pelham mentions the opportunity for dancing on Tuesday evenings and the presence of "an excellent band of music" See William Pelham to his son, September 7, 1825, in William Pelham, "Letters, 1825 and 1826," in *Indiana, as Seen by Early Travelers*, ed. Harlow Lindley (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 369-70. As will be discussed in great detail in chapters 3 and 4, the *New Harmony Register* published a series of articles in 1874 that listed many of the cultural events that had taken place in the town beginning in 1827. But because the *Gazette* had not published regularly or in much depth on the Society's, Community's, and town's cultural events, the *Register* was forced to rely on other sources of information, including accounts by citizens who were still living. See "A Record of

Owen's autobiography, information about the music is glaringly absent, even though his experiences with dancing and music at Hofwyl would have enabled him to offer an informed opinion. The rationale behind his omission of music remains unclear, especially considering the existence of his personal collection of music, which, according to its inscription, was compiled in 1825. Given this date, New Harmony music historian Claude Sluder posits that Robert Dale Owen probably bound and used this compilation of approximately 230 dance tunes at New Lanark; according to his inventory, a variety of social dance types were included, such as allemandes, cotillions, country dances, high dances, hornpipes, jigs, marches, minuets, and waltzes.¹³³ It can be surmised that because Robert Dale Owen did not arrive in New Harmony until January 1826, it is unlikely that the compilation was used as the musical resource for the Society's weekly dances, which had commenced immediately following the October 1825 publication that described Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind." By extension, whereas it is possible that this compilation was, in fact, used for the Community's dances, and possibly in the post-Community era, it will not possible to confirm one way or the other without any corresponding musical information in the eye-witness accounts or in the *Gazette*.¹³⁴

Theatricals and Theaters in New Harmony from the Organization of the First Thespian Society in 1827, to the Present Time," *New Harmony Register* (January 3, 1874).

¹³³ For a full listing of the contents, see Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 352-61.

¹³⁴ Sluder points out that the compilation does not show "any evidence of heavy use, such as fingerings, check marks to designate preferred selections, or down-turned corners for a quick reference to a page." See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 81.

The Community of Equality Collapses

To some extent, Owen and Maclure were able to enact parts of their shared vision, but internal strife started to erode the relationship between the non-scholarly Community members and its leadership just ten days after its constitution was signed. According to the February 15, 1826, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*, the first of several factions made its intention to break away known.¹³⁵ By March 1826, this first faction had reorganized officially as Community No. II and located on 1,200 acres allotted by Owen, approximately two miles from the original Community.¹³⁶ With approximately eighty members, the community built its own log cabin dwellings and nicknamed itself "Macluria" after William Maclure, even though he did not leave the Community of Equality with them.¹³⁷ On March 29, 1826, the *Gazette* published the Maclurians' list of "Causes which Led to the Association," in which these separatists claimed to have "witnessed in [the] old society, numerous bad passions and propensities, which they believe arise principally from the unfavorable pecuniary and social relations in which mankind stand to each other."¹³⁸ The members of Community II appear to have wanted to embrace an ideology with a religious undertone that was incompatible with Owen's view.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ *New Harmony Gazette*, February 15, 1826.

¹³⁶ *New Harmony Gazette*, March 29, 1826. See also Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 176; Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 239-40.

¹³⁷ The members of Community No. II were unable to sustain their community beyond November 1826 due to internal disagreements. See Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 176; Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 239-40.

¹³⁸ "Principles and Articles of Association of a Cooperative Community, Established on the New-Harmony Estate, Posey County, Indiana," *New Harmony Gazette*, March 29, 1826.

¹³⁹ As many have speculated, the members of Community II (Macluria) must not have been aware that, like Robert Owen, William Maclure was not religious. See Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 176; Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 239.

One month after the establishment of Macluria, Community No. III broke away from the main Community, calling itself "Feiba-Peveli."¹⁴⁰ The name Feiba-Peveli was derived from the system of nomenclature invented by New Harmony's architect, Stedman Whitwell. According to Donnachie, Owen granted Community III approximately fourteen hundred acres, and using Whitwell's system, the latitude and longitude of this tract of land were translated into letters.¹⁴¹ These two communities reorganized relatively smoothly and co-existed, but by mid-May 1826, William Maclure was becoming distressed about Owen's inability to control the dissention within the original community and the resultant impact of this dissention on the Community's financial stability.

During Maclure's first four months in New Harmony, he and his entourage of intellectuals had introduced what they believed to be an effective educational methodology, but many New Harmony citizens were frustrated in their attempts to reconcile the value of intellectual and scholastic labor with that of manual labor—namely, that which kept the community functioning—especially in the face of remunerative equality, which was of foundational importance to the Community. Maclure acknowledged that "the thing most wanted is, to protect the industrious, honest members against the unpleasant, mortifying sensation of laboring for others that are either unable or unwilling to work their proportion necessary to keep up the expenditure of the society, and pay their debts."¹⁴² In order to accommodate the town's intellectuals and "working men," Maclure suggested that the original community, from which

¹⁴⁰ *New Harmony Gazette*, March 6, 1826; *New Harmony Gazette*, April 12, 1826.

¹⁴¹ Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 240. Stedman Whitwell, "New Nomenclature Suggested for Communities, Etc.," *New Harmony Gazette*, April 12, 1826.

¹⁴² William Maclure, "On the Easiest as well as the most Expeditious Mode of Extinguishing the Spirit of Competition and Rivalry which is the Pest and Degradation of the Old System of Society, by Engendering Envy, Hatred, Calumny, and Crime, which the New Social Order is Calculated to Prevent," *New Harmony Gazette*, May 17, 1826.

Macluria and Feiba-Peveli branched off, be divided along the lines of vocation.¹⁴³ His response resulted in the establishment of the Agricultural and Pastoral Society, the Mechanic and Manufacturing Society, and, finally, the School or Education Society, which, was to funded by Maclure and run by Fretageot.¹⁴⁴ In his assessment of these secessions, Leonard Warren notes that by focusing his resources on the School or Education Society, Maclure "dissociated" himself from Owen and the problems in the Community.¹⁴⁵

Unfortunately, these three independent societies were incapable of working collaboratively for the greater good because respective members continued to disagree on the actual value of each society's labor and goods. As Bestor states, the "responsible and devoted members of the community" had left the original Community to join Macluria, Feiba-Peveli, and the School or Education Society, leaving Owen with the "drifters, the parasites, and the fanatics."¹⁴⁶ As Paul Bernard illustrates in his essay on the philosophical split between Owen and Maclure, Owen, who still believed in the superior applicability of his own educational philosophy, refused to be outdone by his business partner and created a second educational organization that championed his personal doctrine and instilled obedience in his followers.¹⁴⁷

Owen's pursuit failed and was quickly outshone by Maclure's initiative, which promoted self-paced exploration of the natural world and self-improvement through critical thinking.

¹⁴³ *New Harmony Gazette*, May 10, 1826; *New Harmony Gazette*, August 9, 1826.

¹⁴⁴ The August 9, 1826, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette* contains the constitution of the Agricultural and Pastoral Society. See Donnachie, *Robert Owen*, 242.

¹⁴⁵ Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 213.

¹⁴⁶ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 186.

¹⁴⁷ The differences between Owen's and Maclure's approaches to education are illustrated in detail in Paul R. Bernard, Robert Owen, and William Maclure, "Irreconcilable Opinions: The Social and Educational Theories of Robert Owen and William Maclure," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8, no. 1 (1988): 39-41. Bestor provides financial details that led to the dissolution of the partnership between Owen and Maclure. See Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 190-91.

Maclure criticized Owen's "interference with education,"¹⁴⁸ calling it the "parrot method of sticking incomprehensibles into the memories of Children,"¹⁴⁹ by which he referred to Owen's attempts at training children to be well-informed citizens without taking into account child-appropriate learning strategies or a child's idiosyncrasies. In Owen's system, education served as a means to an end—namely, to develop compliant, well-behaved citizens, but Maclure employed the Pestalozzian Method in order to nourish each child's innate curiosity, accommodate individuality, and cultivate the habit of life-long learning among his pupils.

As Maclure witnessed the disintegration of the Community of Equality, he realized that his pursuits in social reform were no longer compatible with those of Robert Owen. In June 1826, he began traveling throughout the Midwest in search of other communities that might benefit from his financial support.¹⁵⁰ In his absence, he left Pestalozzian Method instructor Marie Fretageot (formerly of Philadelphia) in charge of the school, and they corresponded frequently about the problems with Owen's social experiment. In a letter to Fretageot, dated August 21, 1826, Maclure stated, "I only have for the last 6 mos tottaly [sic] changed my opinion of Mr. Owen's capability to succeed in any undertaking on the high visionary ideas that a concurrence of circumstances had ingendered [sic] in his brain; and that however willing I might be to spend my money on my own educational visions I am positively determined to waste none of it on the visions of others."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, August 30, 1826, IM 15.17.

¹⁴⁹ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, September 19, 1826, IM 16.1.

¹⁵⁰ Maclure was interested briefly in supporting the Swendenborgians at the Yellow Springs Community in Ohio. Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, 359, 71.

¹⁵¹ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, August 21, 1826, IM 15.15.

Meanwhile, Owen was still espousing the effect of education on one's behavior and the impact of one's character on one's social system. In an August 20, 1826, address before his followers in New Harmony, Owen claimed:

When the *mind has been well formed and well informed*, the manners are sure to be good, and to be generally pleasing; and such minds will be sure to receive respect and kindness from others, —which will not be given, and which cannot be given, to those who are ignorant, —whose minds are ill formed and uninformed: —and in consequence, the latter become envious and jealous of the greater attentions paid to the former than to themselves; and this has ever been a source of much evil and misery, and ever will be, as long as the individual system shall remain, and there shall be an inequality in the education of those who are to associate together. To remove this great evil from among you, it is now necessary, that you form arrangements to educate yourselves as members of one family. . . .

And this community education will be a most powerful cause to effect a change in the whole character of the community. And this change is very desirable; for it will weed out all jealousy and collision, and it will create good feelings—day by day will it expand the mind, until, ultimately, we shall all have minds and characters very superior to those which belong to us at present . . . The education which appears to me necessary to form the character of a good member of the social system, or in other words, to insure happiness among mankind.¹⁵²

Six days after Owen's address was published in the *Gazette*, Maclure wrote to Fretageot again.

The reason I trouble you so much about Owens affairs is the fear I have of his throwing away all his money upon materials that never was, nor I believe never will be, fitt [sic] for making a fair experiment of the system; that when his money is gone his influence is at an end, and all he has done will crumble into dust . . . Os [sic] sermon on education, which as far as I understand it is the greatest mixture of contradictions I ever read. But hes [sic] incorrigible, and we must get out of the alliance as well as we can . . .¹⁵³

The relationship between Owen and Maclure reached its breaking point on April 30, 1827, when the latter posted the following notice throughout New Harmony: "Notice is hereby given to all whom it may concern, forewarning them not to trust Robert Owen on my account, as

¹⁵² Robert Owen, "New-Harmony Sunday Meeting for Instruction in the New-System. August 20, 1826," *New Harmony Gazette*, August 23, 1826. [Emphasis mine].

¹⁵³ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, August 29, 1826, IM 15.16.

I am determined not to pay any debts of his, or in any way be responsible for any transaction he may have done or may attempt to do in my name." Owen immediately defended himself and offered to "pay any contract made either by William Maclure or myself on the partnership account."¹⁵⁴

For the next month, Owen and Maclure battled over deeds to property and the money Maclure had invested in the Community.¹⁵⁵ In the midst of settling his accounts with Maclure, Robert Owen transferred ownership of his remaining property at New Harmony to his sons, Robert Dale Owen and William Owen. In his autobiography, Robert Dale Owen recalled later, "all he required of us in return was to execute a deed of trust, of some thirty thousand dollars' worth of land, burdened with an annuity to him during his life, of fifteen hundred a year. . . .The above annuity was his sole dependence for support during many years of his life."¹⁵⁶ Once Robert Owen brought his business affairs to a close, he returned to Europe, leaving his sons and William Maclure behind.

Post-Community Era

The Community of Equality's untimely collapse signaled the end of Owen's utopian experiment at New Harmony, but as Bestor argues, the sectarian groups, such as the Shakers and the Harmonists, "kept communitarianism alive."¹⁵⁷ In addition, as evidenced by the writings of Kesten, Spann, Pitzer, and others, nonsectarian mid-nineteenth-century reformers remained undeterred by Owen's perceived failure and continued to explore the intersection of utopianism,

¹⁵⁴ George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 163.

¹⁵⁵ For a narrative history of these financial issues, see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 190-91, 196-98.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 263.

¹⁵⁷ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 229.

communitarianism, and social reform in Europe and the United States. Moreover, the town of New Harmony remained intact as a municipal entity following Owen's departure, and the physical structures, which were remnants of the Harmonist era (1814–1824), continued to function as intended. No longer encumbered by his former business partner, Maclure emerged as New Harmony's *de facto* leader and guided the town's remaining residents through the initial phase of the post-Community era.

Between 1827 and his death in 1840, Maclure funded two major institutions at New Harmony, through which he integrated his interest in education, expertise in the geology, and commitment to social reform. In 1827, he established the School of Industry, which provided vocational training to its students and operated a printing press on which educational and scientific materials of various lengths were published.¹⁵⁸ Then, in his crowning achievement of 1838, he founded the Working Men's Institute, which was one of 160 such innovative organizations across Indiana and Illinois designed to provide reading materials and useful information to those who "worked with their hands."¹⁵⁹ New Harmony's WMI was unique for

¹⁵⁸ For example, the press was responsible for printing New Harmony's primary source of local, regional, and national news, *The Disseminator*, from 1828 to 1841, which dovetailed with and eventually superseded the *New Harmony Gazette*. Between 1830 and 1834, the press issued Thomas Say's *American Conchology*, and in return for Maclure's support, Say dedicated the work to Maclure as a "small, but sincere, tribute of respect and friendship." At the time of Say's death in 1834, six parts of *American Conchology* had been published. The seventh would be published posthumously in 1837. In 1832, Maclure's own research was published by the press. See William Maclure, *Essay on the Formation of Rocks, or, an Inquiry into the Probable Origin of Their Present Form and Structure* (New Harmony: School Press, 1832); *Observations on the Geology of the West India Islands: From Barbadoes to Santa Cruz, Inclusive* (New Harmony: School Press, 1832). See also Rena Reese, "Pamphlets in a Special Collection in the Library of the Workingmen's Institute, New Harmony, Ind.," (New Harmony 1909), 9.

¹⁵⁹ See correspondence between William Maclure and William Amphlett, July 5, 1838, and September 30, 1838, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812–1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 50, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Each of these institutions had been given \$500 from Maclure's estate and charged with the purchase of books for local residents.

two reasons: first, Maclure's own books formed a substantial part of the collection (with the stipulation that a circulation record be kept) and second, it is the only WMI that has continued to stay open throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.¹⁶⁰ Maclure's initiatives and financial support reinvigorated New Harmony during the post-Community era, and the town emerged as a significant center for educational advancements and scientific inquiry, for which it has received much scholarly attention.¹⁶¹

Meanwhile, New Harmony maintained its commitment to well-regulated amusements.¹⁶² Despite its small population, which typically hovered around 1,000 people throughout the antebellum, New Harmony was able to support four stock companies consecutively, and smaller performing groups intermittently, each of which featured local talent. In addition, by the mid-nineteenth century, the instrumental ensembles that had accompanied the theatrical productions became known for their stand-alone concerts and performances at public events. An analysis of these productions reveals that New Harmony's organizations exhibited knowledge of and followed the contemporary trends sweeping the nation in theatrical and musical programming.

¹⁶⁰ See correspondence between Alexander Maclure and Charles White, April 24, 1838, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812–1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 49, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Elliott, "William Maclure: Patron Saint of Indiana Libraries," Appendix I and II. New Harmony's Working Men's Institute is Indiana's oldest, continuously operating library, and it houses artifacts, manuscripts, books, and town records from the Harmonist, Owenite, and post-Community eras.

¹⁶¹ Although the facets of Maclure's project have been treated as separate entities, their long-term success and application were predicated on their integration. See Markes E. Johnson, "The Parallel Impacts of William Maclure and Amos Eaton on American Geology, Education, and Public Service," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (1998); Ian MacPhail and Marjorie Sutton, "William Maclure as Publisher in the New Harmony Reform Tradition," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (1998); Josephine Mirabella Elliott, "William Maclure: Patron Saint of Indiana Libraries," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (1998).

¹⁶² Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 248. The continuity of these amusements will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

With this steady stream of entertainment, New Harmony also became an important point of cultural contact in southwestern Indiana, as mobility for regional patrons was enhanced by innovations in water and rail transportation technology. Moreover, the town's theatrical troupes and accompanying ensembles were able to go on tour in Posey County and throughout the tristate region. Through these sojourns, New Harmony's performers introduced audiences at the edge of the frontier to popular modes of entertainment. In addition, New Harmony's performing organizations leveraged entertainment value for beneficent purposes, thereby embedding themselves further into the fabric of the community.

In spite of this extensive cultural activity, New Harmony's post-Community history has been dominated by accounts of the town's educational and scientific endeavors. By virtue of their combined efforts, Maclure and his ANSP colleagues developed and their cultivation of the next generation of scientists, whose contributions then transcended New Harmony's town borders. Indeed, as noted in the January 3, 1874, issue of the *New Harmony Register*, over the course of the post-Community era's first fifty years, details of the early well-regulated amusements had faded from the memories of the townspeople.¹⁶³ Ironically, it would be one of the most important practitioners to emerge from New Harmony's legendary school of geology, Edward Travers Cox, who would call attention to a third, and underexplored, aspect of the town's history—its robust cultural life.

In 1874, Cox submitted a letter to Charles W. Slater, the editor of the town's current newspaper—the *New Harmony Register*, in which he reflected on the "remarkable combination of talent, which was concentrated at the beautiful village of New Harmony, as far back as the

¹⁶³ See "A Record of Theatricals and Theaters in New Harmony from the Organization of the First Thespian Society in 1827, to the Present Time," *New Harmony Register* (January 3, 1874).

year 1826, when the philanthropist Robert Owen, and the wealthy patron of science William Maclure gathered around them the liberal-minded and earnest advocates of human progress."¹⁶⁴ Cox, who was celebrated in his own right for his meticulous, ten-volume report on Indiana's natural resources, reminisced about the outstanding contributions made to the natural sciences by his influential predecessors at New Harmony, including William Maclure and his associates from the ANSP—Thomas Say, Gerard Troost, and Charles Lesueur—and his former mentor, David Dale Owen.¹⁶⁵ He added to this list of "illustrious names" Phiquepal d'Arusmont, a Pestalozzian Method practitioner who had taught in Maclure's schools in France and New Harmony, and d'Arusmont's wife, Frances Wright, an abolitionist and devotee of Owen who had served as editor of the *New Harmony Gazette* in 1828.

His letter was a response to the *New Harmony Register's* 1874 column "A Record: Of Theatricals and Theaters in New Harmony from the Organization of the First Thespian Society in 1827, to the Present Time,"—hereafter, "A Record."¹⁶⁶ He had "read with much interest the notes published in the ["A Record"] giving a historical sketch of the drama in New Harmony."¹⁶⁷ The column was designed "to give, wherever the same can be obtained, the bill of each performance

¹⁶⁴ Edward T. Cox, "Letter to the Editor," *New Harmony Register*, January 24, 1874.

¹⁶⁵ W. S. Blatchley, "A Century of Geology in Indiana," *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 32 (1916), 143. Cox's report comprised 2954 pages. Cox's biography fits neatly in the intellectual history of New Harmony's post-Community era. His family was one of the first to settle in the Community of Equality in 1826, and young Edward began his schooling there at the age of five. His inquisitive nature was nurtured by local intellectuals, and he gained professional training by assisting on the geological surveys of Kentucky and Arkansas (under the supervision of David Dale Owen, the younger brother of Robert Dale and William Owen). Following in his mentor's footsteps, Cox was named the State Geologist of Indiana in 1869, a position he held until 1879. See Johnson, "The Parallel Impacts of William Maclure and Amos Eaton on American Geology, Education, and Public Service," 159.

¹⁶⁶ *New Harmony Register*, January 3, 1874.

¹⁶⁷ Edward T. Cox, "Letter to the Editor," *New Harmony Register*, January 24, 1874.

and the cast of characters."¹⁶⁸ Its first issue provided an overview to the difficulties of such an endeavor: "In writing up a sketch of the old-time theatricals, there are many missing links that cannot be supplied, as of those connected with the first organization but few are now with us, and the local newspaper of that day was singularly and unfortunately reticent regarding all local news, contenting itself with the briefest mention of home theatricals."¹⁶⁹

The "local newspaper of that day," to which the column referred, was the *New Harmony Gazette*, whose inaugural issue, as mentioned earlier, had been published on October 1, 1825. During its first nineteen months of operation—namely, when the Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality were active, nearly every issue contained at least one of Robert Owen's essays or addresses on the front page, in which he continued to promote his "New System." In the interior of each issue, readers would find coverage of national and international events and an occasional discussion of important regional issues. These pages were sometimes interspersed with announcements and assessments of innovative devices designed to increase domestic and agricultural productivity. Yet neither the *New Harmony Gazette*, nor any of New Harmony's subsequent antebellum newspapers, including *The Disseminator* (1828–1841), the *Indiana Statesman* (1842–1846), the *Western Atlas* (1846–1847), *The Gleaner* (1848–1849), or the *New Harmony Advertiser* (1858–1861), reported regularly or in depth on issues of cultural import.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ *New Harmony Gazette*, January 3, 1874.

¹⁶⁹ *New Harmony Gazette*, January 3, 1874.

¹⁷⁰ In his overview to these newspapers, Brian Sajko draws attention to efforts of the final editor of the *Disseminator*, who had just begun to "take notice of the Thespian Society just before, in December of 1840, it ceased publication." Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 8. It should be noted, however, that the original version of *The Disseminator*—that is, the one founded by Maclure and overseen by his ANSP associates, especially Thomas Say—ceased publication in June 1831, due to Say's illness, which resulted in his death in October 1834. See Warren, 246. The first issue of *The Disseminator: The New Series* was published on June 18, 1834, by which time Maclure had relocated permanently to Mexico and Fretageot had died in August 1833 while visiting Maclure at his new residence. After *The Disseminator: The New Series* ceased

In contrast, when the *New Harmony Register* was founded in 1867, it accomplished what no other local newspaper had done to date: it drew its readers' attention to the historical significance of their town and sought to ensure that readers possessed a fundamental understanding of the ideologies on which the town was based. With an interest in cultural events, the *Register* printed numerous advertisements, announcements, playbills, blurbs, reviews, letters to the editor, and articles about cultural events, both in New Harmony and the surrounding tristate region, which comprised Southwestern Indiana, Northwestern Kentucky, and Southeastern Illinois. In addition, it combined extensive local coverage with copious regional and national news, as well as a forum for opinion pieces on topics such as morality, education, and culture. In so doing, the *Register's* discourse reflected the intellectual and cultural center that New Harmony had become.

Over the course of its six-month run in 1874, "A Record"—chronicled productions of the town's theatrical organizations for which documentation or a current citizen's recollection existed. The first organization, the New Harmony Thespian Society, was founded in 1827 by

publication, over a quarter of a century would pass before another local paper (the *New Harmony Register*) would survive long enough to provide detailed information about New Harmony's continually evolving cultural history. In the intervening years, several short-lived publications were attempted. For example, the *Indiana Statesman* ran from 1842 until March 1846. While it printed announcements for meetings of the Thespian Society, it rarely included any critiques or reviews of performances or musical concerts. Brian Sajko notes that for the first nine months of 1845, the *Indiana Statesman* provided no information about the Thespian Society's activities. See Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 8. New Harmony bandsman James Bennett edited *Western Atlas* (1846–1847), which occasionally printed commentary on performances (and which will be cited in Chapter 3), and *The Gleaner* (1848–1849), but his two entities folded, as well, due to insufficient support. See "Bennett, James." Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Thereafter, New Harmony had no newspapers until 1858, when the *New Harmony Advertiser* began its three-year run (until 1861). When the *Advertiser* folded, the August 13, 1861, issue of the *Evansville Daily Journal* printed the following announcement: "The *New Harmony Advertiser* has suspended. The hands in the office have gone to war."

Robert Owen's son William Owen, and it lasted for twenty years, even after William Owen's death in 1842. In 1847, the organization was renamed the New Harmony Dramatic Association, and it proceeded under the directorship of William F. Pritchard. In 1850, the town's productions came to a temporary halt when several colleagues from New Harmony travelled westward toward California as part of the American gold rush.¹⁷¹ Once they returned, Pritchard resumed theatrical productions on December 22, 1855, with his new group, the New Harmony Thespians. This group was popular and garnered enough financial support to remodel the building in which the town's performances had been held. As the construction was underway, Pritchard's Thespians announced their new configuration as the Dramatic Association in 1857. For each of these organizations' productions, "A Record" included, when possible, the *dramatis personae* and information about the scenery and building in which the show was held. In most cases, the presence of music was confirmed, but the quantity of coverage on the musical details varied.

Cox's letter helped to contextualize this steady stream of performances by revealing that the townspeople "found themselves surrounded by a wilderness and cut off from the varied life of a city, to which many had previously been accustomed. Thus situated, they were determined to build a theater for the purpose of affording rational amusement during the hours allotted for relaxation from labor in the fields, workshops, and publishing and engraving establishments."¹⁷²

At first glance, the purpose of William Owen's Thespian Society—to provide amusement—

¹⁷¹ The March 7, 1874, issue of "A Record" reported that the "California fever . . . made sad havoc in the ranks of the Thespians—many of them in the spring of 1850, starting overland for the newly discovered land of gold." It remains unclear if and when Pritchard joined his fellow thespians in California. Documents held in New Harmony Series VI (Legal Documents), Folder 36 (1851–1859) indicate that he was involved in local transactions that resulted in deeds dated September 13, 1852 (for two lots of land), August 28, 1854, and October 28, 1854.

¹⁷² Edward Travers Cox Jr., "Letter to the Editor," *New Harmony Register*, January 24, 1874.

seemed simple, and from its inception in 1827, his venture was enthusiastically supported by the Stockholders of the New Harmony Theatre, which had been tasked with providing "a staple [sic] backing for the undertaking."¹⁷³ The Stockholders, including Cox's parents, were "composed of a number of the leading citizens of the town, generally the heads of families, and its purpose was to procure and suitably fit up a building for theatrical purposes. A liberal amount was subscribed and paid in by these stockholders, the only known return for which was the issue of stockholder's tickets entitling the owner thereof and family to admittance to all performances."¹⁷⁴

"A Record" posited "that they succeeded in their praiseworthy endeavors is attested by the few remaining older citizens of our town who remember the crowded houses and liberal applause which greeted the appearance of these pioneer Thespians."¹⁷⁵ This success was defined further through the extensive documentation that the *New Harmony Register* printed in this column, which, in turn, uncovered three important characteristics—variety, mobility, and beneficence—that defined New Harmony's cultural life over the four decades following the collapse of the Community of Equality.

In the process of carrying out this vital historiographical task, the *New Harmony Register's* "A Record" provided the information necessary to frame New Harmony's cultural output within the larger antebellum context, as these three characteristics—variety, mobility, and beneficence—typified many of the antebellum theatrical, musical-theatrical, and musical organizations then in circulation. "A Record" also positioned the work of the Thespian Society as a logical extension of Robert Owen's well-regulated amusements: "for a period of years covering

¹⁷³ Laura S. Hostetter, "New Harmony Told in Story: Interesting Features That Made New Harmony Historic Being Written," *The New Harmony Times*, May 22, 1914.

¹⁷⁴ *New Harmony Register*, January 3, 1874.

¹⁷⁵ *New Harmony Register*, January 3, 1874.

nearly half a century, New Harmony has been noted for the quantity and excellence of its home amusements, chiefest among which have been its amateur theatrical entertainments."¹⁷⁶ But it overlooked key, and possibly surprising, evidence—namely, two essays printed in the *New Harmony Gazette*—which identified, explicitly and purposely, the values of theater and theatrical productions and tied these values inextricably to the ideologies that kept New Harmony afloat throughout the post-Community era of the antebellum.¹⁷⁷

New Evidence in Support of Well-Regulated Amusements

Most notably, the first essay was authored by William Maclure. In the month following the Community's collapse and Owen's return to Europe, Maclure ushered in the post-Community era by writing a series of twenty-five essays on the importance and application of education, in which he described in great detail what he considered to be productive and useful subjects for knowledge. Despite the tension that had existed between Maclure and Robert Owen, the *New Harmony Gazette's* current editor William Owen readily published the entire series, beginning on June 20, 1827.¹⁷⁸ Maclure's opinions on other subjects, such as fear and slavery, had been printed previously in the *Gazette*, but by virtue of this series, Maclure seized the opportunity to flex his intellectual muscle and demonstrate the integrity of his plan for social reform.

¹⁷⁶ *New Harmony Register*, January 3, 1874.

¹⁷⁷ Neither Sluder nor Sajko references William Maclure, "Our Theatres as well as Courts of Justice Under British Influence," *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 1: 117. Previously published in *New Harmony Gazette*, November 28, 1827. Sajko does cite the unattributed article in the February 13, 1828, issue of the *Gazette*. See Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 45-46.

¹⁷⁸ Maclure reprinted his series in his own newspaper, *The Disseminator*, in 1828 and eventually in his hefty three-volume tome, *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers*, 3 vols. (New Harmony: IN, 1831-1838).

This series expressed the similarities in ideology that had originally brought Maclure and Owen together, but for the *Gazette's* readers, who were emerging from an environment of political upheaval at New Harmony, Maclure's lengthy discourse underscored the differences in their execution and his own determination to transition from ideology to praxis. For those who might have felt misled by Owen's rationale for learning and its relationship to social edification and compliancy, Maclure clarified his own position, noting that education fell into "two species, like mankind; that is, the productive and non-productive, the useful and ornamental, the necessary and &c."¹⁷⁹ His list of productive and useful subjects reflected those that were rooted in nature, which he and his scientific colleagues of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia had woven into New Harmony's intellectual fabric, such as botany, drawing, geology, mineralogy, and zoology.

In the penultimate essay of November 28, 1827, Maclure shifted away from his typical mini-treatise on scientific subjects to issue a statement on the necessity of theater for modern life. On the surface, this topic seemed to fall outside the scope of his series' narrative, but according to Maclure, theater, like the various modes of scientific inquiry, provided valuable opportunities for self and communal improvement and instruction. He expounded theater's ameliorative properties by referencing the tradition of Athenian theater, which he deemed "the corrector of all the corruption and vice of the great and influential, by ridicule," and argued that the masses, to whom he referred in other writings as the "Governed," could transform their lives by following the examples set by the characters in the play.¹⁸⁰ Maclure may have seen a play's value as

¹⁷⁹ William Maclure, "Education," *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 1: 48. Previously published in *New Harmony Gazette*, June 20, 1827.

¹⁸⁰ William Maclure, "Our Theatres as well as Courts of Justice Under British Influence," *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony: School Press, 1831), 1: 117. Previously published in *New Harmony Gazette*, November 28, 1827.

embedded in the individual behaviors and interpersonal relationships among characters rather than dependent solely on the play's overarching theme or storyline.

Maclure noted that, in more recent times, theater had been appropriated by the European aristocracy to validate its own actions, and he warned of the consequences of promoting such rhetoric in the United States. Thus, he urged his readers to support "free theatre," through which audience members would be prompted to emulate virtuous conduct and scorn immorality.

[I]n a society ruled by the millions of productive laborers, what promotes the luxury and extravagance of the consumers, is not much in favor of the producers, nor is it probable that plays, written for the amusement of the idle, can be useful to the industrious in this country. To reap any advantage from our free theatre, we ought to lash the vices of the age, and cover with ridicule and opprobrium, all actions, customs, habits or opinions, that militate against the comfort and happiness of the millions.

Maclure posited that theatrical productions provided an ideal situation for audiences to witness the advantages and impact of civil behavior on their daily lives. By learning from staged examples, audience members were more likely to remember and replicate what they saw, and in so doing, they strove to reproduce such positive outcomes for themselves and their immediate environs. In his essay, he emphasized the relationship that individuals have with their surrounding social spheres, which may have been of particular relevance to readers in New Harmony who were reestablishing their community in the absence of the former Community of Equality strictures. He went on to say that:

[m]ost nations, as well as individuals, lose much of their time in detracting and criticising the faults of their neighbors, which produces nothing but ill-will and disputes. Were they to take half the labor to copy the good qualities of those around them, they would greatly benefit themselves, and promote a friendly and sociable intercourse, which is the base of all strength, kindness and happiness in society, and is the only foundation of confidence, without which all associations of men are only a rope of sand.

Maclure also recognized the didactic potential of theatrical productions and argued for "grafting utility upon them," which would "strew the necessarily rugged path of life with flowers."¹⁸¹

According to his rationale, plays are amusements that have the potential to instruct, and as such, they constitute trial runs for real-life situations, through which audience members consider what they would do "if they were" in a similar situation. As his essay indicates, Maclure believed theater to be productive, useful, and necessary, which were the requisite conditions for his endorsement. His assessment demonstrated that theater did, in fact, operate at the intersection of amusement, improvement, and instruction, which the *Gazette* would soon state as the "three desirable objects" of the New Harmony Thespian Society, and consequently, it wielded significant potential as a mechanism through which amelioration could be enacted.¹⁸² In his concluding remarks, Maclure emphasized the contrast between esoteric and useful knowledge—the former, as conveyed through universities, and the latter as lessons gleaned experientially and practiced in the natural world.¹⁸³ "Those who have been most useful to their species, have not been educated in universities or colleges, and those few who have made any figure in the world, who have spent some time in such institutions, owed their utility to some fortuitous circumstances, which surrounded them after they left college. The best informed, and most useful men in all countries that I have had access to, have been those that educated themselves."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ William Maclure, "Our Theatres," 118-119.

¹⁸² *New Harmony Gazette*, February 13, 1827.

¹⁸³ Maclure's essay appeared in print under William Owen's editorship, just as the latter was forming the Thespian Society.

¹⁸⁴ William Maclure, "Our Theatres," 120.

The second essay, which was an unsigned editorial piece dated February 13, 1828, noted that "dramatic representations" were rare events in this region of the United States, but their reputation for "mislead[ing] the judgment of the youthful or casual observer" was well known.

What is still more common, sentiments and conduct which unquestionably are erroneous and of evil tendency, or to say the least, are foolish and ridiculous, are but too often held up as examples worthy our admiration and imitation, because they happened to be in unison with the prejudices, practices or fashions of the day in which the author lived and wrote. In addition to this, there are a large number of dramatic pieces, composed by writers, lacking alike wit and satire, and ignorant of human nature, which they seek to describe, whose productions therefore are both insipid and injurious. Those then who are desirous of receiving and affording at once pleasure and instruction from the drama, must be contented to select but comparatively few pieces out the vast variety which will present themselves, which will not require curtailment and alteration or amendment in many points,—a task which will demand patient attention, a sound judgment, and a ready pen of the censor who undertakes it.¹⁸⁵

In this rare commentary on the town's cultural events, the *Gazette* framed the Society's intentions within the widespread contemporary debate on the virtues of theatre rather than merely announcing the inaugural season. For example, in the 1820s, many Americans associated theatre with vice and moral depravity, and east-coast newspapers encouraged upstanding citizens to resist the temptations of "so great an evil"¹⁸⁶ of this "notorious corrupter of public morals."¹⁸⁷ The *Gazette* went on to point out that the New Harmony Thespian Society, which had just been founded weeks prior, countered these misconceptions and offered new "views, prospects, and progress":

¹⁸⁵ *New Harmony Gazette*, February 13, 1828. Although Sajko does quote from this article, the excerpt quoted above is not included in Sajko's text. Moreover, Sajko notes the author's "definite knowledge of the dramatic arts" and claims that he (the author) "seems to be calling for something more challenging than melodrama." See Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 45-46.

¹⁸⁶ C.M., "The Theatre," *New York Telescope*, October 6, 1827. Previously printed in the *New York Observer*.

¹⁸⁷ "Miscellaneous Communications: A Letter to Respectable Ladies who Frequent the Theatre," *Christian Spectator* (New Haven, CT), August 1, 1827.

[Managers of the Thespian Society] also conceive that their performances may be made the means of conveying instruction and inculcating correct principles, by holding to view in their true colors, the errors, and the vices of mankind; that a happy representation of the follies and absurdities which characterize the actions and conduct of a great portion of our race, affords pleasure and amusement to the spectator, and while it presents the means of present gratification, impresses more forcibly on the mind the ridicule or disgust which will necessarily be experienced by others, should they view in our conduct, follies or peculiarities similar to those they have been accustomed to laugh at on the stage. The Thespian Society thus hopes to unite at once three desirable objects, improvement, instruction and amusement.¹⁸⁸

These objects reflected the ideology that had undergirded Robert Owen's two social experiments at New Harmony. Indeed, Owen had used education as a means to improve one's character—that is, to develop a well-formed mind, and to combat ignorance—that is, to cultivate a well-informed mind.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, he had argued that neither improvement nor instruction was fully effective if one's situation were not palatable; thus, he had insisted that his followers have access to the well-regulated amusements of music and dancing to enhance their quality of life. But, as evidenced in the lesser-known essay by Maclure, the Society's objects reflected his ideology, as well.

By the time this second essay appeared in the *New Harmony Gazette*, Maclure had launched the inaugural issue of his own newspaper, *The Disseminator*, on January 16, 1828. It "contain[ed] hints to the youth of the United States from the School of Industry [at New Harmony]," aimed to provide "observations on the possibility of improving practical education . . . [and] endeavor[ed] to prove that children can educate, clothe, and feed themselves by their own

¹⁸⁸ *New Harmony Gazette*, February 13, 1828. This particular excerpt is quoted in Sajko's text as part of a larger excerpt that also discusses scenery.

¹⁸⁹ The terms "well-formed mind" and "well-informed mind" were employed by Robert Owen in his address titled "New-Harmony Sunday Meeting for Instruction in the New-System. August 20, 1826," which was published in the August 23, 1826, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*.

labor when judiciously applied to produce articles of real value." Beginning with this first issue, *The Disseminator* reprinted Maclure's series on education. His piece on theater appeared on November 5, 1828, alongside reports from Mexico and Europe and new articles whose subject matter could be deemed useful, as "utility shall be the scale on which we shall endeavor to measure the value of everything."¹⁹⁰ These writings frequently featured issues of health and well-being, politics and government, and the discoveries made by the nation's foremost scientists. Although Maclure had declared theater useful, his newspaper, in following the precedent set by the *Gazette*, did not report regularly or at length about New Harmony's cultural events during the post-Community era.

For ten months in 1828, the *Gazette* and *The Disseminator* were published simultaneously, with the former issued every week and the latter issued twice a month. During this period of overlap, New Harmony witnessed a shift among the editors at the *Gazette*, which resulted in its relocation to New York. Prior to this shift, however, William Owen's sole editorship had spanned nearly ten months, thereby dovetailing with the collapse of the Community of Equality and coinciding with three major events at New Harmony: his father's departure, his establishment of the New Harmony Thespian Society, and the publication of Maclure's series of twenty-five essays—including the latter's positive assessment of theater.¹⁹¹ William Owen also oversaw the publication on February 13, 1828, of the unsigned piece that

¹⁹⁰ *The Disseminator*, January 16, 1828.

¹⁹¹ William Owen had overseen the *Gazette* from May 16, 1827, to March 5, 1828, at which point, Robert Dale Owen joined him until mid-June of that year. For the month spanning mid-June to mid-July of 1828, Robert Dale Owen left the editorial team temporarily and was replaced by radical thinker Frances Wright. Frances Wright continued in this role, beginning in July, with Robert Dale Owen until October of that year when they moved the newspaper to New York and renamed it the *Free Enquirer*. The *Free Enquirer* remained in print until 1835, but due to the relocation and renaming of the *Gazette*, Maclure's *Disseminator* became the town's primary source of knowledge, albeit intermittently, from the end of 1828 to 1841.

countered misconceptions about theater and offered new "views, prospects, and progress" on behalf of the New Harmony Thespian Society's managers. The conclusion of this piece raises questions as to its authorship and whether William Owen, as founder of the Thespian Society and current editor of the *Gazette*, had any say in its publication: "It was our intention to have closed these remarks by an extract from the pen of a Correspondent, a member of the Thespian Society, explanatory of its views, prospects, and progress, but as we discover that the observations it contains and the information it exhibits, would be nearly a repetition of what has been embodied in the preceding observations, we take our leave of the Society for the present, by wishing it all the success its exertions may merit."¹⁹²

Like Maclure, the essay's unknown author encouraged readers to acknowledge the power embedded in free speech and noted that effective oration before a willing audience was a powerful skill. The essay stated that:

The objects of the Society appear to be laudable. To learn to appear before a public audience, free and unconstrained, and to deliver their own or others' sentiments whenever it may become necessary, without embarrassment, in that impressive manner and with that fluency of diction, which rivets the attention and excites the feelings, and which practice can only bestow; to free themselves from the awkward and disagreeable situation in which everyone feels himself placed, who for the first time finds himself called upon to express in public his opinions or ideas—in short, to qualify themselves for public speaking, appears to be with them a primary object.¹⁹³

This unsigned *Gazette* article further solidified the usefulness of theater as a means of self-improvement and social edification during New Harmony's post-Community era, as it echoed sentiments first expressed by Maclure—namely, the audience learned by emulating the staged experiences and the actors benefited from opportunities to develop their skills in oratory. Because the author's identity remains unknown, additional connections between the *Gazette's*

¹⁹² *New Harmony Gazette*, February 13, 1828.

¹⁹³ *New Harmony Gazette*, February 13, 1828.

position on theater under William Owen's editorship and Owen's Thespian Society are, regrettably, unconfirmed.

Well-Regulated Amusements: Ideologies of Owen and Maclure Coalesce

Taken together, however, these two essays—Maclure's "Our Theatres as well as Courts of Justice Under British Influence" and the unsigned essay of February 13, 1828—help to establish that Robert Owen and Maclure were in agreement over the ideological foundations on which well-regulated amusements were implemented and sustained in New Harmony. In no other project, educational endeavor, scientific pursuit, or general aspect in the town's post-Community era, have the foundational ideals of Owen and Maclure coalesced to preserve the identity of New Harmony as consistently and over such a wide swath of time. Whereas Owen emphasized the process of coming together as a community to experience a well-regulated amusement, Maclure underscored the usefulness of the amusement, which, in the case of theater, was embodied in its content, expressed through its oral delivery, and received as a staged lesson. In the earliest stages of the post-Community era, theatrical productions provided the ideal medium through which their ideals could be practiced by and sustained through the efforts of many citizens, rather than a select few, as was the case in the educational and scientific pursuits. Over time, the theatrical productions by New Harmony's townspeople broadened in scope, content, and reach, and eventually showcased the two original well-regulated amusements of music and dance. By continuing to express interest in theater and other well-regulated amusements, the townspeople mobilized an edifying force arguably more important and with greater longitudinal implications for the town's identity, maintenance, and continued efflorescence than those prevalent in the dominant, two-pronged historical assessment. This third

prong of New Harmony's post-Community era—its cultural life—provides the vital link, both chronologically and ideologically, between the well-regulated amusements of the Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality and the abundant and well-documented cultural activity of the postbellum era.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Maclure's commentary on theater appears to be confined to the aforementioned essay that was published in the November 28, 1827, issue of the *Gazette*, reprinted in the November 5, 1828, issue of the *Disseminator*, and printed again in the first volume of *Opinions on Various Subjects*.

CHAPTER 3

New Harmony's Post-Community Era: 1827–1860

Just ten days after the *New Harmony Gazette* published its strong endorsement of the New Harmony Thespian Society and its objectives, the Society opened its first season on February 23, 1828. Thus, with the principled support of the *Gazette*, the financial backing of the stockholders of the New Harmony Theatre, and William Maclure's positive testimonial on theater's attributes, William Owen and the Society launched what would become an uninterrupted, twenty-two-year run of performances, through which New Harmony's historical commitment to well-regulated amusements would be kept alive.¹ In so doing, the Society, its successor organizations, and their musical ensembles perpetuated a key component of Robert Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind"—namely the blend of amusements with industry and study—long after the collapse of his utopian experiment.²

New Harmony's remaining citizens may have been surprised initially at William Owen's turn to the theater in the early days of the post-Community era, as Robert Owen had never indicated, either at New Lanark or New Harmony, that theater was considered as vital to happiness and productivity as music and dance. Given that William Owen and his brother, Robert Dale Owen, had received training in music and dance, it would be reasonable to assume that, on the one hand, after choosing to remain in New Harmony, they would have continued, or reinstated, the series of weekly balls and concerts, which had been so popular at their father's communities. This assumption is complicated by Claude Sluder, who asserts that musical

¹ These performances were interrupted in 1850 by the gold rush but resumed in 1855 and continued, through various iterations, until World War I.

² *New Harmony Gazette*, October 29, 1825.

activities "flourished" in New Harmony between the collapse of the Community of Equality and the end of the Civil War.³ Yet, the majority of his concrete examples are taken, necessarily, from between 1835 and 1865 because, as the *New Harmony Register* complained in the first installment of its 1874 retrospective column "A Record," the *New Harmony Gazette* "rarely contained above twenty lines of local matter in each issue."⁴ In addition, no scores or librettos appear to have survived from the antebellum, and Sluder had restricted the scope of his work "to that music which exists in copies found in New Harmony."⁵

On the other hand, the change in leadership at New Harmony may have prompted the Owen brothers to reevaluate how they could use amusements to revitalize the town's sense of community. As evident in the joint statement they had issued in the *Gazette* regarding their father's failure, they recognized that their father had not been able to accommodate the diverse needs of the "mixed and unassorted population" assembled at New Harmony, and as a result, the Community had fragmented along ideological lines. But they must have also seen some potential

³ Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 23.

⁴ *New Harmony Register*, January 3, 1874. The *Disseminator* had ceased publication in 1831 and was not resurrected until 1834.

⁵ Sluder references the early to mid-nineteenth-century performance practices in American theater, which have been investigated in great detail by music and theater historians (including David Grimsted, Bruce A. McConachie, Katherine Preston, Anne Dhu Shapiro McLucas, Daniel Ennis, Judith Bailey Slagley, Michael Pisani, among others), whereby theatrical productions were typically rendered with music. But, given the scope of his project, Sluder does not go into any detail regarding any particular play performed by the Society between 1828 and 1834. He notes that he was only able to find copies of three plays from this period, and of these, only one—Robert Dale Owen's *Pocahontas*—was mentioned in the abbreviated list printed in the January 10, 1874, installment of "A Record," which attempts to retrace the Society's activities from this initial seven-year period of the post-Community era. With respect to live musical performances beyond the theatrical domain, Sluder references musical programs that took place at New Harmony's St. Stephen's Episcopal church, but, as mentioned in the October 14 and October 21, 1841, issues of the *Disseminator*, this congregation was not formed until 1841. Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 258, 266. It remains unclear as to whether the church had any opinions on secular musical activities.

in the intellectual pursuits of Maclure, with which they were familiar following the publication of Maclure's series of essays in the *Gazette*. As such, they would have known that Maclure had strayed from his focus on scientific and educational issues only once during his two years in New Harmony—in order to extol the benefits of theater. In addition, by highlighting theater's utilitarian features, Maclure demonstrated that theater was, in fact, in alignment with his own outlook, even though theater could be considered a leisure activity, much as Owen had regarded music and dance. In response, William Owen, possibly with the support of his brother, may have leveraged Maclure's approval of theater to advance their father's agenda, without compromising their relationship with Maclure, and to provide numerous opportunities for New Harmony's citizens to participate in reestablishing their sense of community.

The concept of participation, and by extension, equality, is integral to Brian Sajko's discussion of the rationale behind establishing the Thespian Society. He proposes that "an established theatre in New Harmony was not simply a sign of civilization (or achieving the status of a 'town' as it was in most cities on the frontier), but a part of the egalitarian and republican beliefs central to the new nation," thereby invoking what theatre historian Rosemarie Bank would later call the "three antebellum spaces of representation"—that is, the village or town, the city, and the frontier.⁶ In his study, Sajko focuses on the link between the town's thespian

⁶ Brian Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 39-40. Sajko proposes three influences on the establishment of the Thespian Society, including the presence of intellectuals in New Harmony, the existence of dramatic associations in the nearby cities (such as Vincennes, the first capital of the Indiana Territory), and the existence of theatrical activities at Orbiston. Orbiston was an Owenite community founded near Glasgow, Scotland, in 1825 by Abram Combe. The community operated from 1825 to 1828, and its theater could hold three hundred people. For information about Orbiston, see J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, 158. Sajko argues that Robert Owen intended to "establish a theatrical tradition" at New Harmony but his plans were delayed due to the internal conflicts at the Community. See Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 41-42. Rosemarie K. Bank, *Theatre Culture in America, 1825-1860*, Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

activities and two of Robert Owen's principles—namely, the "equality of the sexes" and "abolition of the social classes," which were central to the Community of Equality's constitution.⁷ He argues that by virtue of theater's "communitarian nature," New Harmony's thespians and citizens were able to remain connected to the "utopian foundation" of the town.⁸

By expanding Sajko's general reference to New Harmony's "utopian foundation," this chapter draws direct connections between the ideologies expressed by Robert Owen and Maclure and the underlying intentions of William Owen (and others) during the post-Community era. As such, theater is reconsidered as part of a larger practice by which New Harmony's foundational principles continued to undergird the community between the collapse of the Community of Equality and the onset of the Civil War. This chapter departs from Sajko's reception history of individual plays to consider how theatrical productions offered, over the course of the antebellum, increasing opportunities for music and dance, both in conjunction with and as an outgrowth of these productions, and in so doing, became important sites for community building.

Indeed, as a close reading of the mainpieces performed in New Harmony between 1828 and 1834 reveals, almost all of the scripts contained some mention of music—namely, a cue for melodramatic music, an incipit of a popular song, the lyrics for a song written specifically for the play, or a reference to an instrument or musical concept integral to the plot. But neither "A Record" nor Sajko acknowledged the presence of music in the New Harmony Thespian Society's productions until 1835. This seven-year period was glossed over by Sluder, who, without providing specific examples, merely stated that "given the theatrical practices of the period, I feel

⁷ The full text of the constitution is available in the February 15, 1826, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*.

⁸ Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," iv.

it unlikely that music was not present in earlier productions."⁹ In response, this chapter also employs Sluder's assessment as a point of departure, from which a reconstruction of this initial seven-year period of the post-Community era is attempted in order to evaluate the extent to which theatrical productions provided a new space for musicmaking to occur. Based on the copious textual references, it seems highly unlikely that the majority of these mainpieces could have been performed effectively without music; as a result, this assertion helps to fill in a notable gap in New Harmony's musical history.

The first section of this chapter interrogates how William Owen's New Harmony Thespian Society functioned as a vehicle through which Robert Owen's ideology was perpetuated during this initial period of the post-Community era. The reconstruction and analysis of New Harmony's life between 1828 and 1834 proves challenging given the marginalization of local issues by the press, which is, in fact, puzzling considering William Owen's dual roles as editor of the *Gazette* and founder of the Thespian Society and Maclure's reported support of theater. Nevertheless, as this chapter will demonstrate, William Owen's initial efforts were critical to maintaining a sense of continuity in the town's cultural life. In addition, an overview of Owen's repertoire selections indicates that he was familiar with playwrights whose works were already popular among contemporary American rural and urban theater audiences, and, in staging their plays in New Harmony, he may have helped to connect the post-utopian community to other sites of cultural production and spaces of representation.

In the next section of this chapter, the cultural life of New Harmony is reframed in terms of its relationship with the educational models originally set forth by Owen and Maclure. Indeed, by the mid-1830s, the dynamics among Maclure, his acolytes, and the Owen family had changed,

⁹ Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 262.

but it is during the following period of the post-Community era (ca. 1834–1847) that New Harmony's relevance in the history of American music education becomes evident. The town also emerges an important site of cultural exchange with the increase in the variety of available amusements. The final section of the chapter argues that through consistent engagement with well-regulated amusements, the citizens of New Harmony not only reforged their previously fractured sense of community but, by the Civil War, had reinforced the town's reputation as a center for cultural activity.

William Owen's New Harmony Thespian Society, 1828–1834

Beginning with its inaugural performance on February 23, 1828, the Thespian Society demonstrated its awareness of contemporary theatrical repertoire and practices.¹⁰ Following convention, it produced a mainpiece, George Colman's (the younger) *The Poor Gentleman*, and an afterpiece to conclude the evening, John Till Allingham's *Fortune's Frolic*.¹¹ *The Poor*

¹⁰ Theater historians Daniel J. Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagle assert that previous historical accounts of theater tended to privilege the mainpiece, which resulted in the marginalization or omission of all else that constitutes a "theatrical evening." However, they point out that, with the 1968 publication of the five-volume tome *The London Stage 1660-1800*, historians have since been able to assess "the whole show." As such, the essays in Ennis and Slagle's edited volume address all components of such an evening on the London stage, including "opening music, curtain-raiser, pantomime, mainpiece, entr'acte, mainpiece, dancing, afterpiece, and song." See Daniel J. Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagle, "Introduction," in *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers, and Afterpieces: The Rest of the Eighteenth-Century London Stage*, ed. Daniel J. Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagle (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 14, 24. See also Emmett Langdon Avery et al., eds., *The London Stage: A Critical Introduction*, 5 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968). Michael Pisani illustrates the similarities between British and American theaters, especially with respect to the order in which individual components are presented and the use of music before, during, and after a theatrical performance. See Michael V. Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth-Century London and New York*, ed. Heather Nathans, *Studies in Theatre History and Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), xiii.

¹¹ Katherine K. Preston, "American Musical Theatre before the Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical* ed. William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 23.

Gentleman (1801) was one of several comedies by Colman that had already been staged throughout the southern United States. For example, in Kentucky, Colman's plays had been performed more than those of any other playwright between 1790 and 1820, and in Mississippi, the Natchez Theatrical Association, which had been established in 1808, considered Colman's *John Bull* to be a "favorite."¹² His plays were also popular in major metropolitan areas, such as Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Charleston, especially at the turn of the century.¹³ In contrast, *Fortune's Frolic*, which was first performed in 1799, was the only play for which Allingham was widely known, but it, too, had been produced in the southern rural theaters of Natchez, Mississippi, Pensacola, Florida, and Raleigh, North Carolina.¹⁴

Regarding this performance, the *Gazette* published a brief comment in its February 27, 1828, issue as follows: "The performance was well attended and gave general satisfaction."¹⁵ The *New Harmony Register's* first installment of "A Record" reports that the "opening night was a decidedly successful one; the large building was well filled with an attentive audience and the

¹² In Kentucky, *The Poor Gentleman* ranked as the second most produced work from Colman's oeuvre. See West T. Hill Jr., *The Theatre in Early Kentucky, 1790-1820* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 171. See also William B. Hamilton, "The Theater in the Old Southwest: The First Decade at Natchez," *American Literature* 12, no. 4 (1941): 478-79.

¹³ David Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled; American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 250-51. In these two cities between 1800 and 1816, the most frequently performed works of Colman (the younger) were *Blue Beard*, *The Mountaineers*, *Forty Thieves*, *John Bull*, *Heir-at-Law*, *Review*, *Love Laughs at Locksmiths*, and *Sylvester Daggerwood*.

¹⁴ See William B. Hamilton, "The Theater in the Old Southwest: The First Decade at Natchez," *American Literature* 12, no. 4 (1941); William G. Dodd, "Theatrical Entertainment in Early Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1946); Donald J. Rulfs, "The Antebellum Professional Theater in Raleigh," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 29, no. 3 (1952).

¹⁵ *New Harmony Gazette*, February 27, 1828. This issue was published in conjunction with the February 20, 1828, issue, which had been deferred due to a delay in the receipt of paper from Cincinnati.

Thespians received round after round of well-merited applause."¹⁶ Although neither newspaper mentions the presence of singing in *The Poor Gentleman*, the script suggests that the thespians engaged in what musicologist Anne Dhu Shapiro has deemed a "well-known practice," by which songs are "interpolated" or added "even to nonmusical plays."¹⁷

For example, the script of *The Poor Gentleman* includes opening lines for several songs that would have been popular in Colman's day, including two folk songs ("There was a Regiment of Irish Dragoons" and "Dumbarton's Drums"), a patriotic song ("God Save Great George Our King"), and R. B. Sheridan's "A Soldier's the Lad for Me."¹⁸ The songs, or at least their incipits, are rendered by the character Stephen Harrowby, with whose family Lieutenant Worthington, his daughter Emily, his sister-in-law Lucretia Mac Tab, and his former servant, Corporal Foss, are lodging. Since the quartet's arrival at the Worthingtons' home, Corporal Foss has encouraged Stephen to consider becoming a soldier, and each of the songs ascribed to him has a military theme. In each instance, the lyrics of these songs are aligned thematically with the topic of conversation in which Stephen is participating—namely, Stephen's desire to enter the military and serve his country.¹⁹ However, his father (Farmer Harrowby) cannot spare his son's farm

¹⁶ *New Harmony Register*, January 3, 1874. Given the brevity of the information in the *Gazette*, it can be surmised that the *Register* incorporated information provided by someone who had attended the performance. Over the course of its six-month run, the *Register's* "A Record" did prompt responses from readers, as evident in a January 10, 1874, correction to the first installment of "A Record," and Edward T. Cox's letter dated January 24, 1874, and discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁷ Anne Dhu Shapiro, "Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama, 1730-1913," *American Music* 2, no. 4 (1984): 49.

¹⁸ Sheridan's song is printed in *The Universal Songster, or, Museum of Mirth: Forming the Most Complete, Extensive, and Valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs in the English Language, with a Copious and Classified Index*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (London: John Fairburn Simpkin and Marshall and Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1825), 384.

¹⁹ Colman's piece employs a musical strategy similar to that found in *The Poor Soldier*, which was written by his near contemporary, Irish dramatist John O'Keeffe, with music by William Shield. In her analysis of *The Poor Soldier*, music historian Cynthia Adams Hoover

labor and expresses his concern, to which Stephen responds by saying he has just recently sowed barley to the tune of the "Belle Isle's March."²⁰ He then proceeds to sing "tol diddle de dol," presumably to that tune. Meanwhile, neither of the play's two main story lines—the resistance of Emily's father to offers of financial assistance and the attempts to thwart the plans of Emily's unwanted suitor—includes any mention of music, and overall, Stephen Harrowby is a minor character.

Music was present in much the same manner the following month, when the Society returned to the stage on March 21, 1828, in a production of Thomas Morton's *A Cure for the Heartache*.²¹ But this production should be singled out for two reasons. First, Morton's play carried a message that aligned with New Harmony's original *raison d'être* and, depending on the imprint to which the Society had access, *A Cure for the Heartache* may have been intentionally selected by William Owen to reintroduce his father's agenda. Second, the performance prompted Robert Dale Owen to issue a response, which provides insight as to how theater was viewed during these early days of the post-Community era.

In *A Cure for the Heartache*, Morton illustrated the ways that luxuries associated with city living can be toxic to people of small villages. Thus, it conveyed a lesson that might have resonated deeply with New Harmony's citizens, especially with those who had left their homes in Europe to live in this small Indiana town on the frontier. Based on the plot, this play would have been a logical choice for William Owen, especially if he were interested in using the theater, or

observes that "the lyrics to the songs are not extremely vital to the plot; rather they are commentaries." See Cynthia Adams Hoover, "Music in Eighteenth-Century American Theater," *American Music* 2, no. 4 (1984): 15.

²⁰ For more information on "Belle Isle's March," see W. H. Grattan Flood, "An Eighteenth Century Essayist on Poetry and Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1916).

²¹ *A Cure for the Heartache* was paired with *The Maid and the Magpie*, which exists in several versions. The version performed that evening remains unknown.

this performance, to reassure the remaining community members of their decision to stay at New Harmony.

At the time of this performance, Morton's "turn-of-the-century comedy" had been in circulation for thirty years. In 1827, it was reissued as part of the sixteenth volume in John Cumberland's series, Cumberland's British Theatre, which was published in London and well known for the accompanying remarks written by George Daniel, who signed his work with his *nom de plume*, DG.²² According to DG, *A Cure for the Heartache* features characters who, "[h]aving more or less offended against justice and virtue, are baffled in their pursuit of happiness by a disturbed and reproaching conscience." For members of the former Community of Equality, this dramatized lesson on the pursuit of happiness would have seemed appropriate, especially since they had personally engaged in such a pursuit under Robert Owen's guidance just months prior. Through the various scenes of the play, the Thespians would have portrayed several refined and appropriate behaviors for the audience—including what DG refers to as

²² According to David Grimsted, the term "turn-of-the-century comedy" applies to plays written between 1790 and 1810 and includes other works by Morton (*Speed the Plough* and *Town and Country*) in addition to works by Mrs. Inchbald and George Colman (the younger). See Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled*, 258. See Thomas Morton, *A Cure for the Heartache, a Comedy in Five Acts*, (London: John Cumberland, 1827). Although Volume 16 of Cumberland's British Theatre has not been located in the New Harmony Archives, John Howard Payne's *The Fall of Algiers* from Volume 9 of Cumberland's British Theatre (1826) is held in the Golden Family Collection at New Harmony and inscribed "New Harmony Thespian Society." See Golden Family Collection, Series: Printed Plays, 1808–1925, Folder 39, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Whereas it is possible that this particular imprint (volume 9) was the property of the "New Harmony Thespian Society" that was established in 1873, it should be noted that the Golden Family Collection contains a second version of *A Cure for the Heartache* (rendered as *Cure for the Heart-Ach* [sic]) that was printed by Charles Wiley of New York in 1824. This version is inscribed "Property of New Harmony Thespian Society, Oct. 1832." Given the date of the inscription, this American imprint was the property of William Owen's New Harmony Thespian Society, but because 1832 postdates the date of the 1827 performance by five years, Owen's Society may have had access to a Cumberland printing, or it may have used another version altogether.

"kindness and benevolence to our fellow men," "conscious rectitude and integrity," and "reflexion and contentment."

Certainly, these comments written by DG illustrate how the moral of *A Cure for the Heartache* corresponded with Robert Owen's response to the disparity of wealth after the Industrial Revolution and his principles for the Community—namely, the pursuit of happiness. They also indicate that the characters, who struggled with issues of wealth, equality, and justice, modeled the kinds of behavior William Maclure approved in his assessment of theater. As DG noted, "the moral . . . cannot be too highly praised. We envy not the mind that can rise from the perusal of this piece, without feeling awakened and improved. A lesson of deep importance is held forth to a variety of characters, from the palace to the cottage."²³

Following the performance, the April 9, 1828, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette* published one of its extremely rare commentaries on culture. The author, Robert Dale Owen, praised the performance of *A Cure for the Heartache* and the afterpiece, *Maid and Magpie*, and claimed that it was the "unanimous opinion of the audience, that both pieces . . . were supported throughout in a manner to excite interest and to give satisfaction."²⁴ Like the February 13, 1828, essay in the *Gazette*, Owen's commentary provided an distinctive perspective on the theatrical activities during the early years of the post-Community era. While the *Gazette* refused to offer critiques or praises, Robert Dale Owen stated that the theatre was an "excellent school for

²³ DG, whose real name was George Daniel, wrote extensively for the John Cumberland publishing company. For a biographical overview to Daniel, see Sidney Lee and John D. Haigh, "Daniel, George [Pseud. P— P—] (1789–1864), Writer and Book Collector," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007). George Daniel, "Remarks," in *A Cure for the Heartache*, Cumberland's British Theatre with Remarks, Biographical and Critical (London: John Cumberland, 1827), 5-6.

²⁴ Robert Dale Owen, "Thespian Society," *New Harmony Gazette*, April 9, 1828. Owen does not state whose version of *The Maid and the Magpie* was performed.

elocution," thereby echoing the sentiment on public speaking expressed in the previous *Gazette* article of February 13, 1828.²⁵ He also emphasized, as Maclure had previously, the necessity of being able to speak out in a "free country" not under a "despotic government." His commitment to gender equality and women's rights, for which he would later become a fervent advocate, is evident in the following statement: "in a republic like ours, every man—ay, and however it may startle some lurking prejudice, I will say it—every woman should learn to speak in public as well as in private . . . a man or a woman, a citizen of a free country lose, if I may so express it, part of their birthright, if they cannot, without feverish excitement or paralyzing trepidation speak to their fellow-citizens in public, when occasion demands."²⁶

In his commentary, Robert Dale Owen invoked his father's quest for gender equality, which had been illustrated succinctly in the first principle in the Community of Equality's constitution: "Equality of rights, uninfluenced by sex or condition, in all adults."²⁷ The younger Owen also alluded to Maclure's admiration for Athenian theater and his opinion on the freedom of speech in the United States. In Robert Dale Owen's response to the performance, he integrated his father's and Maclure's ideas further by asserting that "The Romans, and more particularly the Greeks knew much better than we appear to know, the importance of this matter. . . . I am free to say that there can never be equal rights in the strict acceptation of the term, in any country, until *all* can speak in public, in case it should be necessary or beneficial for them to do so. A rational public speaker has more real power over his fellows than a general at the head of his army."²⁸

²⁵ As noted in Chapter 2, the April 9, 1828, issue of the *Gazette* mentions the newspaper's commitment to neutral reporting.

²⁶ Robert Dale Owen, "Thespian Society," *New Harmony Gazette*, April 9, 1828.

²⁷ *New Harmony Gazette*, February 15, 1826.

²⁸ Robert Dale Owen, "Thespian Society," *New Harmony Gazette*, April 9, 1828.

Robert Dale Owen sent a clear message to all of New Harmony's people—men and women—on the relationship between public speaking and equal rights.²⁹ By highlighting the responsibilities embedded in public speaking, he noted that theatrical productions had the power to influence their audiences through improvement and instruction.³⁰ As evident in the Thespian Society's rosters, which are reprinted in the January 3 and January 10, 1874, installments of "A Record," the Society was open to both men and women. Since women were to be treated equally during the days of the Community of Equality, and girls were to be educated alongside boys, it is not surprising that the Society continued to allow women in its performances throughout the entirety of its existence, from 1827 to 1847, and that nearly-one fourth of its members were female.³¹

Thus, by virtue of its contents and the process of acting it out, *A Cure for the Heartache* embodied the three objectives of the Thespian Society—improvement, instruction, and

²⁹ Sajko acknowledges Robert Dale Owen's commentary, noting that the latter used it as "an opportunity to preach reform and responsibility." See Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 47.

³⁰ Robert Dale Owen's approach to gender equality and women's rights was later encapsulated in his 1831 publication, *Moral Physiology; or a Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question*, which advocated—albeit controversially—for the practice of birth control. See Robert Dale Owen, *Moral Physiology; or a Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question* (New York: Wright & Owen, 1831).

³¹ The *New Harmony Register's* column, "A Record" lists the *dramatis personae* for each production of the New Harmony Thespian Society between 1828 and 1847 over the following seven issues: January 3, January 10, January 17, January 24, January 31, February 7, and February 14, 1874. Each production appears to have showcased the talents of male and female local actors. The January 3 and January 10, 1874, installments of "A Record" attempt to provide a list of every member of New Harmony's dramatic associations who performed between 1828 and 1873, and these lists include women, both married and unmarried. Moreover, as illustrated in the January 3 and January 10, 1874, lists of stockholders in "A Record," in addition to the list provided by the August 9, 1907, issue of the *New Harmony Times*, women were also stockholders of the original New Harmony Thespian Society. One such stockholder was Mrs. Edward T. Cox, whose son Edward T. Cox was mentioned in Chapter 2. In 1847, the New Harmony Thespian Society was reconceived as the New Harmony Dramatic Association, and apparently, for its first performance, women were excluded, only to be reinstated by the second performance.

amusement—and the benefits of theater articulated by Maclure, the author of the *New Harmony Gazette* editorial from February 13, 1828, and Robert Dale Owen. Although the Thespian Society may not have had access to Cumberland's imprint and DG's comments, *A Cure for the Heartache* provided its audience members with an opportunity to learn from the staged experiences that so closely mirrored their own. By witnessing what Maclure referred to as the "public ridicule of vice and folly," audience members would have been in a position to emulate virtuous behaviors. In addition, the actors would have benefited from the strong educational power of preparing, memorizing, and delivering the dialogue of the play for the audience.

As such, Morton's play was the ideal selection for the New Harmony Thespian Society's first season, as it epitomized the ideologies set forth in the aforementioned writings.³² Although it was, as Shapiro would describe, primarily "nonmusical," *A Cure for the Heartache* did contain two brief songs, which seem to have gone unnoticed in "A Record" and by the historians who have relied on its retrospective account. For example, in Act I, Scene I, Frank Oatland has just returned from Gloucester, where he sold corn and wheat, and after recounting his trip to his sister, Jessy, they encounter their intoxicated father Farmer Oatland, who is singing the phrase "Ba viamo tutti tra." The theme of intoxication returns in Act IV, Scene I, when the object of Jessy's affection, Young Edward "Neddy" Rapid, drinks an excess of champagne in his attempt to muster the courage to fight a duel over Ms. Vortex, who is Jessy's mistress. In this passage, Young Rapid sings a single line from John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, "If a man can then die much bolder with brandy," which, as was the case with the musical selections in *The Poor*

³²According to extant records, the Society did not perform it again. However, given the presence of the copy in the Golden Family Collection, which was dated 1832, it is possible that *A Cure for the Heartache* was performed during the period in which there was no newspaper coverage of theatrical activities.

Gentleman, reflects the topic of the narrative in which the song is embedded and serves as a commentary on the action.

In the Thespian Society's first two productions, the musical content was minimal, but the presence of singing and references to well-known songs imply that William Owen's embrace of theater may not have been at the expense of music, after all. Shortly following the appearance of Robert Dale Owen's response to *A Cure for the Heartache* in the *Gazette*, he and his associate Frances Wright relocated the newspaper to New York. However, as noted in the January 10, 1874, installment of "A Record," at some point between 1828 and 1834, the Society rendered Robert Dale Owen's only play, *Pocahontas*, in which the playwright "sustained one of the principal characters."³³

Pocahontas was, like *The Poor Gentleman* and *A Cure for the Heartache*, primarily textual, but it did contain one song written by Owen himself—"Tis home where'er the heart is"—in its entirety. Owen's song was arranged by John H. Hewitt, whose resultant melody spans an octave and alternates between proceeding in conjunct motion and outlining the tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords. In addition, with its overall AA'BB' rhyme scheme, this two-verse song would have been both easily rendered by an amateur musician in the Society and memorable for the audience.³⁴

'Tis home where'er the heart is, where'er its living treasures dwell;
In cabin or in princely hall, in forest haunt or hermit's cell.

³³ The local thespians may have been performing from a manuscript copy, which Sluder located at New Harmony, as Owen's play appears not to have been published officially until 1837. See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 266. According to a letter dated February 14, 1832, written by Robert Dale Owen and addressed to William Maclure, the former had already returned to New Harmony from his sojourn to New York. See New Harmony Manuscripts 1812–1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 28, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

³⁴ See John Hill Hewitt, *'Tis Home Where'er the Heart Is* (Baltimore: F. D. Benteen, 1844).

'Tis bright where'er the heart is; its fairy spells have pow'r to bring
Fresh fountains to the wilderness, and to the desert vernal spring.

'Tis free where'er the heart is, nor rankling chains, nor dungeon dim
Can check the mind's aspirings, the bounding spirit's pealing hymn.
The heart gives life its beauty, its warmth, its radiance, and its power,
Is sunlight to its rippling stream, and soft dew to its drooping flower.³⁵

According to Sajko, *Pocahontas* was "more an academic exercise than an actable piece of theatre," but, with its underlying message of equality, the play conveyed the same sentiment that Robert Dale Owen had expressed in response to the performance of *A Cure for the Heartache*.³⁶ Recent critiques, such as those offered by Robert S. Tilton and Jack Nilles, have positioned Robert Dale Owen's quest for equality as central to his interpretation of the story of Pocahontas, which takes place in early seventeenth-century Virginia. Owen's play features Pocahontas, a Native American girl who saves the life of Colonist John Smith from the execution that her father, the paramount chief of a group of tribes, has planned.³⁷ In his own introductory essay, Owen claims that "every principal event represented or alluded to, in the course of the Drama, occurred, if Smith's own history may be trusted, with very little variation as here set down."³⁸

³⁵ Robert Dale Owen, *Pocahontas: A Historical Drama, in Five Acts* (New York: G. Dearborn, 1837), 74.

³⁶ See Sajko, "Theatre in Utopia," 54. Although Robert Dale Owen does not discuss *Pocahontas* in his autobiography, his biographer, Richard Leopold, provides an overview to Owen's research and writing process. See Richard William Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen, a Biography*, Harvard Historical Studies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 134-37.

³⁷ Years later, colonists took Pocahontas captive, and even though she was eventually allowed to return to her tribe, she opted to stay with the colonists and married John Rolfe, with whom she had a child. They went to England, where Pocahontas was introduced to high society members; on her return trip to Virginia, she died from unknown causes. According to members of the Mattaponi (a Native tribe in Virginia), Pocahontas was murdered. See Linwood "Little Bear" Custalow and Angela L. "Little Star" Daniel, *The True Story of Pocahontas: The Other Side of History* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2007).

³⁸ Robert Dale Owen, "Introductory Essay, Touching the Influence of Historical, Especially of Dramatic Fictions," in *Pocahontas* (New York: G. Dearborn, 1837), 21-22. John Smith's account has recently been reexamined for its reliability in P. L. Firstbrook, *A Man Most*

Tilton draws attention to a brief monologue rendered by Pocahontas in Act IV, in which she serves as the vehicle through which Owen's ideas on equality are promulgated:

. . . Thoughts strange and new crowd on my mind. Nomony! [Pocahontas's sister and conversation partner in Act IV] thinkest thou woman was made to be the friend of man, to share man's confidence—win his respect—to be—to be—his EQUAL? That's the word. Are not these strange—strange thoughts?

In this conversation, Pocahontas's (Owen's) progressive attitude toward equality between the sexes is juxtaposed with the traditional attitude, which is represented by Nomony, who claims that she is "content [to] prepare a hunter's meal; care for his children; if need be, till his field." Moreover, she implies that her opinion is, in fact, generationally entrenched, by reminding Pocahontas that "our mother labored thus for our father; and she surely knew what it was right to do."³⁹ Nilles approaches the concept of equality differently in his assessment and argues that Owen's treatment of Pocahontas actually serves as a commentary on the sociopolitical milieu in which he was writing—namely, the era of Jacksonian Democracy—and, more specifically, as a critique of Jackson's subjugation of American Indians.⁴⁰

Driven: Captain John Smith, Pocahontas and the Founding of America (London, England: Oneworld, 2014). For Smith's account, see John Smith, *The Capture and Release of Captain John Smith: Including His Rescue from Death by Pocahontas: In His Own Words* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Reprinted for the Clements Library Associates, 1960).

³⁹ Robert Dale Owen, *Pocahontas*, 148-49.

⁴⁰ See Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative*, Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 74; Jack Nilles, "Telling Truth or Telling Lies: An Examination of the Impact of Robert Dale Owen on the Pocahontas Myth," (2015). With the exception of a brief diary entry (dated 1832) written by Prince Maximilian of Wied, who visited New Harmony, very little information exists on the Indians near New Harmony and the opinions of New Harmony's citizens regarding Jackson's plans for the Indians' extermination. See Maximilian Wied, Prinz von, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, ed. Hannibal Evans Lloyd, Karl Bodmer, and Maximilian Prinz von Wied (London: Ackermann and Co., 1844). It should be noted that by the time Andrew Jackson began his first presidential term (1829), Robert Owen was already back in Europe, and William Maclure was in transit to Mexico after having been in Philadelphia at the time of the election. In a November 7, 1828, letter to Maclure, Marie Fretageot reports that 300 men from New Harmony voted in the recent election, and "Jackson here had the majority of

The January 10, 1874, installment of "A Record" also lists Edward Fitzball's *Innkeeper of Abbeville* and *Tom Cringle* and William Shakespeare's *Othello* as among the pieces performed during this seven-year period, but no specific dates are known.⁴¹ The *Innkeeper of Abbeville* was Fitzball's first producible work, and it premiered in Norwich, England, in 1820.⁴² It was not considered a melodrama, even though Fitzball would become a prolific writer of the genre, but it

twenty." See Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, November 7, 1828, IM. 19.2. Their correspondence reveals Maclure shared Jackson's desire to champion the common man, or, to borrow Maclure's term, the "working man," but Maclure and Fretageot did not discuss issues related to American Indians. Maclure wanted to share his opinions on knowledge dissemination and the working man with Jackson; thus, he asked Fretageot repeatedly to send Jackson copies of the *Disseminator*. She obliged. For Maclure's opinion on Jackson, see William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, February 1830, IM. 35.18. For his requests that Jackson be sent the *Disseminator*, see William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, February 20, 1830, IM. 23.5.; [n.d.], IM. 35.1; for Fretageot's response, see Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, April 8, 1830, IM. 23.13. It remains unclear of the extent to which New Harmony fit in the larger discourse on Jackson, and Robert Dale Owen's *Pocahontas* is but one of what Rosemarie Bank calls "staging[s] in red-white interactions in the American theatre of the 1830s." In her book *Theatre Culture in America, 1825–1860*, she addresses examples of these stagings—including George Washington Parke Custis's *Indian Prophecy* (1827) and *Pocahontas; or, The Settlers of Virginia* (1830), and John Augustus Stone's *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags* (1829)—as part of her discussion of the "frontier," but she omits any mention of Owen's *Pocahontas*. See Bank, *Theatre Culture in America*, 59-74. For additional accounts of such "stagings," especially of Stone's play, see Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled*, 215-20; Bruce A. McConachie, *Melodramatic Formations: American Theatre and Society, 1820-1870*, 1st ed. ed., Studies in Theatre History and Culture (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), 117. According to Leopold, Robert Dale Owen's *Pocahontas* "was never a success." Following its production in New Harmony, reports indicate that it was performed once in New York City on February 8, 1838, but that it was a failure and not performed again. See Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen*, 138.

⁴¹ *New Harmony Register*, January 10, 1874. It should be noted that *Tom Cringle* was first performed at the Surrey Theatre (England) on May 26, 1834; thus, it appears that the *Register* may be in error regarding the performance of that play in New Harmony in 1834. See Edward Fitzball, *Tom Cringle; or, Mat of the Iron Hand. A Nautical Drama in Two Acts*, ed. Edward Fitzball, Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays (London: T.H. Lacy, 1834). *Damon and Pythias* was also performed, but "A Record" does not indicate whether it was the work of Richard Edwards or John Banim.

⁴² Edward Fitzball, *Thirty-Five Years of a Dramatic Author's Life*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: T.C. Newby, 1859), 82-84; Larry Stephen Clifton, *The Terrible Fitzball: The Melodramatist of the Macabre*, Entertainment and Leisure Studies (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 17-18.

did include the hallmarks of melodrama, including cues for incidental music, dancing, and singing.⁴³

Whereas Fitzball has been recognized as one of the "early nineteenth-century's most prolific melodramatic playwrights" in England, Shakespeare was deemed by James Fenimore Cooper as "the greatest author of America."⁴⁴ Indeed, Shakespeare was extremely popular among audiences, especially during the first four decades of the nineteenth century, and in his *Literature of the Middle West Frontier*, Ralph Leslie Rusk asserted that Shakespeare's plays had been performed more than those of any other writer.⁴⁵ In accordance with convention, they were often paired with less serious afterpieces. In his writings on the reception of Shakespeare during the antebellum, historian Lawrence Levine argued that through such a pairing, Shakespeare was

⁴³ The music for this play was composed by George Herbert Rodwell. Edward Fitzball, *The Innkeeper of Abbeville; Or, the Ostler and the Robber: A Drama, in Two Acts*, ed. Edward Fitzball (London: J. Cumberland, 1826?). Fitzball's later works, especially his version of *The Flying Dutchman* (with music by Rodwell) have been evaluated for not only their musical components but also for their use of the supernatural. See Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, 87; Diego Saglia, "'The Frighted Stage': The Sensational Proliferation of Ghost Melodrama in the 1820s," *Studies in Romanticism* 54, no. 2 (2015); Ankhi Mukherjee, "Nautical Melodrama," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Melodrama*, ed. Carolyn Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 52.

⁴⁴ See Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, 86. At the time of this initial performance, *Othello* was also quite popular among audiences in Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans. According to David Grimsted, *Othello* was performed forty-seven times between 1816 and 1831 (in these three cities, combined), making it the eighth most frequently performed play (again, in these three cities), but only the third most popular Shakespearean play, after *Richard III* and *Hamlet*. See Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled*, 249-56; James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans: Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor* New ed., 2 vols., vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848), 113. See also W. B. Gates, "Cooper's Indebtedness to Shakespeare," *PMLA* 67, no. 5 (1952).

⁴⁵ Ralph L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925), 413.

"presented as part of the culture [the frontier audiences] enjoyed, a Shakespeare rendered familiar and intimate by virtue of this context."⁴⁶

The diversity of plots performed in New Harmony calls into question the extent to which relatable stories and explicit moral content were necessary for the Thespian Society to operate at the intersection of improvement, instruction, and amusement. Indeed, audience members may have benefited more regularly from the process of attending the production, which had been ritualized by Robert Owen for members of the Preliminary Society and Community of Equality, than from the content of a production or its didactic potential, as emphasized by Maclure. Nevertheless, process and content were not incompatible, and when examined from this point of view, the theatrical activities seem to provide a sense of continuity between Robert Owen's structured efforts to blend amusements with industry and study and William Owen's attempts to recapture the spirit of his father's plan while operating within the parameters of Maclure's post-Community New Harmony. And, if the thespians had rendered these plays as intended by the playwrights—that is, with music, there would have been no lapse in musicmaking between the collapse of the Community of Equality and the Society's documented foray into melodrama in late 1834 and 1835.

⁴⁶ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 23.

Changes in New Harmony, ca. 1834–mid-1840s

Given the dearth of local coverage from 1828 to 1834, the extent to which music was actually employed as part of the aforementioned productions remains a subject of speculation. However, in his letter to the *New Harmony Register* in 1874, Edward Travers Cox Jr. provided a detailed description of the original stockholder ticket (presumably from 1828), which implied a relationship between music and theater, even during the earliest years of the Society's productions. This three-by-four-inch stockholder ticket was a copperplate engraving with a design of musical symbols, theatrical figures, and images of significance to American culture (see figure 1). According to Cox,

[t]he two large pillars which formed the limits of the stage in front, stand on the sides of the engraving, and hanging on the right hand column are three musical instruments of various kinds sustaining an open music book and two small staves, around which are twined the ivy, emblematical of poetry. On the left hand column are two masks, Tragedy and Comedy; a dagger, Cupid's bow and quiver, and the fool's baton. At the top of each column is an American Eagle; their extended wings meet in the center and from their beaks is suspended a scroll on which is inscribed 'New Harmony.' The drop curtain is half raised, the sun breaks forth after a storm, which leaves a rainbow on the side of Poetry and Music, and zig zag lightning is seen on the left by the side of Tragedy. The Niagara Falls form the scene in the back-ground, and a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike, is conspicuous in the fore-ground. The Niagara Falls and the rattlesnake, Mr. Lesueur said, 'are the two grandest natural curiosities in America,' and hence he worked them into this exquisite design. At the top of the card are the words 'THESPIAN SOCIETY' engraved in capital letters.



Figure 1 New Harmony Thespian Society Stockholder Ticket

(Reprinted with permission of the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana)

In addition, stockholder records reveal that at least four of the original stockholders became important instrumentalists in New Harmony's ensembles during the post-Community era.⁴⁷ Cox's

⁴⁷ While Cox's description of the stockholder ticket is accurate, the extant printed stockholder records differ. A list of the original New Harmony Thespian Society stockholders is printed in the January 3, 1874, edition of "A Record," which admits that the list is incomplete. The names included are as follows: Edward Burton, John Burton, Edward Cox, Sr., Mrs. E. Cox, William Cox, John Craddock, F.W. Fauntleroy, F. Fearing, Colin Grant, S. W. Kellogg, David Dale, Richard Owen, Robert Dale Owen, Robert Robson, Jonathan Rogers, M. R. Southard, Robert Todd, Wm. A. Twigg, Sr., James G. Walker, and John Wheatcroft. An article in the August 9, 1907, issue of the *New Harmony Times*, however, includes sixty-one stockholders (including at least one local establishment, the New Harmony Tavern) for a total of \$608.50 in subscriptions. This list, which was submitted to the newspaper by an informant Will A. Twigg, does not list some of the people in the 1874 *New Harmony Register* listings. Twigg was the son of Virginia Dupalais, who, along with her uncle Charles Lesueur, had come to New Harmony on the Boatload of Knowledge, and William Augustus Twigg, a member of the Academy of Natural

father, Edward Cox Sr., played the "flauto picoli," Robert Robson served as the town's resident flute player for many years, and Richard Dale Owen performed on the cello. These three stockholders joined William Owen, who played the violin.⁴⁸

However, by the time the New Harmony Thespian Society began to produce plays that referenced music in their titles (late 1834), most of the major musical and educational figures active during the Community of Equality had either left the town in search of other opportunities or had died. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Josiah Warren, the conductor of the Community's instrumental ensemble, parted for Cincinnati in 1827 and, by 1833, had established the first of his three utopian communities.⁴⁹ Joseph Neef, the Pestalozzian instructor who had written about music education in his *Sketch*, left New Harmony in 1828 for Steubenville, Ohio, where he proceeded to open another Pestalozzian school.⁵⁰ Neef had been a constant source of irritation for Marie Fretageot, as they had clashed frequently over their approaches to education, but after his departure, Fretageot remained at New Harmony and continued to supervise the town's educational program under Maclure's auspices.⁵¹ As their copious correspondence indicates, she served as Maclure's proxy for many of his business transactions because, by October 1828, he

Science and original stockholder. The 1874 *New Harmony Register* also provides a roster of fifty performers who acted in the Society between 1828 and 1835, but it, too, may be incomplete. Both of the lists in the 1874 retrospective—that is, the list of stockholders and the list of performers—contain women.

⁴⁸ *New Harmony Register*, February 7, 1874

⁴⁹ See Bailie, *Josiah Warren*, 9, 39-40.

⁵⁰ Gutek, *Joseph Neef, the Americanization*, 66-67. After yet another failed attempt to open a school, Neef returned to New Harmony to teach. Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 266.

⁵¹ See, for example, Marie D. Fretageot to William Maclure, January 17, 1827, IM. 17.3. In this particular letter, Fretageot writes that "the more I see of Neef and family the more I am convinced of their incapabilité of educating children. . . . It is quite useless to say any more to Neef about changing his manner with the children. He is too old and his wife and children are no more calculated to be employed there than to take the moon with their teeth." Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 268.

had initiated his relocation to Mexico, with the hope that his health problems would be diminished by a warmer climate.⁵² Yet, on a visit to see Maclure in Mexico, Fretageot contracted cholera and died in 1833.⁵³ Her death signaled an enormous shift in Maclure's efforts at New Harmony and in the town's intellectual direction. As Leonard Warren describes, "after this catastrophe, there was no one left at New Harmony who could be relied on to operate Maclure's schools, and for the time being Pestalozzian education in Indiana, which Madame [Fretageot] had set on course, came to an end without her further direction. It was a system that had been transplanted, but never fully Americanized, and so this highly praised effort faded away, leaving no trained teachers or influence." In the year following Fretageot's death, Thomas Say, who had travelled with Maclure on the Boatload of Knowledge, attempted to keep the school running, but he died in 1834. Now in his seventies, Maclure was no longer able to, or even interested in, trying to turn New Harmony into the "model for reform through education."⁵⁴

Just as Maclure was fading into retirement, Robert Owen's daughter Jane Dale Owen (1806–1861) took measures to create opportunities for the town's young women that aligned with her father's original intentions. Following the collapse of the Community, Jane Dale Owen had been visiting with her mother and sisters in Europe, but after their deaths, she returned to New Harmony in 1833.⁵⁵ Two years later, she married a colleague of her brother David Dale Owen,

⁵² Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, *Partnership for Posterity*, 49.

⁵³ Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, *Partnership for Posterity* 962-63.

⁵⁴ Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 267, 268, 270.

⁵⁵ Arthur H. Estabrook, "The Family History of Robert Owen," *Indiana Magazine of History* 19, no. 1 (1923): 82. Josephine Mirabella Elliott, "The Owen Family Papers," *Indiana Magazine of History* 60, no. 4 (1964): 343.

Robert Fauntleroy, and, according to their daughter Constance Fauntleroy, the family home was filled with music.⁵⁶

By all accounts, Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy was on equal intellectual footing with her brothers, and in the 1840s, she opened a Seminary for Young Ladies at which the students could study piano, harp, and dancing.⁵⁷ Given her documented talent on the harp, it is likely that Fauntleroy taught the harp lessons herself.⁵⁸ An advertisement for her school boasted

the aim of Mrs. F. in conducting the discipline of her school, will be to cultivate the moral feelings, maintain the physical health, and, without imposing unnecessary restraint, to preserve due order and control. She will also endeavor to promote among her pupils that grace of deportment and suavity of manner which, under proper influences, result from amiable dispositions and well-informed minds.⁵⁹

This advertisement illustrates that Fauntleroy was carrying forth the educational ideals of her father, who had championed "well-formed" and "well-informed minds," and enacting the practices associated with the "spirit of Pestalozzi's teaching" described in Chapter 2.⁶⁰

Consequently, Fauntleroy succeeded in two interrelated aspects of mid-nineteenth-century social reconstruction, which her father and Maclure had introduced in the Community of Equality but

⁵⁶ Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy's daughter Constance Fauntleroy Runcie wrote about her family's legacy and became a prolific musician. See Constance Owen Runcie, *Divinely Led, or, Robert Owen's Granddaughter* (New York: James Pott, 1880). (Also published in the September 18, 1880, issue of *The Churchman*).

⁵⁷ See Estabrook, "The Family History," 82-88. Elliott, "The Owen Family Papers," 341-343, 348.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 1 in Runcie. According to Runcie, Robert Fauntleroy accompanied his wife on the piano, but it is not known who taught the piano lessons or dancing at Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy's schools.

⁵⁹ *New Harmony Statesman*, March 1, 1845. See also Estabrook, 82-88. Elliott, 341-343, 348.

⁶⁰ The actual dates during which her school operated remain unknown. The advertisements in the *Statesman* ran from 1844 to 1845, and a letter from Lucy Say to Anna Maclure (William Maclure's sister), dated January 22, 1844, confirm that the school was operating at that time. See *New Harmony Manuscripts 1812-1871, Series I* (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 62, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

which had only recently gained traction in other parts of the United States. First, she helped to perpetuate these foundational ideals during the post-Community era, and second, in so doing, she worked to sustain the town's musical training initiatives, which had been instituted at least twelve years prior to Lowell Mason's Pestalozzian music education program in Boston.

Institutionalization of American Music Education: Precedent Set by Robert Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind"

At the time that Fauntleroy's school was in full swing, New Harmony's cultural life, which will be described in detail below, was thriving. But, farther east, music education was just then becoming integrated into the public school curricula of major municipalities, such as Buffalo (1843), Pittsburgh (1844), and Cincinnati (1844), which had followed Lowell Mason's efforts in Boston. Indeed, Mason is frequently credited as the catalyst for institutionalizing music education, as he was the primary music educator acknowledged by Boston Academy of Music president Samuel Eliot and Committee on Music chairman Thomas Kemper Davis in the monumental petition before the Boston School Committee on August 24, 1837.⁶¹ But Mason's accomplishments actually represented a culmination of efforts put forth by a small, but significant, group of early-nineteenth-century luminaries who lobbied for the use of education, and more specifically—music education—to cure social ills.

For example, in his 1809 address before the Handel Society of Dartmouth College, future Dartmouth president Francis Brown questioned the validity and quality of contemporary and

⁶¹ For a chronological overview to the events preceding music's placement in the Boston schools (including the establishment of the Boston Academy of Music and the successful "Hawes Experiment,") see Carol A. Pemberton, "Critical Days for Music in American Schools," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 36, no. 2 (1988).

historical practices in American music education—namely, those associated with singing schools, which had been established in the eighteenth century to improve the public's mastery of sacred music.⁶² The singing was taught by itinerant singing masters and then practiced in churches and choral societies (sometimes referred to as musical associations or singing clubs). Brown claimed that "the existing music education systems—singing schools, primarily—were producing poor musical taste, inept composition, and mistaken musical values in the American populace." He also commented that America's "musical taste has deteriorated as rapidly as [its] morals."⁶³ In sum, Brown felt that singing schools were inadequately conveying the moral lessons associated with a proper music education and, as such, were yielding a less refined, less sophisticated musical life in the United States than that which was known to be possible and flourishing among contemporaries in Europe.

Composer Thomas Hastings agreed with Brown and lamented the dwindling musical values in American culture in his *Dissertation on Music Taste*, which was published in 1822. Like Brown, he noted that music-making traditions and singing schools inherited from the eighteenth century had rendered Americans' skills and taste in music inferior to that of their European counterparts.⁶⁴ They agreed that the Americans' capacity for music making had not yet

⁶² Richard I. Kegerreis, "The Handel Society of Dartmouth," *American Music* 4, no. 2 (1986): 181-182.

⁶³ Francis Brown, *An Address on Music; Delivered before the Handel Society, Dartmouth College, August 1809, on Occasion of Their Anniversary*. Library of American Civilization (Hanover, NH: Charles and William S. Spear, 1810), 21.

⁶⁴ Thomas Hastings, *Dissertation on Taste; or, General Principles of Taste Applied to the Art of Music* (Albany: Websters and Skinners, 1822), 75.

reached, nor would it reach, its full, morally beneficial potential without embracing a different approach to music appreciation, music-making, and music education.⁶⁵

This new approach to music education, so desired by Brown and Hastings, was in the making by the end of the 1820s. While the Pestalozzian Method was being employed by William Maclure and his entourage in New Harmony, the Method was catching the attention of yet another American education reformer, William Woodbridge. During a trip to Switzerland in 1828, Woodbridge had the opportunity to study the Pestalozzian Method and take a copy of Nägeli and Pfeiffer's book *Die Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen*, in which they applied the Method to music, back to the United States.⁶⁶ Woodbridge introduced these ideas to progressive singing teacher Elam Ives Jr., who translated the work into English and began giving singing lessons in Connecticut based on the concepts Woodbridge had seen used abroad.⁶⁷

Woodbridge argued in favor of music education in the public schools in his historic address before the American Institute of Instruction (the leading authority of education) on August 24, 1830. He stated that "the study of music from its very nature, cultivates the habits of

⁶⁵ Hastings, *Dissertation on Taste*, 194. See also Vicki L. Eaklor, "Roots of an Ambivalent Culture: Music, Education, and Music Education in Antebellum America," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 33, no. 2 (1985).

⁶⁶ See W. A. Alcott, "William Channing Woodbridge," *The American Journal of Education* 5, no. 13 (1858); Wilfried Gruhn, "Is Lowell Mason's 'Manual' Based on Pestalozzian Principles? An Inquiry into the Controversy of Methods in the Nineteenth Century," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 14, no. 2 (1993). In his essay on music education, John Silantien acknowledges the application of the Pestalozzian Method to music by Neef (and under the auspices of Maclure) but only in Philadelphia. See John J. Silantien, "The Contributions of William Channing Woodbridge to American Music Education," *Contributions to Music Education*, no. 4 (1976), 80.

⁶⁷ Estelle R. Jorgensen, "Engineering Change in Music Education: A Model of the Political Process Underlying the Boston School Music Movement (1829-1838)," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 31, no. 1 (1983): 69.

order, and obedience and union."⁶⁸ Convinced of music's positive impact on citizenship and morality, Woodbridge believed that music should be considered a viable subject of study in the public schools. Within three years, he became a founding member of the Boston Academy of Music, whose purpose was "to promote knowledge, and correct taste in music, especially such as is adapted to moral and religious purposes."⁶⁹ The Academy, on whose behalf the 1837 petition was issued, maintained that the "natural effects of music" included happiness, contentment, cheerfulness, and tranquility. In addition, the petition articulated that music could also have positive impact on one's intellectual and physical well-being:

Judged then by this triple standard, intellectually, morally, and physically, vocal Music seems to have a natural place in every system of instruction which aspires, as should every system, to develop man's whole nature.⁷⁰

The Academy had served as Mason's laboratory, and once the petition was accepted, Mason was appointed the director of Boston's new music education program.⁷¹ Given Boston's history and propitious location along the east coast, the foundational history of music education has overlooked similar efforts that took place in smaller enclaves along the frontier, even those

⁶⁸ William C. Woodbridge, *A Lecture on Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education. Delivered in the Representatives' Hall, Boston, August 24, 1830, before the American Institute of Instruction* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831).

⁶⁹ "First Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music: Read at the Anniversary Meeting, May 1833," (Perkins, Marvin: Boston, 1835).

⁷⁰ See "Report on the Propriety and Utility of Making Vocal Music a Branch of Instruction in Common Schools (Part 1)," *Boston Musical Gazette; a Semimonthly Journal, Devoted to the Science of Music*, November 28, 1838.

⁷¹ Boston was well-suited to the institutionalization of music education, as it was already recognized as the epicenter of American education. For example, its metropolitan area was the home to Harvard University, which was established in 1636, and the first American high school (the English Classical School), which was established in 1821. It was also home to one of the earliest musical organizations in the country, the Handel and Haydn society, which had been founded on March 24, 1815, "to promote the love of good music and a better performance of it." See "About: Bicentennial," Handel and Haydn Society, accessed September 15, 2013, <http://www.handelandhaydn.org/about/bicentennial>.

which had given rise to successful performance-based initiatives, such as Owen's implementation of well-regulated amusements at New Harmony. By the time the Boston Academy of Music was established, Owen's narrative of failure at New Harmony had already been acknowledged and promulgated in print. Moreover, Maclure had already assumed his role as the town's benefactor and *de facto* leader, and despite losing control over his school in New Harmony after Fretageot's death in 1833, his accomplishments in education and the natural sciences were known internationally.⁷² Moreover, Maclure had secured his reputation as the founder and sponsor of New Harmony's Working Men's Institute in 1838, which was the year that the Academy's petition was accepted, printed, and executed. Thus, through this combination of national and local events, Owen's original proclamation for well-regulated amusements and the longitudinal viability of his proclamation for the town's cultural life has been relegated, subsequently, to the margins of New Harmony's intellectual history. But as the following exploration of New

⁷² Maclure's legacy endured, in part, because he and his Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia colleagues strove to cultivate the next generation of scientists, whose contributions transcended New Harmony's town borders. For example, Gerard Troost, who had come to New Harmony with Say and Maclure, mentored young geologists even after he left New Harmony for Tennessee, where he was responsible for that state's geological survey in 1831. One of Troost's protégés was Robert Owen's son David Dale Owen, who, after working under Troost, became Indiana's first state geologist in 1837. David Dale Owen was assisted by his brother Richard Dale Owen in surveys of the upper Midwest, and the latter went on to conduct scientific research own, eventually becoming the first president of Purdue University in 1869. David Dale Owen went on to be the director of several state and federal geological surveys, including the surveys of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois (1839), the Chippewa District (1847), the Northwest Territories (1849), Kentucky (1854), and Arkansas (1857). Over the course of his career, David Dale Owen trained Joseph G. Norwood, J. Evans, and B. F. Shumard, each of whom assisted Owen on the survey of the Northwest Territories in 1849 and then directed a survey of his own. Norwood oversaw the Illinois survey (1851), Evans directed the Washington-Oregon survey (1854), and Shumard headed the survey of Texas (1858). David Dale Owen also trained Edward T. Cox, whose 1874 letter to the *New Harmony Register* was discussed previously. For information on Maclure's influence on the school of geology at New Harmony, see Markes E. Johnson, "The Parallel Impacts of William Maclure and Amos Eaton on American Geology, Education, and Public Service," *Indiana Magazine of History* 94, no. 2 (June 1998).

Harmony's continuous stream of well-regulated amusements shall illustrate, Owen's proclamation did, in fact, lay the ideological foundation for the town's bustling theatrical, musical-theatrical, and musical life.

Beginnings of Musical Theater and Melodrama: 1834–1847

Beginning in November 1834, the New Harmony Thespian Society began rendering plays that referenced music in their titles, and in so doing, demonstrated its knowledge of and willingness to participate in the larger theatrical trends that were already gaining traction in other theaters across the United States. For example, C. E. Walker's *The Warlock of the Glen: A Melodrama*, contains several pieces written by J. Watson, including songs ("Hark, the Wind with Sullen Roar"), glees ("The Boatman" and "Free From Sorrow, Free From Strife"), and choruses (including "How Sweetly Breathes the Flute"), in addition to references to Scotch reels, and cues for melodramatic music throughout.⁷³ Walker's play is, generally speaking, a melodrama, but it falls into the more specific category of the "nautical melodrama." According to melodrama historian Ankhi Mukherjee, nautical melodramas "brought the abiding realities of poverty and compulsory conscription; the inequality between master and man; the uneasy moral distinctions between sailor, smuggler, and pirate; and the question of upward mobility (or the lack of it)—all contested in the microcosm of a ship . . ."⁷⁴

⁷³ *The Warlock of the Glen* was published in 1820.

⁷⁴ Mukherjee notes that the nautical melodrama "had come into its own by the 1820s." See Mukherjee, 51. Other nautical melodramas include Fitzball's *The Flying Dutchman* (1827) and Douglas Jerrold's *Black Ey'd Susan* (1829), both of which were enjoyed by New Harmony's postbellum audiences.

Whereas the Society would go on to perform a variety of melodramas, not all of the plays with music were categorized as such. Shortly after the performance of *The Warlock of the Glen*, the Society rendered *No Song, No Supper*, which is a comic opera written by English composer Stephen Storace and librettist Prince Hoare.⁷⁵ Storace's overture precedes the two-act play, in which several characters sing. Although the first scene of Act 1 is entirely spoken, the second scene features two songs, "Go, George, I Can't Endure You" and "How Happily My Life I Led," as well as a duet, "I Think I'll Venture to Surmise." The third scene opens with "With Lonely Suit and Plaintive Ditty" and includes a trio, "Knocking at this Hour of Day," after a brief monologue. The first act concludes with a chorus of five characters. The second act is as musical as the first with "A Miser Bid to Have and Hold Me" in the first scene and "Three Years a Sailor's Life I Led" in the second scene. A third song, "Across the Downs this Morning" is performed one verse at a time with each verse divided among sections of the text. The Finale concludes the play by showcasing three soloists and a full chorus.

No Song, No Supper (1790) was Storace's second English opera, and according to musicologist Jane Girdham, it was created "to satisfy as many as possible in the broad audience drawn by the afterpieces." She attributes the number of "simple strophic songs" in the opera to the "lower-class audience" that would have been in attendance for the opera's productions in 1790, and she notes that the finale, in particular, featured a melody that was "suitable for everyone to sing."⁷⁶ Although New Harmony's audience was not necessarily what Girdham

⁷⁵ Sluder notes that whereas "no evidence suggests that this performance included any music," he argues that, as Katherine Preston would later indicate, convention would have dictated that *No Song, No Supper* was rendered with music. He does not, however, apply his opinion explicitly to the performance of *The Warlock of the Glen: A Melo-Drama*. See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 28.

⁷⁶ Jane Catherine Girdham, "Stephen Storace and the English Opera Tradition of the Late Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 11, 36. In his review of

would consider "lower-class," the audience did contain numerous amateurs, who might have welcomed and embraced uncomplicated songs. The opera may have been accompanied by a piano, but the original score called for pairs of woodwinds, horns, a glockenspiel, and strings.⁷⁷

The early efforts of the Thespian Society were praised in an article from the February 7, 1835, issue of the *Evansville Journal*. The article provides a glimpse into the developing theatrical activities and offers its positive review: "from our knowledge of the intelligence and good taste of the inhabitants of that village, we venture to predict an intellectual retreat far above what is had from ordinary Thespian corps . . . and then their theatre will become a useful school of elocution for themselves and a source of intellectual improvement to their audience."⁷⁸ This statement is one of very few known first-hand accounts that has been located, but as it makes no reference to music, it is difficult to determine exactly when music was integrated into the performances.

As alluded to earlier, the 1834 productions of *The Warlock of the Glen* and *No Song, No Supper*, in addition to an October 1835 production of Richard Brinsley Peake's *The Evil Eye, a Legend of the Levant: A Romantic Musical Drama in Two Acts*, were overlooked by "A Record," which claims that musical theatre was not introduced to New Harmony until Saturday,

Storage's operas, Richard Graves writes that *No Song, No Supper*, was Storage's second English opera and that it was successful. Richard Graves, "The Comic Operas of Stephen Storage," *The Musical Times* 95, no. 1340 (1954): 531.

⁷⁷ In the preface to his edition of *No Song, No Supper*, Roger Fiske discusses the materials from which Storage was likely to have drawn his inspiration. The origins of the tune for "Go George, I Can't Endure You" have been the subject of much speculation, and Wilf Darlington posits that Storage used a "French tune" and incorporated into his opera. See Stephen Storage, "No Song, No Supper: A Comic Opera in Two Acts," in *Musica Britannica*, ed. Roger Fiske (London: Stainer and Bell, 1959). See also Wilf Darlington, "'Go George, I Can't Endure You': A Country Dance and Its Tune," *Folk Music Journal* 7, no. 1 (1995): 66-69.

⁷⁸ *Evansville Journal*, February 7, 1835; *New Harmony Register*, January 17, 1874. Emphasis in the original.

November 21, 1835, with the production of George Colman's (the younger) melodrama, *The Mountaineers*.⁷⁹

Melodramas generated a loyal following throughout the United States over the course of the nineteenth century. As a technique, the melodrama was first employed in 1766 by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *scène lyrique*, *Pygmalion*, for which Horace Coignet composed the music.⁸⁰ Melodrama was described by nineteenth-century critic A. B. Marx in conjunction with three other kinds of music that were typically paired with dramatic text or dancing: the ballet, the play with music, and the opera music. Whereas melodramatic music employed during a production could be considered "action music," Marx distinguished it from that which "might occur in real life," which he deemed a "play with music."⁸¹ In his writings on musical theater, Michael Pisani called attention to this distinction and clarified further that melodramatic music "is 'unheard' by the characters but is intended largely for the audience" while a play with music would present music as an accompaniment to an action or event in music would be expected.⁸² Whereas the inclusion of newly composed snippets or phrases of music were employed regularly to enhance action on the stage, musical-theater historian Anne Dhu Shapiro has noted that this

⁷⁹ Peake's *The Evil Eye, a Legend of the Levant: A Romantic Musical Drama in Two Acts* was published in 1831 and featured music by the English composer, George Rodwell.

⁸⁰ See Anne Dhu Shapiro, "Action Music," 56, 50. According to Preston, "melos" were instrumental snippets of music that emphasized concurrently spoken text or were placed in alternation with spoken dialogue. When interspersed within a drama, "melos" were designed to accentuate certain emotions or emotional situations; today, the term "incidental music" is often considered synonymous with the nineteenth-century term "melodramatic music." See Preston, *American Musical Theatre*, 7.

⁸¹ See Adolf Bernhard Marx and George Macirone, *General Musical Instruction: An Aid to Teachers and Learners in Every Branch of Musical Knowledge* [Allgemeine Musiklehre], Novello's Library for the Diffusion of Musical Knowledge (Boston: Ditson, 1854), 93.

⁸² Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, xix.

music was rarely published or mentioned in print (in the libretto, the playbill, or in subsequent reviews of a performance).⁸³

These early melodramas would have exemplified Owen's concept of well-regulated amusements, especially as they provided the thespians with an opportunity to showcase their musical training. Moreover, these melodramas would have also been approved by Maclure for providing the thespians with an opportunity to practice their elocution skills and allowing audience members to learn from staged experiences. Most important, each production would have provided community members the opportunity to enjoy healthy entertainment and to come together as a community, thereby perpetuating the communal intentions set forth by Owen.

The precise date on which music was implemented into the Society's productions becomes much less significant over the course of the antebellum than the quantity of music featured on the town's stage and mentioned in the *New Harmony Register's* "A Record" column over the course of its six-month run in 1874. Indeed, an examination of these productions demonstrates not only the kinds of musical demands posed by the plays but also that New Harmony's citizens were capable of meeting these musical demands. The musical-theatrical repertoire of the Society and its successors expanded beyond the traditional melodrama to comprise songs written specifically for a particular play, popular songs (which occasionally included "Negro songs" and minstrel songs), instrumental marches and dance music, and instrumental pieces, such as overtures to Italian operas.⁸⁴

⁸³ See Shapiro, "Action Music," 56, 50.

⁸⁴ Despite the apparent shortcomings, the information presented in the *New Harmony Register's* column "A Record" is vital to reconstructing and analyzing the Thespian Society's output and to examining how it shaped the town's cultural life. "A Record" is also useful for considering the kinds of musical traditions to which New Harmony's citizens had limited or no access. For instance, choral singing was popular among the Harmonists in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and their singing and songbook have been described in several eye-witness accounts and

In order to produce such variety, two conditions would have been necessary. First, New Harmony's performers must have been operating in an environment that still championed Robert Owen's commitment to well-regulated amusements, and second, these performers must have had access to vocal and instrumental music education or training at a time when, from a historiographical perspective, the town's more practical educational endeavors and scientific pursuits overshadowed its cultural life. Thus, this examination of New Harmony's musical-theatrical output must be considered in conjunction with the conditions that allowed the town's cultural life to flourish.

The Mountaineers

As was the case with the melodramas surveyed by Shapiro, the melodramatic music from New Harmony's performances of the antebellum is noticeably absent from the town's otherwise robust archival repository.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, given the *Register's* January 17, 1874, claim about *The Mountaineers* and standard performance convention, this play by George Colman (the younger) was, most likely, performed with the music written specifically for it—in this case, by

historical accounts. See Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians*; John Samuel Duss, *The Harmonists*. For a more recent account of the Harmonists and their values, see Paul Douglas, *Architecture, Artifacts, and Arts in the Harmony Society of George Rapp: The Material Culture of a Nineteenth-Century American Utopian Community* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008). But choral singing does not appear in the primary accounts of New Harmony's musical history either during or after the Community of Equality. This absence may have more to do with Owen's commitment to secularism than to any other factor, and the impulse to sing with others may have been satisfied through the musical-theatrical productions explored here.

⁸⁵ As such, this analysis relied on sheet music from The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, Sheridan Libraries, John Hopkins University.

composer Samuel Arnold.⁸⁶ An analysis of this music provides insight as to the level of talent possessed by members of the Thespian Society, both at the individual level and with respect to the number of talented performers necessary to produce the play with its music.

The Mountaineers was premiered in 1793 at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, in London, and was extremely popular in the United States during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. According to David Grimsted, Colman's play was performed twenty times in Philadelphia and twenty-three times in Charleston between 1800 and 1816, making it the fifth most-performed play in these two cities. Over the next fifteen years (from 1816 to 1831), *The Mountaineers* was featured in fourteen additional productions in Philadelphia and thirteen in Charleston, in addition to eleven performances in New Orleans.⁸⁷

Based loosely on Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, the plot is set in fifteenth-century Granada and features the intertwining stories of two pairs of lovers: Virolet, a Spanish nobleman who was taken captive by the Moors in the course of their expulsion from Spain, and Zorayda—a Moor, who is the daughter of the Moorish governor Bulcazin Muley and a deceased Christian woman (who, on her deathbed, asked her daughter to renounce her Muslim roots), and Floranthe (Virolet's sister) and Octavian, a Spanish gentleman who has been rejected by Floranthe's father. At the center of the story are interdenominational relationships—namely, Christian and

⁸⁶ *The Mountaineers* was part of this eighteenth-century tradition in melodrama, having been first performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, in London, on August 3, 1793. No sheet music has yet been located at New Harmony's primary archive, the Working Men's Institute.

⁸⁷ It should be noted that, by Grimsted's count of these three cities, *The Mountaineers* was the thirteenth most frequently performed play and it trailed four works of Shakespeare: *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. See the tables in Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled*, 249-56.

Muslim—and given the strictly secular environment of New Harmony until 1841, it remains a subject of speculation as to how Colman's plot resonated with the townspeople.⁸⁸

Of the sixteen named characters in the play, four performed either solos or in duets, while the vast majority (if not all) of the others, including those simply grouped as "muleteers" or "goatherds," sang in the choruses at the conclusion of each of the three acts. Thus, most, if not all, of the actors in *The Mountaineers* would have had the opportunity to sing in addition to reciting lines from Colman's play. As such, the musical demands here outpace significantly those referenced in the plays performed between 1828 and 1834, and in so doing, *The Mountaineers* is illustrative of the larger melodramatic trends in ascendance in the US.

For example, in Act I, Scene I, Violet and Killmallock (an Irish nobleman, who has also been taken captive by the Moors) hear Zorayda singing from a distance.

Bewailing! Bewailing!
She sunk, heart-broken, on her pillow!
Her true love's gone,
Cold, cold as stone:
Poor Orra now must wear the willow.⁸⁹

Zorayda's relationship with her father is complicated, as it is in the Moorish palace that Violet and Killmallock are kept. Zorayda's maid, Agnes, who loves the slave-driver Sadi, sings "When the Hollow Drum has Beat to Bed,"⁹⁰ by which she conveys her plan to reunite Zorayda and Violet.

⁸⁸ As mentioned earlier, the first parish to exist in the post-Community era was established at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in 1841.

⁸⁹ George Colman, "The Mountaineers: A Play in Three Acts," in *The British Theatre; or, a Collection of Plays, Which Are Acted at the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1808), 11.

⁹⁰ Samuel Arnold, "When the Hollow Drum," in *The Mountaineers*. New York: Carr, n.d. "When the Hollow Drum has Beat to Bed," Box 030, Item 138, The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, Sheridan Libraries, John Hopkins University.

When the hollow drum has beat to bed;
When the little fifer hangs his head;
Still and mute,
The Moorish flute,
And nodding guards watch wearily;
Then will we,
From prison free,
March out by moon-light cheerily.

When the Moorish cymbals clash by day,
When the brazen trumpets shrilly bray,
The slave, in vain,
May then complain,
Of tyranny and knavery.
Would he know,
His time to go,
And slily [sic] slip from slavery.⁹¹

As Agnes finishes her song, Sadi appears and the two discuss Agnes's plan. Their lengthy dialogue leads into their duet, "O Happy Tawney Moor," which concludes Act I, Scene II. Like "When the Hollow Drum has Beat to Bed," this duet exhibits a consistent harmonic pattern (tonic-dominant) over which the initial melodic line moves diatonically within an octave range. When the voices sing together, intervals of thirds and sixths predominate, and each line maintains its octave range.⁹²

Act I is brought to a close with Scene III in which the Moorish soldiers gather at the marketplace of Granada and discuss their duty to fight on behalf of their religion. Act II, Scene I opens with a group of muleteers, who ultimately sing about their lowly plight compared to the Spanish noblemen. Over the course of Act II, Octavian wanders through the mountains and reveals his misery at being separated from Floranthe. Because he believes that he has killed

⁹¹ Colman, "The Mountaineers," 20-21. Arnold scored this piece for voice and piano, with flute, and given the melody's range of a tenth, the diatonic nature of the melody, and the simple harmonic chord progressions (tonic-dominant), this piece would have been easily rendered by the amateurs of the New Harmony Thespian Society.

⁹² Colman, "The Mountaineers," 24.

Floranthe's other suitor, Octavian remains in the mountains, but the suitor has survived, and Floranthe searches for Octavian. Meanwhile Sadi and Agnes, and Virolet and Zorayda have fled to the mountains, but Bulcazin has followed and threatened Zorayda, thereby prompting Octavian to threaten him in turn. Virolet intervenes, and, in a show of gratitude, Zorayda is allowed to be with Virolet.

Although Sadi and Agnes play secondary roles, their duet from Act III, as with "Happy Tawney Moor" in Act I, exposes the capabilities that would have been required for the thespians who were neither the main characters nor relegated to singing only in choruses and glees. This song, "Faint and Wearily, the Way-worn Traveller," is strophic with two verses, in 2/4, and contains a sixteen-measure piano introduction. The melody lies within an octave range, and the voices are featured individually, then together, and separated primarily by parallel thirds on the main beats. Occasionally, the male vocal line moves in eighth notes in contrast to the stagnant female line, yielding 4–3 suspensions in the top line that lead back to the tonic chord of C major.

"Faint and Wearily, the Way-worn Traveller," like the other pieces in *The Mountaineers*, would have been easily rendered by the amateur singers in New Harmony. The vocal lines are crafted primarily through scalar passages of conjunct motion, and the piece's overall harmonic structure moves predictably from C major to its dominant of G major, occasionally dipping into the secondary dominant of D major (see example 3.f1).⁹³ Each of these features, in addition to the strophic nature of the song, would have quickly yielded familiarity among the audience.

⁹³ "The Way-worn Traveller" in *The Mountaineers*, The Lester S. Levy Collection of Sheet Music, Box 030, Item 134. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD. The Levy Collection of Sheet Music also contains a version of "The Way-worn Traveller" for two flutes and no vocal line or piano accompaniment.

Following the premiere of *The Mountaineers* at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, the following remarks were issued by *The Universal Magazine* regarding Arnold's melodramatic music: "It is full of taste, simplicity, and elegance. The airs are such as might be supposed to have been of Moorish origin, wild, striking, and interesting. The overture is a good composition, varied but without extravagance, and sustaining an appropriate feature of martial spirit."⁹⁴ Regarding the melodrama's 1835 premiere in New Harmony, "A Record" printed the following retrospective commentary: "The 'Mountaineers' is an Operatic Melo-Drama, and offered a new field of operations for our Thespians. Then, as now, our town was noted for the musical talent of its citizens, and we may therefore infer that the play lost nothing in its attractiveness from being a musical one."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ "The Theatre," *The Universal Magazine*, August 1793.

⁹⁵ *New Harmony Register*, January 17, 1874. This production is the first one of the post-Community era to include music and receive attention in the retrospective column for its musical components.

Example 3.1 *The Mountaineers*, "Faint and Warily the Way-Worn Traveller"⁹⁶

Allegro Moderato

9

17 Agnes
Faint and wea-ri-ly the way worn trav-el-ler_ plods on cheer-i-ly a-fraid to stop.

25 Sadi
wan-d'ring drear-i-ly, and sad un-rav-el-ler of the maz-es t'ward the moun-tain top

33 Agnes
doubt-ing fear-ing while his course he's steer-ing cot-ta-ges ap-pear-ing as he's nigh to drop

41
Oh! how brisk-ly then the way-worn tra-vel-ler threads the maz-es t'ward the moun-tains top

49 Agnes
Sadi
Oh! how brisk-ly then the way-worn tra-vel-ler threads the maz-es t'ward the moun-tains top

⁹⁶ Lyrics to the songs of the play are found in *Songs, Duets, Choruses &C. In the Mountaineers; a Play, in Three Acts, Performed at the Theatre Royal Hay-Market*, (London: Woodfall, 1793). The musical scores were published by B. Carr.

Example 3.1, cont'd *The Mountaineers*, "Faint and Warily the Way-Worn Traveller"

57

65 Agnes
Tho so me-lan-cho-ly day has past by 't'would be fol-ly to think on it more

73 Sadi
Blithe and jol-ly he the can holds fast by as he's sit-ting at the Goat-herd's door

81 Agnes Sadi
Eat-ing quaff-ing at past la-bours laugh-ing bet-ter far by half in spir-its than be-fore

89 Agnes
Oh! how mer-ry then the rest-ed trav-el-er_ seems while sit-ting at the goat-herds door

97 Agnes Sadi
Oh! how mer-ry then the rest-ed trav-el-er_ seems while sit-ting at the goat-herds door while

105
sit-ting at the goat-herds door while sit-ting at the goat-herds door at the

113
goat-herds door at the goat-herds door.

Beyond the Melodrama: Popular Songs and "Negro Songs" in an Abolitionist Region

Since its inception in 1828, William Owen's New Harmony Thespian Society followed the conventions that had been popularized beginning in the first decade of the nineteenth century by the dramatic associations active in the eastern and southern United States. Following the precedent set by these associations, New Harmony's theater (as a place) had begun, by the mid-1830s, to offer what historian Matthew Rehorn has called "a quickly diversifying range of cultural spaces that could address the multiplying host of interests, desires, and predilections evinced by the changing population."⁹⁷ This diversification was even evident within the context of a single evening, and historian Lawrence Levine describes the resultant trend as follows: "the play may have been the thing, but it was not the only thing."⁹⁸

This trend was first documented in New Harmony when the Thespian Society produced John Howard Payne's *Adeline: The Victim of Seduction* as part of the town's Fourth of July Celebration in 1836.⁹⁹ The play was followed by a song, "The Blue Tail Fly," sung by a local man, Mr. J. Ed. Clarke, who eventually founded the nearby *Grayville Independent* (Grayville, Illinois) and "prided himself not a little on his vocal accomplishments."¹⁰⁰ It was not uncommon for popular songs, such as "The Blue Tail Fly" and other songs that were not composed

⁹⁷ Matthew Rehorn, *Pioneer Performances: Staging the Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 16.

⁹⁸ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 21.

⁹⁹ Payne's play was first performed in 1822 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in London. See Louis Charles Baker, *The German Drama in English on the New York Stage to 1830*, ed. Marion Dexter Learned, *American Germanica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1917), 101.

¹⁰⁰ Clarke had served as the associate editor of the *Grayville Herald* before establishing the *Grayville Independent* in April 1859, of which he was editor. See *History of White County, Illinois: Together with Sketches of Its Cities, Villages and Townships, Educational, Religious, Civil, and Military and Political History*, (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Company, 1883), 488. *New Harmony Register*, January 17, 1874.

specifically for a particular play, such as "hymns, minstrel tunes, and sentimental songs" to be "interpolated" into a production of that play.¹⁰¹ Levine noted that even in performances of operas, well-known songs were employed "as a supplement to or replacement for, certain arias."¹⁰²

The complex history of "The Blue Tail Fly" gives rise to questions for which an answer has not readily surfaced. As is the case with Arnold's music for *The Mountaineers*, no sheet music for "The Blue Tail Fly" has been located in the Working Men's Institute archives. Whereas there is a popular song by that title—"The Blue Tail Fly" or "De Blue Tail Fly," which is also frequently known by a different title, "Jimmy Crack Corn" or "Jim Crack Corn"—it was not published until 1846. Consequently, the actual version of the song to which Clarke had access ten years prior remains unknown.¹⁰³

On the cover of its 1846 printing of "De Blue Tail Fly," Boston publisher Oliver Ditson employed the term "A Negro Song" as the song's subtitle. Whereas that term was not applied to the version sung by Clarke in 1836, it was used by the *Disseminator* the following year, apparently for the first time. After a February 22, 1837, performance of *Tekeli; or, the Siege of*

¹⁰¹ See Preston, "American Musical Theatre," 12.

¹⁰² Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 90.

¹⁰³ The complex history of this song has been traced by minstrelsy historian William J. Mahar, who writes that this particular song—known by its variety of titles—was one of the most frequently published songs in antebellum songsters and minstrel books between 1846 and 1860. See William J. Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask: Early Blackface Minstrelsy and Antebellum American Popular Culture*, Music in American Life (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 234-44, 367. Mahar notes differences between the version attributed to minstrel Dan Emmett (1844 or 1846) and the version published by F. D. Benteen (1846), especially with respect to Emmett's modal melody and Benteen's tonal melody. In his narrative, Mahar also considers the version published by Keith's Music Publishing House (1846). None of these publications employs the phrase "Negro Song" in reference to "De Blue Tail Fly"; rather, that term was employed on the 1846 printing by Oliver Ditson. See Lester S. Levy Collection of Sheet Music, Box 018, Item 26. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.

Montgatz (a "melo-drama") and the *100 Pound Note* (a farce) by the Thespians, James P. Cox performed "Sitting on a Rail" and "Jim Brown."

For this particular evening, music was included both within the primary drama and between it and the second play. According to a rare review in *The Disseminator*:

The Melo-Drama of 'Tekeli' was produced in a manner which added greatly to the established credit of the theatre, the performers throughout sustained their respective characters with as much force as the characters they represented would allow, and their efforts were cheered with the most universal approbation and applause. The music to the piece was well selected, appropriate, and well executed, which added greatly to the melo-dramatic effect. . . . The negro songs of 'Sitting on a Rail' and 'Jim Brown,' which were sung after the Drama, were received with the most unbounded applause, and were deservedly encored.¹⁰⁴

The Disseminator's reference to "unbounded applause" for "negro songs" appears to stand in contrast to New Harmony's historical commitment to abolition. For example, in the first issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*, (October 1, 1825), the Preliminary Society's stance against slavery was made clear: "we are happy in being enabled, in our first [issue], to lay before our readers a plan which appears at once so consistent and practicable, for counteracting a national misfortune so pregnant with mischief as that of slavery; a misfortune which will, if not speedily averted, carry its dreadful consequences throughout our country, from the fires-side to the cabinet."¹⁰⁵ The Society's constitution, which also appeared in this issue, stated the following: "Persons of color may be received as helpers to the Society, if necessary; or if it be found useful, to prepare and enable them to become associates in Communities in Africa; or in some other country, or in some other part of this country."

¹⁰⁴ *The Disseminator*, February 27, 1837.

¹⁰⁵ "Slavery," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 1, 1825.

Whereas the aforementioned documents were crafted during Owen's reign, Maclure had also argued vehemently against slavery, especially after having learned of its effects in 1826 while visiting Frances Wright in Nashoba, a planned community in Tennessee whose purpose was to rehabilitate former slaves and prepare them for entry into society.¹⁰⁶ Following his visit, he wrote to Fretageot and reported himself to have been "delighted with the oeconomy [sic], cleanliness, tranquility, and excellent arrangement introduced in so short a time amongst

¹⁰⁶ Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, *Partnership for Posterity*, 363. For information about Wright and Nashoba, see Chapter 5 in Celia Morris, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (1992; repr., Illini Books); Amos Gilbert, *Memoir of Frances Wright, the Pioneer Woman in the Cause of Human Rights* (Cincinnati: Longley brothers, 1855), 25-27. A native of Scotland, Wright travelled to the United States for the first time in 1818, and on her return, she published *Views of Society and Manners in America*, in which she chronicled her experiences in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington DC., as well as her impressions of three contemporary social issues: the plight of the "Indian," the poverty of European emigrants, and the emancipation of slaves. See Frances Wright, *View of Society and Manners in America; in a Series of Letters from That Country to a Friend in England, During the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821). She returned to the United States in 1824, and spent considerable time observing these social injustices, against which she would fight for the remainder of her life. In a reflection on her initial abolitionist impulse, she wrote: "While yet imperfectly acquainted with the state of things in my adopted country—with the breadth of distance between American principles and American practice—between the theory of American government and its actual application—my attention had been attracted towards the political anomaly and moral injustice presented by the condition of the coloured population in the slave-holding states, as well as by the feeling exhibited, and practices legally countenanced, towards that race, generally throughout the union."¹⁰⁶ See Frances Wright, "Preface," in *Course of Popular Lectures, as Delivered by Frances Wright* (New York: The Free Enquirer, 1829), 8. Wright was familiar with Robert Owen's efforts in the institutionalization of equality, and she travelled to New Harmony to see them in practice in the Preliminary Society. Like Owen, Wright believed that education could cure social ills, and in what would be among her last statement of intentions, which were never fully realized, she declared "the principles of moral and intellectual liberty consecrated in her deed, should be preserved pure in practice as in principle, and that its more especial object—the protection and regeneration of the race of color, should never be lost sight of so long as the oppression of that race should find a sanction in the laws or in the feelings of the more numerous population." Frances Wright, "Explanatory Notes, &c. concluded," *New Harmony Gazette*, February 13, 1828. Nashoba operated from 1825 to 1828, and Wright was forced to close the colony after it was mismanaged in her absence. She freed all of the slaves and facilitated their move to Haiti. See Carol A. Kolmerten, *Women in Utopia: The Ideology of Gender in the American Owenite Communities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 136-37.

slaves."¹⁰⁷ Then, in his will dated 1827, Maclure made provisions for a "colony of free coloured people," for which he named two trustees—Fretageot and Wright—and set aside fifteen plots of land within Posey County, Indiana, for that purpose.

I do hereby constitute and appoint Maria Duclos Fretageot and Frances Wright my lawful trustees, to act for me and in my name, in expending and appropriating all the revenues of the real and personal property in the Counties of Pike and Posey State of Indiana and White County State of Illinois, which I bou[gh]t of Frederick Rapp, to be used for the support and maintenance of a colony of free coloured people, in the manner that may appear best, to the trustees Maria Duclos Fretageot and Frances Wright calculated to carry this trust into execution . . .¹⁰⁸

Maclure's plan appears to have been either superseded by a different one or to have been abandoned, possibly when Wright left New Harmony with Robert Dale Owen to run the *Free Enquirer* newspaper or when Fretageot died in 1833. Regardless, this will provides useful insight into Maclure's priorities and principles immediately following the collapse of the Community of Equality. Even after his death in 1840, New Harmony remained one of the southernmost outposts for abolitionism in Indiana and occasionally employed freedmen as cooks.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, December 13, 1826, Hodge-Fretageot Collection, Box 1, Folder 4.

¹⁰⁸ Maclure's 1827 will is reprinted as Appendix H in Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, *Partnership for Posterity*, 1083-92. It should be noted that Wright was subsequently removed as trustee after she married Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Piquetal d'Arusmont (William Piquetal), the Pestalozzian instructor who had been assisted by Fretageot in Paris. See Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 280.

¹⁰⁹ The history of slavery in Indiana is complicated and beyond the scope of the current study, but officially, it was an "anti-slavery" territory and state, as per the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Indiana Constitution of 1816. Matthew Salafia provides a detailed and nuanced view of the ways in which various types of enslavement changed during the antebellum within the Ohio River Valley, of which New Harmony (and Posey County) was an important part. He reports that by 1850, between 0.5 and 1.0% of Posey County residents were free African Americans and by 1860, Posey County had 136 free blacks, which was more than the neighboring county, Vanderburgh County, whose county seat is Evansville. The southwest corner of Posey County is formed by the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, which in turn, borders Illinois and Kentucky, thereby making New Harmony a true "borderland" of

Regarding this 1837 performance of "negro songs" in New Harmony, there is no indication as to whether they were sung in blackface, but given that Maclure was still connected to the town, it seems unlikely.¹¹⁰ Even so, the presence of such music in New Harmony raises the question as to its circulation in an abolitionist region. Both "Sitting on a Rail" and "Jim Brown" were printed in the *United States Songster*, which was published in 1836 by U. P. James of Cincinnati; thus, it is reasonable to assume that with the songster was disseminated throughout the Ohio River valley immediately following its publication.

In his research on the relationship between mid-nineteenth century minstrelsy audiences and their political views, Eric Lott notes that "audiences involved in early minstrelsy were not universally derisive of African-Americans or their culture and that there was a range of responses to the minstrel show which point to an instability or contradiction in the form itself."¹¹¹ Lott also notes that minstrel songs were frequently employed as an *entr'acte*—that is, as a song performed between two acts of a drama—and that, in some cases, as a popular art form, minstrelsy served as a "crucial place of contestation" and a "site of struggle in and over the culture of black

slavery. Matthew Salafia, *Slavery's Borderland: Freedom and Bondage Along the Ohio River* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 70-107, 92-93, 234-35.

¹¹⁰ The Witmark Amateur Minstrel Guide and Burnt Cork Encyclopedia provides a detailed description of how blackface is applied. "First, we get a lot of champagne corks, or remnants of cork from a cork stopper factory. These are placed in an old tin pail—which serves as a furnace—and then ignited. A few holes in the pail which furnish draught for the blazing corks. When they have been thoroughly burned, they are crushed and reduced to a powder by hand. Then this powder is moistened with water, and we run it through a small paint mill to grind it fine. Then we place the paste thus made into tin boxes and it is ready for use. You moisten with a little water the quantity you need as you are applying it to the face. . . . Comedians leave a wider white margin all around the lips. This will give it the appearance of a large mouth, and will look red to the spectator. . . . [for white hair] we use chalk." See Frank Dumont, *The Witmark Amateur Minstrel Guide and Burnt Cork Encyclopedia* (M. Witmark and Sons: Chicago, 1899), 14-16.

¹¹¹ Eric Lott, "'The Seeming Counterfeit': Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," *American Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1991): 224.

people."¹¹² Thus, even if these two songs were to have been rendered in blackface, Lott notes that early minstrel shows exhibited an "emphasis . . . on spectacle rather than on narrative," thereby allowing for the potential occurrence of blackface in New Harmony to be reconsidered as acceptable rather than as incongruous with its foundational ideologies.¹¹³

With respect to the performance of these two "negro songs," this rare excerpt from *The Disseminator* gives rise to several questions regarding the town's dynamic relationship with abolitionism for which precise answers may never be found.¹¹⁴ At the same time, however, this excerpt indicates, with certainty, that the Society was rendering melodramas in the manner with which they were intended, thereby evoking the intended response confirmed by *The Disseminator's* assertion that the music "added greatly to the melodramatic effect." For example, to enhance a scene in which the protagonist, Tekeli, marches with his soldiers into battle, composer James Hook wrote a march (see example 3.2). Hook, whose son Edward Theodore Hook wrote the play in 1806, composed another march to accompany the movement of the Count as he comes over the bridge (see example 3.3). Both marches contain features commonly associated with processions: an initial "trumpet" fanfare in common time that outlines

¹¹² Lott, "The Seeming Counterfeit," 226.

¹¹³ Lott offers additional insight into the role that mid-nineteenth-century minstrelsy played in the American soundscape, but his comments on class, whereby minstrelsy "substitute[d] racial hostility for class struggle" seem irrelevant to New Harmony, considering that, at the time of this performance, Maclure was in the process of creating new opportunities for the working class that would materialize in 1838. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 156. As such, New Harmony may be considered anomalous because, because, as Dale Cockrell has demonstrated, blackface was extremely popular long before it was codified into a show. He estimates that his efforts, which have resulted in a list of 5,000 productions, have only captured "one-quarter of all blackface performances in America through 1843." See Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World*, Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15.

¹¹⁴ Future research on the presence of music in Frances Wright's Nashoba could shed additional light on this issue.

the tonic key, complete with dotted rhythms that accentuate a leap of a perfect fourth (see example 3.2), or, for a lengthier announcement, dotted rhythms on the second beat of the measure

Example 3.2 *Tekeli*, Tekeli's March with his Soldiers into Battle

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The music features a prominent dotted rhythm on the second beat of each measure, which accentuates a leap of a perfect fourth. The first system shows the initial four measures. The second system begins at measure 5 and includes a repeat sign. The third system begins at measure 10. The fourth system begins at measure 15 and concludes with a double bar line. The melody in the treble clef is characterized by dotted rhythms and leaps, while the bass clef provides a steady accompaniment.

Example 3.3 *Tekeli*, March to Accompany Count Caraffi's Movement over the Bridge

The image displays a musical score for a march in 2/4 time, consisting of seven systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 7, 13, 19, 25, 31, and 37 indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are repeat signs (double bar lines with dots) at measures 13-14 and 39-40. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 40.

(see example 3) regardless of the pitches involved. In these and other musical figures, James Hook strove to heighten the action on stage with corresponding sonic phenomena.¹¹⁵ As such, these two marches exemplify the notion of melodramatic music, and programmatic descriptions are printed on the original sheet music.

Instrumental Music

This 1837 performance of Hook's marches would have been greatly enhanced if it had been rendered with an instrumental ensemble, especially one that included a trumpet. In spite of this, and the fact that instrumental ensembles had been key to Robert Owen's well-regulated amusements of the Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality, instrumental ensembles of any kind were not mentioned explicitly in the New Harmony press for another decade.¹¹⁶ On August 30, 1838, *The Disseminator* announced that the "New Harmony Band gave their assistance on the two last evenings; we were much pleased with the improvement they have made in so short a time, since their organization. A little perseverance will enable them at any time to entertain our citizens with an instrumental concert, not frequently heard in the Hoosier villages [of Indiana]. At present the wind instruments are too powerful for the stringed ones; a violincello [sic], and violins are wanting to blend the tones, and fit them for in-door theatrical

¹¹⁵ Examples of expressive, melodramatic music in *Tekeli* abound, many of which caught the ear of Charles Dickens, who wrote about them in his journal, *All Year Around* 9 (July 25, 1863).

¹¹⁶ The eye-witness accounts of Robert Dale Owen, Paul Brown, and Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe Eisenach, confirm the presence of instrumental music in New Harmony during the Owenite era. In his oft-quoted observations of New Harmony's instrumentalists, the Duke claims to have heard a violin, cello, clarionet, and flutes; according to the Duke, one of the clarionet players also performed on the bugle. See Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, *Travels through North America*, vol. 1, 110.

performances."¹¹⁷ The statement insinuates that because the town's band had only recently been (re)established, the New Harmony Thespian Society's earliest performances, with their interpolated and supplemental songs, dances, and incidental music, had been accompanied by a pianist.

As for the personnel in this (re)established ensemble of 1838, no such documentation has yet been found; yet, the *New Harmony Register* from February 7, 1874, provides an undated list of the people involved in the "Old New Harmony Orchestra" as recreated in figure 2.¹¹⁸

Woodwinds	Brass	Strings	Other
Luke Agniel, Clarinet	George L. Schnee, Bugle	F. Johnson, Violin	William Daniels, Serpent
James Cox, Clarinet	Samuel Todd, Bugle	William Owen, Violin	
John W. Cox, Clarinet	Charles Agniel, Trombone	M. Platt, Violin	
Robert Robson, Flute		Richard Owen, Violincello [sic]	
W. C. Pelham, Flute			
James Snelling, Flute			
Henry Tiebout, Flute			
Edward T. Cox, Flauto Picoli			
Edward T. Cox?, Bassoon			

Figure 2 Members of the "Old New Harmony Orchestra"¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ *The Disseminator*, August 30, 1838; reprinted, *New Harmony Register*, January 31, 1874.

¹¹⁸ Without knowing the source and date of the information reprinted in the *New Harmony Register*, it may be impossible to determine for certain whether these were the members of the original band to which the 1838 article in *The Disseminator* refers and whether this band was actually established in 1838 or reestablished from a predecessor that was extant between 1826 and 1827, while the Community of Equality was still in existence. Another complication arises when identifying members of New Harmony during the post-Community era because in some documents, male citizens are listed with their middle initial and, in others, without. While Nora C. Fretageot and W. Mangrum's *Historic New Harmony* contains lists of the Community's original family names, only a few family trees are available (e.g., Owen family, Fauntleroy family) for residents of the town during the post-Community era. In some instances, the family trees are handwritten on index cards and kept in the Local History File drawer of the Working Men's Institute.

¹¹⁹ This list has been reorganized by instrumental families in order to facilitate a better visualization of ensemble's constituents; the original list was listed by parts (i.e., primo, secondo, tertio, and basso).

This list provides useful information about who was involved in New Harmony's ensemble, and, with the names of the instruments provided, one can imagine the kind of sound the ensemble would have been capable of producing. Also, this ensemble would have had at least three advantages over the piano, which may have accompanied, most, if not all, of the musical elements of the Society's earliest shows. First, the band would have been able to execute a wider variety of semiotic gestures and timbral effects and, second, it would have possessed a much larger dynamic range; both characteristics would have enhanced and expanded the melodramatic possibilities. Finally, the instruments—both singly and together—were more mobile than the piano, making the band suitable for indoor and outdoor performances and engagements.

This list provides valuable information necessary in reconstructing New Harmony's soundscape, but it also leaves some questions unanswered. According to this list, the sixteen-piece orchestra contained four flutes, three clarinets, one piccolo player who may have doubled on bassoon, two bugles, one trombone, three violins, one violoncello, and a serpent. As such, music performance in New Harmony was not—or no longer—limited to vocalists and pianists, and New Harmony was home to a surprising number of instrumentalists who had mastered the skills necessary for performing in a public venue. But the desire for additional stringed instruments, as listed in *The Disseminator*, raises the question of the list's date and the presence of a different band. Whereas *The Disseminator* may have been responding to the high woodwinds, bugles, and trombone, it may have actually referenced a band with a smaller string section than this one above, whose list remains undated but must predate William Owen's death

in 1842.¹²⁰ The only documented addition to the band was an "opheclyde," which was mentioned in a November 11, 1843, article in the *Indiana Statesman*.¹²¹

Regardless of its inherent and, as of yet, unsolved mysteries, the list above sheds light on New Harmony's musical capacities from a historical perspective: the instruments of this ensemble match, for the most part, the reconstructions of the original Community of Equality band proposed by Seymour Kesten. Kesten, a historian of utopian communities, attempted to determine that band's composition by examining miscellaneous pieces of sheet music held in New Harmony's archives at the Working Men's Institute. He scrutinized handwritten comments in the assorted pieces of sheet music, such as a note to the flutist to play with the piccolo player and numbers under notes in the bass clef to indicate a trombone's slide position, and assembled a possible personnel list of the Community's band: piccolo, flutes, clarinet, a trumpet, horns, more than one bassoon, possibly a trombone, a "tubalike instrument" (i.e., the serpent), and drums.¹²² With its high woodwinds, brass, bass instruments, and drums, Kesten's proposed personnel list

¹²⁰ Although the list is undated, it was printed in the *New Harmony Register's* retrospective column at the same time the column addressed other Thespian Society activities of 1838. Had this list actually been referring to the Community's band from the previous decade, the list would have been doubly out of place in the column. For example, the column was dedicated to the post-Community era, and, even if this had been the list of the members of the Community band, it would have been more logical to place this list alongside the Thespian activities of 1827, not 1838.

¹²¹ The ophicleide is a keyed brass instrument that was used in in Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, Wagner's *Rienzi*, and Verdi's *Requiem*. For a description of the ophicleide and a comparison of it with the serpent, see Norman Del Mar, *Anatomy of the Orchestra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 335-36. According to an exchange that was printed in the *Indiana Statesman* in the final months of 1843, bands in Southwestern Indiana competed against each other and jested with one another through the press. The following month, on December 9, 1843, the *Statesman* printed the Monroe County Band's response to a challenge posed by the New Harmony Band. While the response does not provide details regarding the instrumental constituency of New Harmony's ensemble, the response does indicate that it is only one-fourth the size of the Monroe County Band.

¹²²Kesten, *Utopian Episodes*, 201-05.

lacks only the string instruments from figure 2. As such, his assertion calls into question the date at which Richard Owen and William Owen, who were both string players, joined the ensembles.

Nevertheless, the personnel from Kesten's proposed Community ensemble and the wind personnel from the list in figure 2 bear a striking resemblance to the early-nineteenth-century bands of England, which comprised clarinets, valveless trumpet and horns, ophicleides, and serpents.¹²³ By the mid-nineteenth century all-brass bands were formed in both England and the United States, and valves enhanced the capabilities of these instruments, thereby expanding the melodic capabilities of these ensembles.¹²⁴ Thus, the wind instrumentation of New Harmony's ensembles would have most likely stayed the same between the Community years and the first decade of the post-Community era simply because additional instrumentation, which will feature prominently in the next chapter, had either not yet been invented or was not yet mainstream.

Both Kesten and Sluder sought additional clues to the kinds of music performed in the post-Community era by examining the music collections of Robert Dale Owen, William Pelham, and Virginia Dupalais. Unlike the music collection of Robert Dale Owen, which was shown in the previous chapter to comprise instrumental dances, the first volume of William Pelham's collection, which he compiled in 1816 and 1817, was of vocal music. According to Sluder, Pelham's *Song Book* includes the texts to thirty-one popular English songs, patriotic songs, and comic pieces, but the majority of the entries in this compilation are unattributed.¹²⁵ Interestingly, two of the songs from *The Mountaineers* are included—"Faint and Wearily (The Way-Worn Traveller)" and "When the Hollow Drum has Beat to Bed," but composer Samuel Arnold is not

¹²³ Roy Newsome, *Brass Roots: A Hundred Years of Brass Bands and Their Music (1836-1936)* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1998), 1-5.

¹²⁴ Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 2001), 273-75; Newsome, *Brass Roots*, 1-5.

¹²⁵ Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 209.

credited. Neither of these two texts include notated music or the name of the tune to which they were to be sung; such is the case with nearly two-thirds of the texts in the collection. Sluder posited that, more than likely, the texts and their appropriate tunes were suitably well-known as to render such an annotation unnecessary.¹²⁶

The second volume of Pelham's collection, *Music Book*, bears much more resemblance to Robert Dale Owen's collection, as it includes forty-four marches, as well as waltzes and minuets. It is much larger than the first volume, with 174 items, and comprises small chamber pieces, songs, and arias from major European works, such as Handel's *Messiah*. As evidenced by figure 2, Pelham played the flute, and many of the pieces in this second volume are scored for solo flute, flute duets, and flute trios.¹²⁷

The last major collection was brought to New Harmony by Virginia Dupalais, who arrived on the Boatload of Knowledge in 1826 and taught art at the Community of Equality.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 210.

¹²⁷ Sluder explores this volume in depth and contextualizes the "eclectic group of works," noting that the compilation may have been used for salon entertainment, public concerts, and for ceremonies. See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 212-25. The entire list of contents, for both volumes, can be found in Appendix 15 of Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 418-426.

¹²⁸ Dupalais came to New Harmony on the Boatload of Knowledge as the ward of Charles Lesueur and was observed playing the pianoforte and singing by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, whose visit to New Harmony was mentioned in Chapter 2. See Maclure, Fretageot, and Elliott, 285. The Duke's references to the "young and pretty" girl portray her as aristocratic and out of touch with, and possibly resentful of, the atmosphere and expectations at New Harmony. He writes that when "she was told the milking of the cows was her duty, and that they were waiting un milked, [she was] almost in tears [and] she betook herself to this servile employment, deprecating the new social system, and its so much prized equality." Karl Bernhard (Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach), *Travels through North America*, vol. 1, 431. Given Dupalais's disposition, her collection of music resembles what would be expected with, as Laura Vorachek writes, the "province of the female amateur musician." Laura Vorachek, "'The Instrument of the Century': The Piano as an Icon of Female Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *George Eliot - George Henry Lewes Studies*, no. 38/39 (2000): 28. Dupalais's collection also has several songs by the Irish composer Thomas Moore, including "My Heart and Lute" and "Love Thee, Dearest," in addition to several songs that are unattributed. The complete table of contents is found in Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 407-13.

Two years later, she married William Augustus Twigg, who had been a member of the Academy of Natural Science with Maclure and an original stockholder of the New Harmony Thespian Society. Dupalais's collection consisted of three bound volumes of music of sheet music, which comprised a few songs and several works for solo piano by European composers such as Johann Baptist Cramer, Fred (Friedrich) Kalkbrenner, and Fred (Friedrich) Kuhlau. The contents of Dupalais's collection differed from those of Robert Dale Owen and William Pelham possibly because they reflected the contemporary musical expectations of women—that is, this music could be rendered at home or in a salon.¹²⁹

Given its restrictions, Dupalais's collection does not help to reconstruct the personnel list of New Harmony's instrumental ensembles during the Community and post-Community eras. The collections of Owen and Pelham reveal that a wide variety of instrumental pieces were, in fact, available for performances during this time. Although there is no evidence to prove or disprove that the band was dismantled along with the Community's collapse, the band that was described in *The Disseminator* in 1838 set a significant precedent. From that point forward and well into the twentieth century, the "band" in its various configurations would become the backbone of New Harmony's musical life and regain its position as one of the main vehicles through which Owen's well-regulated amusements were transmitted. With the presence of the band, the New Harmony Thespian Society and its successors were able to accomplish their three objects—improvement, instruction, and amusement—in a vivid and sonically memorable way. The band's performance would have immediately heightened the audience's amusement and acted as a supplementary mode of instruction by corresponding sounds with emotions and actions. In so doing, the music enhanced the dramatic performances that were already

¹²⁹ Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 168.

functioning as well-regulated amusements and provided another incentive for audience members to come together. By all accounts, the addition of music to New Harmony's theatrical productions was successful—"add[ing] greatly to the melo-dramatic effect"—but, during the post-Community era, the band earned its own outstanding reputation for music that was "cheering and hard to beat anywhere"¹³⁰ and "worth the price of admission."¹³¹

Although the band was recognized primarily for its work with New Harmony's thespian organizations, it also secured a loyal following by supplying music for civic events, many of which promoted healthful ideals, such as temperance and patriotism, or celebrated occasions and anniversaries relevant to New Harmony's history. For example, in celebration of the New Harmony Temperance Society's anniversary on March 19, 1844, the New Harmony Band provided music throughout the evening, while prominent locals, including Richard Owen and David Dale Owen, addressed the audience about the virtues of temperance.¹³² That same year, the band serenaded New Harmony's citizens in honor of the sixty-eighth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. On the morning of the Fourth of July, the Band led a procession to the Labyrinth, where New Harmony's leaders presided over a ceremony.¹³³ During the ceremony, the leaders praised their American forefathers and celebrated several attributes currently in vogue, including liberty, "a universal and enlightened system of education," temperance, the art of printing (which was the root of knowledge dissemination), happiness, and women's rights.

¹³⁰ *New Harmony Register*, September 19, 1874.

¹³¹ *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874.

¹³² Over the course of the evening, overtures, marches, quicksteps, and waltzes were performed. See *New Harmony Statesman*, March 9, 1844.

¹³³ The Rappites constructed labyrinths out of plants and plant materials in each of their three American locations: Butler County, Pennsylvania, Harmonie (New Harmony), Indiana, and Ökonomie (Economy), Pennsylvania. See Lilan Laishley, "The Harmonist Labyrinths," *Caerdroia—The Journal of Mazes & Labyrinths* 32 (2001).

The band was fully integrated into the event, as it provided music after each of the main speeches and toasts.¹³⁴

The Fourth of July celebrations at New Harmony, such as this one in 1844, showcased the town's instrumentalists, and this particular example highlights the band's ability to accommodate a set of musical needs that New Harmony's vocalists and pianists could not. For example, the band was a mobile entity—one that could participate in a procession and be heard outside. This mobility gave rise to a kind of musical flexibility, whereby the band could perform in transit and at different venues—indoors and outside, as well as in conjunction with the thespian groups, which were restricted to the stage.

New Harmony Dramatic Association, 1847–1850: Variety, Mobility, Beneficence

New Harmony's Band continued to play an important role in the town's musical-theatrical events, even as the Thespian Society added new members and changed its name to the New Harmony Dramatic Association in 1847.¹³⁵ Despite the name change, the objects held in esteem by the original New Harmony Thespian Society retained their importance, as evident in a statement printed in the *Western Atlas* on July 8, 1847.¹³⁶ "We are glad to see the efforts of those

¹³⁴ *New Harmony Statesman*, July 13, 1844.

¹³⁵ Documents about New Harmony's theatrical activities during the mid-1840s are scarce; the *New Harmony Register's* retrospective column does not address this time period in detail.

¹³⁶ The Association had no female members for its initial performance. The *New Harmony Register* notes that "[a]t the commencement, the new combination, although strong in point of membership, possessed no actresses, for we find that in the first performance given, in both pieces the scenes introducing female characters were cut out." See "A Record," in *New Harmony Register*, February 21, 1874. But subsequent evidence in the same issue suggests that by their second performance, dated June 5, 1847, women had been reinstated into the Association.

who are thus endeavoring to unite instruction with amusement, so well appreciated by our citizens." The New Harmony Dramatic Association and its band began to be recognized as a combination, and, as such, they exemplified three characteristics common among contemporaneous musical-theatrical companies: variety, mobility, and beneficence.

The concepts of variety and mobility seem directly related to the changes inherent in modernity. For example, variety can best be seen in the availability of new genres and new examples of traditional genres for production. New shows satisfied their audiences in New Harmony and contributed to the cycle of increased supply and demand. The labels used to describe the different kinds of genres available increased over the course of the nineteenth century, so much so that Preston has warned of an "imprecision of terminology that can drive a codifier mad."¹³⁷ Many of these labels were applied to plays with music, including the following: ballet-pantomime, burlesque, burletta, comic drama, comic opera, comic pantomime, dramatic force, divertissement, extravaganza, farce, farce-comedy, follies, light opera, melodrama, minstrel show, musical romance, opéra-bouffe, opera buffa, operetta, revue, scandals, spectacle, vanities, vaudeville, variety show. In some cases, a single play might be known by more than one of these terms.¹³⁸

As the Dramatic Association expanded its repertoire, it also cultivated audiences in new places. With advancements in transportation technology, the performers could reach new

¹³⁷ See Preston, "American Musical Theatre," 18; Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, xiii-xiv. See also, Edith Borroff, "Origin of Species: Conflicting Views of American Musical Theater History," *American Music* 2, no. 4 (1984): 109. The contributions of Borroff (1984), Preston (2001, 2014) and Pisani (2014) were published over the course of thirty years; yet, the thrust of their work points to two related issues that remain unresolved. First, an abundance of terms has been coined to describe dramas with music, and second, these terms have not been standardized. These two issues have complicated the historiography of late eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century musical theater in the United States.

¹³⁸ Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, xiv.

audiences in the tristate area without compromising their performance schedules back home.¹³⁹

In addition, they could return home more expediently, which gave the performers—especially the musicians—more time to use their talents for benefit shows and other important civic events, such as parades, patriotic celebrations, and funerals.

By embodying these characteristics—variety, mobility, and beneficence—New Harmony's major theatrical, musical-theatrical, and musical organizations were capable of bringing well-regulated amusements to local and regional audience members. In addition to the numerous dramatic genres available, the accompanying instrumental ensemble would be featured in a symphonic overture and occasionally in pieces over the course of an evening, besides the music it rendered within the dramatic interpretations. By transcending New Harmony's boundaries, the thespians and their accompanying musicians facilitated the opportunity of other citizens of the region to come together to experience the type of amusements that had become integral to the community experience at New Harmony. As New Harmony's cultural organizations approached the mid-century mark, they advanced the town's reputation.

By 1847 the Dramatic Association now consisted of former members of the Amateur Dramatic Association (of Covington, Kentucky), including Jonathan Jackson, William F. Pritchard, James P. Bennett, and James Warren, who had recently moved to New Harmony in order to establish a silk factory.¹⁴⁰ Covington was directly across the Ohio River from Cincinnati, which had enjoyed a strong theatrical presence since the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 315.

¹⁴⁰ *New Harmony Register*, February 21, 1874.

¹⁴¹ For example, an announcement from the September 30, 1801, edition of the *Western Spy* indicated that John O'Keefe's *Poor Soldier* was to be performed in Cincinnati the following evening. According to historian Ophia Smith, this production was rendered by the officers and men stationed at Fort Washington, and it marked the first performance of a play in the Northwest Territory. For the history of theater in Cincinnati during the first three decades of the nineteenth

Rather than weakening the bonds among the extant thespians, these new members contributed significantly to New Harmony's theatrical endeavors. Jackson and Pritchard, in particular, were known for their singing, and they were often featured between plays. Throughout 1847, the Dramatic Association continued to please its crowds. A notice published in the June 10, 1847, issue of the *Western Atlas* indicated that the June 5, 1847, performance was "well attended and gave general satisfaction." The following month, the July 8, 1847, issue of the *Western Atlas* published a brief, but favorable, review of the July 5, 1847, performance of *Othello*, which was referenced earlier.

The New Harmony Minstrels

The following year, the townspeople were reintroduced to minstrelsy on January 1, 1848, by the New Harmony Minstrels, in a concert of five songs, including "Trip to a Nigga Meeting," "The Old Grey Goose," "Mary Blane," "Who dat Nigger dar a Peepin'," and "Jim Crack Corn," some recitations, and an instrumental overture. Their performance was sandwiched between a production of Douglas Jerrold's drama *The Rent Day* and a farce of *The Omnibus* rendered by the New Harmony Dramatic Association. According to the February 28, 1874, issue of "A Record," the Minstrels, whose members included Abe Baldwin, James Baldwin, John Baldwin, Victor

century, see Ophia D. Smith, "The Early Theater of Cincinnati," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 13, no. 4 (1955); Ophia D. Smith, "The Cincinnati Theater (1817-1830)," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 14, no. 4 (1956). Covington, Kentucky, became a city in 1815. See Paul A. Tenkotte, James C. Claypool, and David Schroeder, *Gateway City: Covington, Kentucky, 1815-2015* (Covington, KY: Clerisy Press, 2015). As evident in the travels of Josiah Warren, Neef, Jackson, Pritchard, Bennett, James Warren, the Ohio River enhanced the mobility of people between New Harmony and the Cincinnati region. It stands to reason that musical goods, such as songster books and instruments, were also transported by boat from Cincinnati, or possibly New Orleans, to New Harmony.

Collins, George Hamilton, and W. A. Hamilton, described themselves as the "first 'burnt cork' minstrel troupe to be organized in this place."¹⁴²

Their musical selections illustrated different tropes embodied by the genre of minstrelsy, which Robert Winans has categorized as follows: Love (comic, sentimental/tragic), Other Scenes of Black Life (comic, nonsense, character songs), Parodies (operatic, popular songs).¹⁴³ "Trip to a Nigga Meeting," presents an assortment of incongruous religious references in parody, but also gives white audiences a sense of religious practices within a religious service with which they may not have been familiar.¹⁴⁴ In "The Old Grey Goose," a widower reflects on his life as a bachelor and then as a husband to a woman who, with her pewter mug, "beats my head asunder." After her death, the man remarries two days after the first wife was buried, and he is convinced that because she had not attended church, she was being guided by an "evil spirit."¹⁴⁵ According to Mahar, this song is one of many that comments on domestic relationships between husband and wife, and like songs with a similar theme, these relationships were frequently characterized as unequal and unhappy.¹⁴⁶ "Trip to a Nigga Meeting" and "Old Grey Goose" were both printed in the *Negro Forget-Me-Not Songster*, but Winans has discovered at least two different tunes for "Mary Blane" and at least four different texts. Thus, it remains unknown which version was

¹⁴² Only Victor Collins and W. A. Hamilton appeared in performances of the New Harmony Dramatic Association in 1848.

¹⁴³ Robert B. Winans, "Early Minstrel Show Music, 1843-1852," in *Inside the Minstrel Mask: Readings in Nineteenth-Century Blackface Minstrelsy*, ed. Annemarie Bean, James V. Hatch, and Brooks McNamara (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 150.

¹⁴⁴ Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask*, 83-84.

¹⁴⁵ U. P. James, *The New Negro Forget-Me-Not Songster, Containing All the New Negro Songs Ever Published, with a Choice Collection of Ballad Songs, Now Sung in Concerts*, ed. U. P. James (Cincinnati: U.P. James, 1850), 57-58.

¹⁴⁶ Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask*, 324-25. According to Robert Winans, "The Old Grey Goose" appeared in nearly one quarter of the forty-seven minstrel programs that he surveyed between 1843 and 1847. He has placed it in the "Other Scenes of 'Black' Life: comic" category. See Winans, "Early Minstrel Show Music," 148-50.

performed by the New Harmony Minstrels; nevertheless, the songs that shared this title were grouped into the Love: sentimental/tragic popular category.¹⁴⁷ Mahar notes that the "'Mary Blane' songs were not only the most popular of all the blackface laments about the loss of a lover but also the examples with the greatest variety of comic texts."¹⁴⁸ "Who dat Nigger dar a Peepin'" has been attributed to Cool White, who is said to have introduced the song at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia.¹⁴⁹ This particular song has not been documented as extensively as the other four that the Minstrels performed, and it remains unknown how they learned about it. The final song—"Jim Crack Corn"—which was known by a different title than that which was used in 1836 ("The Blue Tail Fly"), was among the more widely disseminated minstrel songs in the repertoire.¹⁵⁰

The Minstrels' 1848 performance appears to have been a unique event, and it remains unclear whether the audience's reception of minstrelsy was affected, in any way, by the town's recent embrace of religious establishments.¹⁵¹ Immediately following William Maclure's death in 1840, his siblings (Anna and Alexander) were the sole inheritors of his estate, and in their refusal to fulfill their brother's wishes, they sold his land in New Harmony to Episcopalians and added the profit to their already robust fortune.¹⁵² With the establishment of St. Stephen's Episcopal

¹⁴⁷ The various iterations of Mary Blane have been examined extensively by Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask*, 283-97.

¹⁴⁸ Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask*, 284.

¹⁴⁹ George Steward, "Round the Table: An Old-Time Experiment," *Self Culture: A Magazine of Knowledge, with Departments Devoted to Literature, Science, Art and Music, Civics, Education, Religion, and the Home* 9 (April 1899).

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 5 in Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask*.

¹⁵¹ Based on the available newspaper coverage, no additional minstrel performances were rendered until the New Harmony Ethiopians gave their inaugural performance on June 1, 1861. According to Claude Sluder, minstrel shows were featured occasionally throughout the 1860s and 1870s. See Sluder, "Music in New Harmony," 253-54.

¹⁵² Warren, *Maclure of New Harmony*, 291.

Church in 1841, New Harmony ceased to be the nonsectarian haven that both Owen and Maclure had envisioned and cultivated. Certainly, this ideological shift at New Harmony may have occurred in isolation from the aesthetic choices made and sponsored by the town's dramatic association. But this sudden emergence of minstrelsy (approximately eleven years following the renderings of "De Blue Tail Fly" by J. Ed. Clarke and "Sitting on a Rail" and "Jim Brown" by James P. Cox) warrants inquiry, especially considering this 1848 performance was followed by an equally sudden disappearance of minstrelsy from the town's stage. Moreover, by 1848, minstrelsy, as a genre, had changed dramatically, having undergone what Dale Cockrell has called a "watershed moment, not to be underestimated."¹⁵³

This moment took place on January 14, 1843, with the performance of the Virginia Minstrels at the Bowery Amphitheatre in New York. By Cockrell's estimation, there had been "more than twenty thousand opportunities" for Americans to view "staged blackface" before the end of 1843, but the Virginia Minstrels "altered forever the direction taken by blackface entertainment" by combining their various character representations with concertizing through the marketing efforts of an agent.¹⁵⁴ These representations have been examined, primarily, for their depiction of race, but, as mentioned in conjunction with the minstrel performances of 1836 and 1837, Lott has argued that blackface minstrelsy actually represented the coupling of race and class conflict, with the latter experienced by white, working-class Americans, and the coupling of race and masculinity, whereby marginalized white men could "indulge their sense of difference."¹⁵⁵ This focus on class conflict has also been explored by W. T. Lhamon, who notes

¹⁵³ See Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 149.

¹⁵⁴ Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 15, 149-50. By this, Cockrell is referring to the ways in which minstrelsy became a show, complete with content expectations and accommodations for the audience.

¹⁵⁵ Lott, *Love and Theft*, 51, 156.

that, in the shadow cast by a number of historians appalled by the racist discourse embedded in minstrelsy, he considers minstrel shows in conjunction with the "wider recalcitrance" of the antebellum. Here, he emphasizes the "broad interracial refusal of middle-class channeling that working men and women of all hues mounted using the corrupt tools bequeathed them . . . [whereby] they could make spectacles of themselves." Further, he posits that the actions within minstrelsy were what Rebhorn later described as "revolutionary gestures aimed at tearing down the edifice of racism in the antebellum period."¹⁵⁶

By the time the New Harmony Minstrels were established, minstrelsy had assumed a number of purposes, but none of them appears to align directly with the foundational ideologies of New Harmony. Indeed, as described above, the town's position on slavery had been made clear at its inception, and equality among the classes had perpetuated by Maclure's Working Men's Institute, which was still functioning as intended; as such, the ideas proffered by Lott, Lhamon, Rebhorn, and others, seem unsuitable in this instance. Moreover, this singular performance in 1848 calls not only the purpose of minstrelsy, as performed in New Harmony, into question, but also the reception and apparent rejection of it as a form of entertainment that would not be reintroduced until 1861.

Over the next two years, the majority of plays performed in New Harmony showcased the town's musical talent, but the extent to which the minstrels participated is not fully known. Both singing and instrumental accompaniment were found throughout a performance of John Baldwin Buckstone's drama *Luke the Laborer* and Henry Mayhew's farce *The Wandering Minstrel* on January 20, 1849. The evening's festivities also exhibited two of the Association's three important attributes: variety, both in theatrical and musical terms, and beneficence, as the

¹⁵⁶ Rebhorn, *Pioneer Performances*, 72.

performance was rendered as a benefit for a sick member.¹⁵⁷ *Luke the Laborer*, for example, is a domestic comedy in two acts that features singing among the dialogue. The play opens with the following chorus:

Our last load of corn is now in, boys,
'Tis time that our mirth should begin, boys:
For grief would be worse than a sin, boys,
At this our harvest home.

Our labours have now a relief, boys,
So there's bacon and cabbage, and beef, boys,
But a barrel of ale is the chief, boys,
To rule o'er a harvest home.

The play also contains several songs, including "Le Sabotiere," a glee that opens the second act, and the ballad "Young Susan Had Lovers."¹⁵⁸ A comic song was then performed before the presentation of Mayhew's farce *The Wandering Minstrel*.

Association members were not the only ones for whom benefit performances were given, however. The following month, on February 22, 1849, two plays were performed for the benefit of the band itself, including *Grandfather Whitehead* and *Mark Lawrence*¹⁵⁹ The band serenaded its audience with "new and appropriate Music" both before and between the two plays.¹⁶⁰

While benefit performances were popular, the Dramatic Association often kept the proceeds to pay for expenditures related to scenery and costuming. Of the four thespians who had come to New Harmony from Covington, Kentucky, in 1847, Jonathan Jackson was respected for both his voice and his handiwork, which sustained the Association during times of internal, but otherwise unspecified, turmoil.

¹⁵⁷ *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874.

¹⁵⁸ George Rodwell composed the music to "Young Susan had Lovers."

¹⁵⁹ Mark Lemon wrote *Grandfather Whitehead* in 1842. The two-act drama, *Mark Lawrence, or the Farmer's Dream*, was written by William Beatty Lighterness in 1837.

¹⁶⁰ *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874

The ill-feeling and jealousy that had for several months existed between members of the Thespian Company culminated in an open rupture of the Association in the Fall of 1849, and the removal of the scenery from the theater. Subsequently Mr. Jonathan Jackson fitted up new scenery in the same room and gave several performances during the latter part of the year 1849, and in 1850, of which the bills of but two can be found; the first took place in October 1849.¹⁶¹

In this October 29, 1849, rendering of George Colman's (the younger) comic opera *Love Laughs at Locksmiths* and John Maddison Morton's farce, *Box and Cox*, the Dramatic Association presented music throughout the evening, following the trend to perform songs that were composed for a particular play as well as popular songs between the two plays. *Love Laughs at Locksmiths* is full of music composed by Michael Kelly, including a duet "Why, Where's my Rascal?," an air "Hard is my Lot, When Youth is Mine" (also known as the "The Harp Song"), and other songs, including "The Farm Yard," and "Ruddy Damon Sighing Said" in Act I.¹⁶² Act II features vocal solos, including "A Guardian There Was" and "Unfortunate Miss Bailey," a trio "No, No I doubt you Much," and a finale for chorus, "Cupid Inflaming Us." After *Love Laughs at Locksmiths*, several of the Association members sang popular songs that were neither composed by Kelly nor part of the play, such as "White Squall" (with Henry Robinson), "Peggy Gray" (with William Daniels) and "What the Deil [sic] would be At" and "The Trumpet Sounds" (featuring Henry Robinson) as well as a recitation of James Planché's "The One-Legged Goose" (featuring Jonathan Jackson).¹⁶³ "White Squall," for example, had been composed by George Arthur Barker in 1833, thirty years after Colman and Kelly's 1803 comic opera.

¹⁶¹ *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874.

¹⁶² In the edition printed by Kelly at his Musical Saloon Pall Mall, all of the pieces in Act I were written for voices with piano accompaniment except "Ruddy Damon Sighing Said." This song is scored for an accompanying ensemble that comprised pairs of oboes and bassoons in addition to strings.

¹⁶³ The evening concluded with *Box and Cox*.

In spite of the Association's internal struggles in the summer and fall of 1849, the group still managed to travel to nearby towns. The troupe appeared at Mount Vernon's theater on November 22, 1849, to put on *The Iron Chest; or, Honor's Victim* by George Colman (the younger) and John Maddison Morton's farce *Box and Cox*.¹⁶⁴ Familiar songs and recitations from the recent show in New Harmony were introduced to the town that rests on the Ohio River, just fourteen miles south of New Harmony, including "White Squall" (featuring Henry Robinson) and "The One-Legged Goose," (featuring Jonathan Jackson), and Robinson returned to the stage with "The Blighted Flower," a ballad by Irish composer Michael William Balfe, while William Pritchard concluded the show with an unnamed song. Two nights later, the Thespians entertained their Mount Vernon neighbors with Benjamin Webster's *The Golden Farmer* and Isaac Pocock's *The Omnibus*, in addition to six songs, each demonstrating the lyrical prowess of the troupe's members. William Daniels returned with "Peggy Gray" and "Wreath of Roses"¹⁶⁵ while Henry Robinson performed "Coal Black Steed"¹⁶⁶ and "The Anchor is Weighed."¹⁶⁷ Thespians J. Ed. Clarke and William F. Pritchard also sang unnamed songs.

Like Jackson, Pritchard quickly rose through the ranks and sang a number of solos, as evidenced above, and both men became pillars of the Association in a relatively short period of time. Unfortunately, neither this string of well-received musical-theatrical performances nor these two experienced thespians from Kentucky was a match for the tale that captured the imaginations of all Americans: the prospect of gold.

¹⁶⁴ The Association had just performed *The Iron Chest* on July 4, in Carmi, Illinois, which is southwest of New Harmony.

¹⁶⁵ The full title may be "She Wore a Wreath of Roses," the name of J. P. Knight's popular ballad.

¹⁶⁶ "Coal Black Steed" is a glee by John Moore.

¹⁶⁷ "The Anchor's Weighed" was composed by John Braham, with lyrics by Samuel Arnold.

On New Year's evening, 1850, took place the last theatrical performance given in the "No. 1 Theater." The "California fever," then raging throughout the West, visited New Harmony and made sad havoc in the ranks of the Thespians—many of them in the spring of 1850, starting overland for the newly discovered land of gold. The last bill presented is as follows: "Blue Devils!" and "Box and Cox."¹⁶⁸

Pritchard also headed westward, and the Dramatic Association disbanded. For the first time since William Owen established the Thespian Society in 1827, New Harmony had neither a thespian company nor a theater.¹⁶⁹ The hiatus stretched from January 1, 1850, to December 22, 1855, during which time Pritchard had returned. As 1855 drew to a close, Pritchard organized sixteen men and women to establish the "New Harmony Thespians." Without him, New Harmony's thespian activities might have ceased altogether. Even as a relative newcomer, he reinstated the town's favorite pastime at a time when long-time residents either could not or would not. As such, Pritchard's actions reflect the importance and relevance of musical-theater to all involved—namely, that such well-regulated amusements were too important to fall victim to internal struggles and external temptations. Moreover, as an actor, singer, and, eventually, director, Pritchard was ideally positioned to understand and share musical-theater's positive attributes.

New Harmony Thespians (1855) and the Dramatic Association (1857)

Among those who joined the New Harmony Thespians were former Association members James Penn Bennett, Jonathan Jackson, William F. Pritchard, and Henry Robinson, in addition to George Baldwin, Wheeler Dexter, Henry Husbands, Thomas Ferguson, John D.

¹⁶⁸ *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874.

¹⁶⁹ *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874.

Jones, Jesse Mathews, and John C. Wheatcroft.¹⁷⁰ Most notably, however is the presence of five women in the new troupe: Mrs. William Pritchard, Miss Lizzie Jackson, Miss Fannie Robinson, Miss Sallie Robinson, and Miss Mary Thomas. The Thespians broke the six-year period of silence in December 1855 with a music-filled performance aptly titled "Christmas Entertainment!" featuring the opening chorus from Richard John Raymond's *The Toodles*:

Brightly, brightly, dawns the day,
A fair and cheerful warning,
That joy will all our toils repay
Throughout this cheerful morning.¹⁷¹

With this song, a new era of musical-theatrical activities commenced. The New Harmony Brass Band returned in full force and volunteered its services for the evening, during which audiences were treated to Raymond's drama and Isaac Pocock's *The Omnibus*.¹⁷² Although the Thespians only performed once in 1855, they became a staple of New Harmony under Pritchard's leadership.

The *New Harmony Register* reports that in 1856 the number of performances increased dramatically but that only a few bills were preserved. One of them, dated Saturday, November 15, and Monday, November 17, 1856, featured Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plow; or, the*

¹⁷⁰ *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874. It should be noted that the *dramatis personae* of the first post-hiatus performance includes more people than the individuals listed as the founding members of the company. For example, William F. Baldwin appears in *The Toodles* as the "2^d farmer."

¹⁷¹ This song also appears in John Baldwin Buckstone's, *Henriette the Forsaken*, a drama written in 1833 for which George Rodwell composed the music. Whereas the lyrics of "Brightly, Brightly Dawns the Day" are consistent in both plays, Rodwell died in 1852, two years before *The Toodles* was published. This suggests that Raymond employed music that had already been composed.

¹⁷² *The Toodles* was published the previous year, 1854. Given only what is printed in the March 14, 1874, edition of the *New Harmony Register*, it is difficult to determine whether or not the New Harmony Brass Band performed music in addition to that which was used during the plays. The identity of the band's conductor for this post-hiatus performance is also unclear.

Farmer's Glory.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, it does not name the so-called "orchestra" that accompanied the drama, nor does it list the conductor or instrumentalists who participated in what appears to be an historic event: the inaugural performance of two Italian operatic overtures in New Harmony. The overture to Vincenzo Bellini's *La Sonnambula* [sic] was performed before the play, and the orchestra returned with the overture to Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia de Lammermoor* [sic] afterward.¹⁷⁴ This type of "operatic variety" within a single evening was not uncommon, as performing groups from major metropolitan areas, such as New York City and New Orleans, were known to present excerpts from different operas on the same program.¹⁷⁵

The evening concluded with the farce of Mayhew's *The Wandering Minstrel*, in which John D. Jones, one of the Thespians' charter members, sang songs. By this time, not even a year had lapsed since the New Harmony Thespians had been founded, and the company's rapid success demanded a larger performance venue. The Thespians first decided to combine a theater and a ballroom; but, in order to secure funding, "a stock company was formed with a capital of \$1200, divided into 24 shares of \$50 each, and was subscribed by the following gentlemen": John Cooper, Jr., Charles Dransfield, William Dransfield, P. L. Duclos, V.C. Duclos, George Husbands, James Husbands, F. W. Lichtenberger, James Lyon, John O'Neal, James P. Swift, and George Washington Warren.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³*Speed the Plough* was written by Thomas Morton in 1807.

¹⁷⁴ Due to the alternative spelling employed and the absence of the composer's name, it can only be presumed that the bill refers to Bellini's *Sonnambula*. Coupled with the performance of the overture to *Lucia de Lammermoor* [sic], this date appears to mark New Harmony's foray into Italian opera music. Italian *bel canto* opera had made its way to the United States in the mid-1830s and 1840s. *La Sonnambula* (in its entirety) was premiered in New York City in 1835 and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (in its entirety) was first performed in New Orleans in December 1841. See Henry Charles Lahee, *Annals of Music in America* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1922), 27-28, 214.

¹⁷⁵ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 87-88.

¹⁷⁶ *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874.

The stockholders bought what was known as building "No. 4," which had originally been constructed by the Rappites in 1822. The men remodeled the building and by June 1857, the hall could seat between 600 and 700 audience members, rendering it the second largest theater in Indiana, second only to the Metropolitan in Indianapolis.¹⁷⁷ This New Harmony building became known as "Union Hall," and it would later host hundreds of performances and become a key site for musical theater in the tristate area (see figure 3). As Union Hall was being remodeled and readied for entertaining purposes, the current dramatic organization regrouped as the new Dramatic Association.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ "Opera House." Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

¹⁷⁸ Members of the new "Dramatic Association" included George Baldwin, James Bennett, James P[enn] Bennett, Wheeler Dexter, Mrs. Wm. Dransfield, V. C. Duclos, Wm. Fauntleroy, Thomas Ferguson, Miss Lizzie Jackson, John D. Jones, Jesse Mathews, Mrs. W. F. Pritchard, Wm. F. Pritchard, Henry Robinson, Miss Rose Ruchti, James P. Swift, John C. Wheatcroft, and George Withington. James Bennett and James Penn Bennett were not related, but they often participated in the same organizations in New Harmony. James Bennett (1813–1869) came to New Harmony at an early age, studied at William Maclure's school, and became a printer for *The Disseminator*. He was also a member of the New Harmony Brass Band. James Penn Bennett (1822–1864) was the Working Men's Institute librarian from 1848 to 1850 and served in the 25th Indiana Volunteers during the Civil War. See "Bennett, James." Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana; "Bennett, James Penn." Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.



Figure 3 Photograph of Union Hall, now Thrall's Opera House
(Photograph by Melanie Zeck)

William Pritchard resumed his position as manager, but a new musical director, George Washington Warren, joined the ranks.¹⁷⁹ Warren's family connection to New Harmony reached back to the Community years, during which his father, Josiah Warren, led the weekly concerts that were described favorably by Robert Dale Owen in his autobiography and discussed in Chapter 2.¹⁸⁰ The Association scheduled its debut and the opening of Union Hall for Friday, July 3, 1857, and for its inaugural performance, the Association members supplemented the staging of Richard Sheil's play *Damon and Pythias* with diverse musical selections.¹⁸¹ Warren presided over the band, which performed an overture, "Symphonia." Mrs. Pritchard addressed the audience, after which Henry Robinson sang.¹⁸²

Warren's tenure as music director and conductor coincided with the advent of visual documentation in the form of early photographic processes, such as the daguerreotype. Images of Warren's ensemble provide valuable information regarding the types of accompanying sounds that audiences could expect to hear when attending musical-theatrical performances, especially in the later years of the antebellum era.¹⁸³ One image dating from 1858 indicates that Warren's "string band" consisted of ten members, including himself as the leader, while a 1926 newspaper

¹⁷⁹ The elder Warren was known not only for his musical prowess but also for his advancements in printing. After a brief sojourn to Cincinnati, Josiah brought his family back to Indiana, settling first in New Harmony and then in Evansville, where he would establish his music store. George Washington Warren subsequently resumed his father's conducting work in New Harmony, leading the band and arranging much of its music. It is worth noting that New Harmony's George Washington Warren (1827–1902) should not be confused with his almost exact musical contemporary, organist and hymnist, George William Warren (1828–1902) of New York.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 245.

¹⁸¹ *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874.

¹⁸² *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874.

¹⁸³ In most of the available contemporary documents, the accompanying ensemble is simply labeled "band" or "orchestra," and the names of New Harmony's resident ensembles "brass band," "concert band," "string band," and "orchestra" appear to be used either interchangeably or arbitrarily.

clipping references a daguerreotype, also from 1858, in which thirteen members of his were portrayed.¹⁸⁴



Figure 4 Daguerreotype, "Old String Band"¹⁸⁵
(Reprinted with permission of the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana)

This image, which is held at the Working Men's Institute, may be a daguerreotype with sepia toning (it predates the *carte de viste*), which was gifted "From Prof. G. W. Warren to W. A. Twigg" in 1900. The image, on thick card stock, is labeled the "OLD STRING BAND of 1858-9." Included in the picture are W. F. Baldwin (shown with a flute), John P. Bennett (shown with

¹⁸⁴ "Old Time Band," [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source], April 9, 1926. Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

¹⁸⁵ Daguerreotype, "Old String Band," 1858-9; Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. The title of this image could have been misleading, as at least two woodwind instruments are featured alongside the violins. Thus, these images are critical to deciphering an ensemble's configuration.

a violin), Will Bennett, Ed Fauntleroy, Gus Flineux, Ance [Anse] Hamilton, Eugene Thrall (shown with a violin), Walt Thrall (shown with a clarinet), Will Twigg, and Warren. A handwritten note along the side of the card states that all of the aforementioned were in the "original old (Warrens) String Band" except Walt Thrall and Eugene Thrall.¹⁸⁶ Additional personnel mentioned in the 1926 newspaper clipping, which references the other image from 1858, includes George Baldwin, James Bennett, Sr., Henry Fitton, John D. Jones, William Pritchard Sr., William Read, and Alex Twigg. Several of these men were also talented thespians.

In addition to conducting the local bands, Warren frequently arranged pieces to suit the available instrumentation, and in some cases, composed original music for an evening's show.¹⁸⁷ For an April 3, 1858, show, the band serenaded its audience with Warren's own arrangement of the overture to *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Warren's original music was featured later that year at the Christmas Day performance of John Howard Payne's musical drama *Clari, the Maid of Milan*. As Warren and his ensembles continued to establish themselves in New Harmony, they coordinated efforts with Pritchard and the New Harmony Dramatic Association to offer their services for benefit shows. One such benefit, on September 4, 1858, involved a rendering of *Nick of the Woods* in appreciation of Dramatic Association stockholder P. L. Duclos, who had painted the stage scenery.¹⁸⁸ "The band" under the direction of "Prof. G.W. Warren" performed an overture for this event, which was repeated a week later, on September 11, 1858.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Emphasis in the original.

¹⁸⁷ Although Warren's arrangements have not been located at the Working Men's Institute archives, arrangements by several of New Harmony's postbellum bandsmen have survived.

¹⁸⁸ *New Harmony Register*, March 28, 1874. *Nick of the Woods* was a novel written in 1837 by American playwright Robert Montgomery Bird and subsequently adapted for the stage.

¹⁸⁹ *New Harmony Register*, April 4, 1874.

Over the next two years, an instrumental ensemble performed regularly with the Dramatic Association, but it is nearly impossible to determine exactly how many bands were operating during this period of time and who was involved in which ensemble, as the available contemporary documentation—the daguerreotype, trade cards, and typed index cards—present differing accounts.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, plays with music continued to amuse New Harmony's audiences; although the *New Harmony Register's* account does not always mention the band's presence at some of these dramatic performances of the late 1850s, convention (and the presence of so many available instrumentalists) implies the incorporation, at minimum, of melodramatic music. For example, *The Wept of the Wish-ton Wish*, written by James Fennimore Cooper and dramatized by William Bayle Bernard, was performed on April 9, 1859; most likely, melodramatic music was employed in this performance.¹⁹¹ Music was definitely featured in the

¹⁹⁰ Between 1858 and 1860, the band was issued trade cards—small cards on which its members' names were printed. The 1859–1860 New Harmony String Band, for example, dispensed cards on which an eagle carrying two arrows in its talons appeared above the band roster. The names of the members were listed without their respective instruments: Wm. F. Baldwin, John P. Bennett, Wm. Bennett, Gus. R. Flinaux, W. A. Hamilton, Eugene S. Thrall, W. E. Thrall, and Wm. A. Twigg Jr. George Washington Warren, who was currently directing at least one of the bands in New Harmony at this time, is conspicuously absent from the trade card. The daguerreotype from 1858–1859 described earlier includes Warren and Ed Fauntleroy, in addition to each of the eight men on the trade card. Yet, in the Index Card Files at the Working Men's Institute, an entry under "Bands, Warren's String Band" demonstrates that, at some point, Warren directed a string band with the following eight instrumentalists: Wm. F. Baldwin (cello), James Bennett (tenor horn), John Bennett (cornet), William Bennett (violin), Anse Hamilton (slide trombone), A. G. Twigg (slide trombone), W. A. Twigg (cello), and Warren (clarinet and leader). This listing includes James Bennett, Anse Hamilton, and A. G. Twigg, none of whom is mentioned on the trade card or on the daguerreotype. Due to the contrasting rosters, precise information about the musical events for which the band or bands provided services many never be known. Nevertheless, these records attest to the presence of multiple instrumentalists in New Harmony who were talented enough to perform in public.

¹⁹¹ A set of handwritten cues for music and a set of notated cues are in the Golden Family Collection at the Working Men's Institute; thus, these complementary documents probably date from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s. Beginning with the rise of the curtain, each musical cue is designed to accompany a particular action or utterance on stage.

October 26, 1859, performance of *Nick of the Woods*, as Louisa Medina's dramatization opens with a chorus and contains singing and cues for melodramatic music throughout.

While the following year 1860 featured numerous performances by visiting troupes, New Harmony's own Dramatic Association and band brought the year to a close with musical-theatrical performances nearly every week in December. The year concluded with a Christmas Eve benefit for the band itself, for which the Association put on Isaac Pocock's *The Miller and his Men*¹⁹² and *The Dead Shot*, and a New Year's Eve production of *The Bottle Imp*¹⁹³ and *The Miller and his Men*, for which New Harmony's Brass and String Bands were "in attendance."¹⁹⁴ The opening performance of 1861 was a second benefit for "the Band," and the use of the Union Hall was free for the occasion. *The Miser of Shoreditch* and *A Roland for an Oliver* were presented, both of which contained music.¹⁹⁵ New Harmony was able to produce musical-theatrical shows at least once a month throughout much of the year, and patriotic holidays were almost always celebrated with a performance.

On February 23, 1861, for example, the troupe put on John Baldwin Buckstone's *Dream at Sea* and *Fortune's Frolics* in honor of Washington's Birthday. The music for *Dream at Sea* was arranged for the occasion by Mr. John P. Bennett, a member of the string band. This event is significant because it demonstrates the compositional prowess of more than just the ensemble's conductor. Up to this point, all of the instrumentalists listed in programs or in articles were men,

¹⁹² The music for *The Miller and his Men* was composed by Henry Bishop.

¹⁹³ *The Bottle Imp; A Melo-dramatic Romance* was originally conceived by Richard Brinsley Peake in 1828; Robert Louis Stevenson wrote a play in 1891 titled *The Bottle Imp*.

¹⁹⁴ *New Harmony Register*, April 25, 1874. The announcements for these two performances differentiated the bands involved. For example, on Christmas Eve, 1860, the New Harmony Brass and Concert Bands were in attendance; but a week later, the New Harmony Brass and String Bands were in attendance.

¹⁹⁵ *Miser of Shoreditch; or, the Curse of Avarice* was written by Thomas Peckett Prest. Thomas Morton's farce, *A Roland for an Oliver*, featured music by Henry Rowley Bishop.

although both men and women had been featured as singers in many musical-theatrical performances. But that changed in 1861. An announcement for the March 9 show read as follows: "In addition to other novelties of the evening, the Musical Department will be conducted by THE LADIES, who have also kindly volunteered their services in the Orchestra."¹⁹⁶

The length of the ladies' tenure in the "orchestra" is unknown, as extant documentation turns its attention to the Civil War. Yet, such announcements demonstrate that even the local musicians who were not regularly featured in conjunction with band were still talented enough to perform in such a capacity.¹⁹⁷ The presence of an instrumental ensemble composed entirely of women would have been unusual at this time, but these musicians may have been affiliated with the Minerva Society, a literary society for women, which had been instituted by Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy's daughter Constance Fauntleroy Runcie in 1859. The Minerva Society has been recognized as the "first woman's club in the United States,"¹⁹⁸ and it is likely that at least some of the members had studied music at Fauntleroy's Seminary for Young Ladies in the 1840s. Although women's clubs and organizations, including orchestras, eventually gained traction at the national level, musicologist Anna-Lise Santella has observed that women's orchestras did not make their way into the American soundscape, or at least the broader public consciousness, until

¹⁹⁶ The two plays on the bill included Samuel Arnold's *The Woodman's Hut!* and *Fighting by Proxy: A Burletta, in One Act* by James Kenney.

¹⁹⁷ In other places, women might not have had the opportunity to learn music unless they were sent away to finishing schools. Robert Owen insisted that both girls and boys should be educated equally.

¹⁹⁸ According to Lockwood, the Minerva Society predated similar, and more well-known clubs, including the Boston Women's Club and the Sorosis of New York, neither of which was established until 1868. See Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 196. The Minerva Society lasted four years.

the 1870s, when the Vienna Lady Orchestra toured in the United States in 1871 and "sparked a veritable craze."¹⁹⁹

Interestingly, New Harmony's female instrumentalists are not mentioned again, but the impact of the Civil War on the local male musicians is noted regularly. On May 18, 1861, a performance of *Charcoal Burner* and *Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw*²⁰⁰ was given, and despite the fact that

war fever was then at its height in our quiet little town, a good house assembled to witness its representation. A few weeks later, early in June, several who were engaged in this piece enlisted in the Fifteenth Indiana Regiment, and departed for the rendezvous of that regiment, being among the first recruits who left our town.²⁰¹

The Fifteenth Indiana Regiment was accompanied by a regimental band, which comprised approximately twenty-five instrumentalists hailing primarily from New Harmony and Evansville. George Washington Warren was appointed "leader of the new regimental band," which included at least twenty brass players and no fewer than two drummers and a cymbal player.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Anna-Lise Santella, "Modeling Music: Early Organizational Structures of American Women's Orchestras," in *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Pitzer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 57.

²⁰⁰ *The Charcoal-Burner; or the Dropping Well of Knareborough* is the work of George Almar. John Maddison Morton wrote *Grimshaw, Bagshaw, and Bradshaw: A Farce in One Act*.

²⁰¹ *New Harmony Register*, April 25, 1874.

²⁰² "Bands—Musical," [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source], January 1902. Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana; "Obituary: George Washington Warren, 1827–1902," [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source], January 1902. Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Warren was ideally positioned to lead this group as he had already served as the leader of the New Harmony Band and was, at present the leader of a band in Evansville, where he also ran his father's music business. According to a handwritten document, signed by Will A. Twigg and dated December 5, 1905, the Fifteenth Indiana Regiment band had twenty-five members. Twigg lists each man, his nickname, and whether or not he was still living then. Beside most of the members' names, Twigg listed a two-letter abbreviation that, most likely, stood for that member's instrument. Some of the abbreviations (and names) are indecipherable. In the right-hand margin of the page, Twigg notes, "These 15 I Know to be dead this day Dec. 5, 1905. Which of us next?"

Despite the loss of several New Harmony men to the Fifteenth Indiana Regiment, dramatic productions continued. The instrumentals who remained made up an ensemble that took on yet another function in conjunction with its accompaniment duties: to provide patriotic music for its audiences. For example, in honor of the Fourth of July, of 1861, the thespians presented *Damon and Pythias; or, the Test of Friendship* and *Two Heads are better than One*. The "orchestra" played national "airs" in celebration.²⁰³

Shortly thereafter, other New Harmony townsmen joined the 25th Indiana Volunteers, which became active in August of 1861. One such townsman was thespian James Penn Bennett, who had also served as the Working Men's Institute librarian from 1848 to 1850. As a soldier, he left Indiana and traveled throughout Missouri and Tennessee. While in St. Louis, Bennett and his fellow Sergeant had obtained passes to attend the theatre, and on December 27, 1861, Bennett wrote to his wife and compared the quality of New Harmony's theatrical entertainments to those he viewed while a soldier:

We walked over the Two for several hours and went to the Theatre at night. They played "Our Female American Cousin" and "Robert Macaire." It was a very great change from our usual life to sit among well dressed Ladies and Gentlemen. The Pit was too crowded so we went into the Boxes. There was quite a display of the 25th. A Majority of the Officers were present. I thought the playing good and quite enjoyed it. But Lieut. Borin and Cap. Sallyman who went the next night said *they had seen much better in New Harmony*. In "Robert Macaire" the characters danced the "Pantaton" and "Trenise" which made us think of the Harmony Ball Room, and we could not help wishing we were there.²⁰⁴

W.A. Twigg." The members, in Twigg's order, are as follows: 1. George W. Warren, 2. Charles G. Conn, 3. John P. Bennett, 4. Charles T[i][e]ston, 5. George Gates, 6. James Bennett, 7. William A. Twigg, 8. William Bennett, 9. Alex Twigg, 10. W. Sh[indecipherable], 11. William F. Baldwin, 12. George Stewart, 13. William Wheatcroft, 14. James P. Swift, 15. Anse Hamilton, 16. George Baldwin, 17. William Baldwin, 18. John D. Jones, 19. William Glichman, 20. Otto Pfaflin, 21. [no first name] Black, 22. Martin Saltzman, 23. Charlie Kinkle, 24. Bosley Band Sargent, 25. G[indecipherable] King.

²⁰³ *New Harmony Register*, May 2, 1874.

²⁰⁴ James Penn Bennett to wife, December 27, 1861, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812-1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 79, Working Men's Institute, New

Bennett's comments make clear that, to date, New Harmony's musical-theatrical entertainments were enviable in quality—even in comparison to those presented in the large metropolis of St. Louis. Although Bennett was relaying the sentiment of two fellow officers, he was an experienced thespian and reliable source, as he had participated in New Harmony's theatrical groups since his arrival in 1847 and in the dramatic association of Covington, Kentucky, before that.

Continuity, Momentum, and the Civil War

The year 1847 had marked the influx of new personnel (including Bennett and William F. Pritchard) to New Harmony's theatrical troupe and the organizational shift from William Owen's original New Harmony Thespian Society to the New Harmony Dramatic Association. Thanks, in large part, to their collective efforts, New Harmony hosted a nearly continuous stream of musical, theatrical, and musical-theatrical performances for over three decades, from Owen's 1825 proclamation on well-regulated amusements to the onset of the Civil War. These amusements were designed to improve, instruct, and amuse, thereby reflecting the tripartite objective that had been conceived by Robert Owen, endorsed by William Maclure, and enacted by William Owen.

Harmony, Indiana. [Emphasis mine]. Given the quantity of theatrical performances in New Harmony, especially in the recent past of the late 1850s, Bennett's comrades would have had ample experience as audience members to which they could make apt comparisons with the theatrical performances in St. Louis. Bennett never returned home, having died on the battlefield. See "Bennett, James Penn." Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. In addition to the Fifteenth Indiana Regiment and the 25th Indiana Volunteers, of which Bennett had served as Captain, the 60th Indiana Regiment comprised men from New Harmony.

In spite of the attention lavished on the educational and scientific endeavors of the post-Community era of the antebellum, New Harmony's musical, theatrical, and musical-theatrical activities acted as both agents in and products of the attempts to preserve and perpetuate aspects of Robert Owen's plan and William Maclure's efforts in social reform. Consequently, these activities warrant a more prominent place in New Harmony's historiography. Moreover, given their success in the 1820s, 1830s, and beyond, they foreshadowed the efforts to employ music as a tool in social reconstructionism that were still in the planning stages at this time in Boston. As such, Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" be relevant both at the local and national levels.

New Harmony's well-regulated amusements were nearly brought to another halt by the Civil War, as many of the musicians and thespians joined the Army. Fortunately, a number of traveling troupes came through New Harmony to entertain the remaining townspeople. Unbeknownst to New Harmony's audiences at the time, two key members of the travelling Cincinnati Dramatic Company—Martin Golden and Bella Llewellyn—would eventually marry, create their own company, and relocate to Southern Indiana. Together, with support from New Harmony's own talented musicians and thespians, this new troupe would perpetuate the New Harmony Thespian Society's original objectives—to improve, instruct, and amuse—and exceed even the highest of expectations in this new, postbellum era of rational and well-regulated amusements.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ *New Harmony Register*, May 2, 1874. By 1863, more shows were produced by the New Harmony's own thespians. Between the end of 1861 and the printing of the first issue of the *New Harmony Register* in 1867, traveling troupes frequented New Harmony. Unfortunately, many of the playbills were lost.

CHAPTER 4

New Harmony's Post-Community Era: 1860–1874

During the Civil War and postbellum years, regional newspapers from southwestern Indiana periodically chronicled the activities of New Harmony's cultural organizations, including traveling and permanent theatrical groups, bands, and orchestras, but they lavished attention on the musical-theatrical endeavors of Martin Golden and his troupe, the Golden Dramatic Combination. Golden, who first visited New Harmony in 1860 as part of William Rouse's Cincinnati Dramatic Company, was lauded through the same kind of language that had been employed by Robert Owen and William Maclure with respect to well-regulated amusements—namely, his troupe's productions were deemed intellectually and morally suitable for public consumption. As such, these productions, like those of William Owen's New Harmony Thespian Society, were designed to improve one's character by developing a well-formed mind, combat ignorance by cultivating a well-informed mind through staged experiences, and enhance one's quality of life by providing a sanctioned mode of amusement.¹

Yet, it was through the combined energy generated by all of New Harmony's cultural organizations that the communal identity was perpetually reinscribed with continuous momentum until 1914, which marked both the town's centennial and the onset of World War I. Even so, none of New Harmony's postbellum performing groups—including Martin Golden's troupe—has been examined for its relationship to Robert Owen's 1825 proclamation on well-regulated amusements, which was a key component of his "Plan for the Amelioration of the

¹ The terms "well-formed mind" and "well-informed mind" were employed by Robert Owen in his address titled "New-Harmony Sunday Meeting for Instruction in the New-System. August 20, 1826," which was published in the August 23, 1826, issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*.

Condition of Mankind." Like the concerts of the Community era and the theatrical and musical-theatrical productions of the antebellum, each postbellum performance—regardless of content—provided an opportunity for New Harmony's citizens to come together and recreate the sense of community at the ideological core of Owen's Community of Equality.²

By reevaluating the continued presence and intentions of well-regulated amusements in the postbellum era, it becomes apparent that part of Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" continued to undergird the town's identity into the twentieth century. Moreover, the communal identity of New Harmony is precisely what philanthropist Jane Blaffer Owen attempted to resurrect when she and her husband, Robert Owen's great-great grandson Kenneth Dale Owen, initiated the town's revitalization efforts in the 1940s.³ Through their inheritance of the Golden family home, Jane Blaffer Owen's efforts as the town's patroness, and the ongoing financial support their estate provides, New Harmony's theatrical, musical-theatrical, and musical life remains a key draw for visitors each year.⁴

This chapter seeks to evaluate Martin Golden's ability to carry forth New Harmony's tradition of well-regulated amusements, but it also investigates the prowess and resilience of New Harmony's own musicians and thespians in their perpetuation of Owen's ideology during a heretofore underrepresented period in the town's historiography: 1860–1874. The year 1874 is important to this study for three reasons: first, it marks the fiftieth anniversary of Robert Owen's initial visit to New Harmony, second, the Goldens returned permanently to New Harmony in the summer of 1873 and became cultural ambassadors for the town the following year, and third,

² See William Maclure, "Our Theatres," 117. Robert Dale Owen, "Thespian Society," *New Harmony Gazette*, April 9, 1828.

³ See Jane Blaffer Owen, "Preface," in *New Harmony, Indiana: Like a River, Not a Lake: A Memoir*, ed. Nancy Mangum McCaslin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

⁴ The efforts of Jane Blaffer Owen and her family will be discussed in the Epilogue.

New Harmony's newspaper, the *New Harmony Register* launched its first and only retrospective account on a topic related to the town's cultural history on January 3, 1874. This account, "A Record," is significant historiographically because it discloses a great deal about performance activities, especially theater, and the values placed upon them at that time.⁵ But, considering the column's focus, regional newspapers and other archival documents are consulted to fill the gap in New Harmony's musical history as it relates to the town's foundational ideals. From 1874, the *New Harmony Register* covered all of the town's well-regulated amusements, including the activities of musical organizations, theatrical troupes, dancing clubs, literary societies, and more through advertisements, reviews, letters to the editor, and in honor of the centennial, historical commentary.

Thus, in order to address the full scope of well-regulated amusements during the Civil War years (1861–1865) and this initial period of the postbellum (1865–1874), I position Golden as a practitioner invested in the benefits of theatrical and musical-theatrical renderings and, then, as a businessman whose efforts are recognized as economically beneficial. But because Golden's successes have overshadowed the contemporaneous endeavors of New Harmony's performers in subsequent historical accounts, the efforts of the latter—including the town's thespians and instrumentalists—are discussed separately, all the while early points of intersection are highlighted as preparatory gestures toward their eventual convergence in late 1873 when the Golden family established its permanent residence in New Harmony. The Thespian Society's 1874 performance of Daniel Terry's *Guy Mannering* is explored in detail in order to evaluate the musical skills of the town's thespians and to position the troupe as integral to the town's

⁵ As illustrated in Chapter 3, the *Register's* column, "A Record," ran for six months in 1874 and provided readers with the opportunity to review New Harmony's theatrical history through the lens of its then-bustling cultural scene.

postbellum identity. As such, this chapter demonstrates that years after the collapse of the Community of Equality, New Harmony's citizens were capable of and interested in producing and supporting a steady stream of well-regulated amusements, by which they adhered to and perpetuated Owen's intention to blend amusements with industry and study.

Bella Llewellyn and Martin Golden in Southwestern Indiana: 1860, 1864–1865

New Harmony hosted William Rouse's Cincinnati Dramatic Company in June 1860 for a two-week production run, during which the company performed a dozen different plays by European and American playwrights and supplemented its vast theatrical repertoire with songs and dances that highlighted the talents of individual cast members. Rouse took advantage of New Harmony's location and arranged for the company to perform in nearby towns, and the company used this string of performances to give part of the proceeds to certain people in the company. His troupe exemplified variety, mobility, and beneficence in many of the same ways that New Harmony's own troupes had during the antebellum, but its exceptional production run was deemed "by far the best that has ever appeared upon our stage."⁶ Each performance was structured like those with which New Harmony's audiences were already familiar—namely, a longer drama was presented first, followed by songs and dances, and the evening concluded with a shorter, lighter work.

For its opening night on June 18, 1860, the company produced Thomas Egerton Wilks's *Michael Erle; or The Maniac Lover*, and the musical burletta *Jenny Lind*. Two nights later, it performed William H. Smith's temperance play, *Drunkard; or the Fallen Saved*, which was

⁶ *New Harmony Register*, April 18, 1874.

followed by a "fancy dance," featuring Bella Llewellyn, and the farce *The Stage-Struck Sailor*.⁷ The following evening, June 21, two songs—John Rogers Thomas's "We Were Boys and Girls Together" and "My Johnny Was a Shoemaker," were performed by Rouse's wife and company member Fanny Denham, to supplement Friedrich Halm's *Ingomar The Son of the Wilderness* and American Samuel D. Johnson's farce *Our Gal*. No accompanying ensemble (or pianist) is mentioned (see figure 5).

On June 23 and 25, songs and dances seasoned the evenings' entertainment, and, once again, Bella Llewellyn was the star. Each of these performances was a benefit for one of the company's own members. The first was held for of Mr. G. D. Chaplin, who had acted in the June 20 show, and the second benefit was for Rouse, the company's director. The following evening, June 26, the New Harmony audience was treated to yet another benefit, but this one was for the company's darling—Bella Llewellyn. After this series of well-received shows, the company travelled up the Wabash River to nearby Grayville, Illinois, back to New Harmony for a performance, then to Evansville, Indiana, and back to New Harmony for another.⁸

⁷ *New Harmony Register*, April 18, 1874.

⁸ *New Harmony Register*, April 18, 1874.

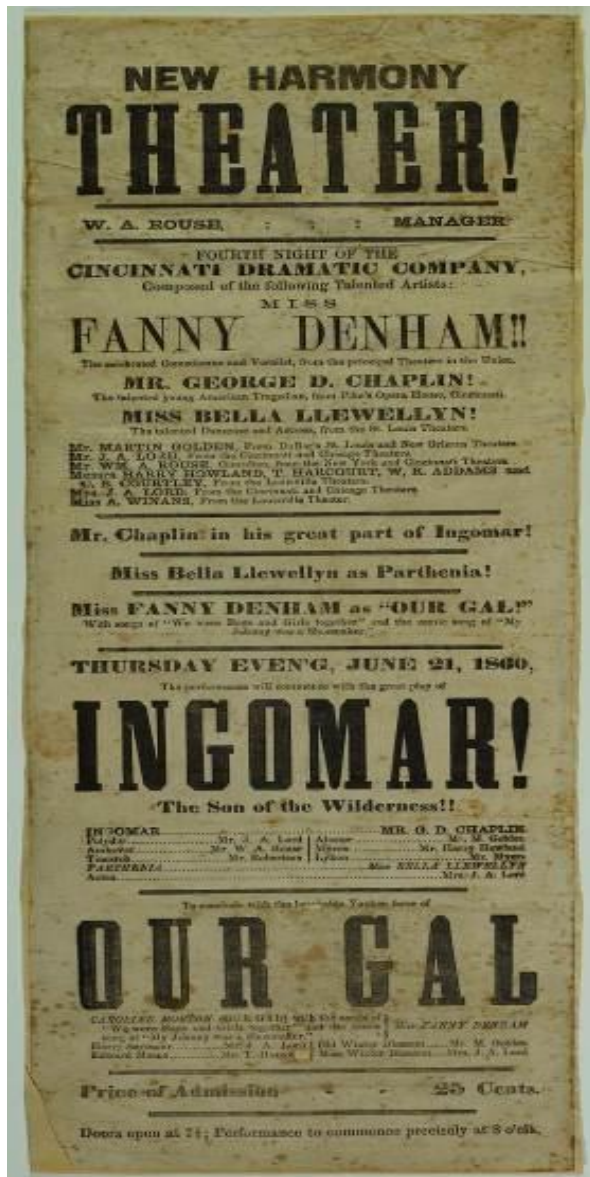


Figure 5 Playbill for June 21, 1860, performance of *Ingomar* and *Our Gal*⁹
 (Reprinted with permission of the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana)

⁹ No accompanying ensemble (or pianist) is mentioned. Golden Family Collection, Series: The Bills of the Play, and Programs, 1857–1928, Subseries: Golden's Performances in New Harmony, Packet 1, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

Rouse's Cincinnati Dramatic Company was successful, and it attracted talented actors and actresses, especially during the summer, who were otherwise affiliated with seasonal troupes. Traveling troupes, such as Rouse's, remained in frequent demand in smaller towns throughout the Midwest despite the ongoing Civil War.¹⁰ Like many of their fellow thespians, Bella Llewellyn and Martin Golden had sought summer employment with Rouse to supplement their seasonal income from the Pine Street Theater in St. Louis.

Bella was born in 1842 to a Welsh father and an English mother, and her family immigrated to St. Louis by way of Wisconsin. Her mother and siblings were killed in a cholera outbreak shortly after their arrival, but her father survived initially and took a job at the Pine Street Theater, which was managed at the time by Henry Farren. When the elder Llewellyn died, Bella was taken in and raised by Farren and his wife, Kate Reignolds. Young Bella became acquainted with Martin Golden when he was hired in 1854 as the Pine Street Theater's "utility man." Martin, who was born in 1835, had immigrated to New Orleans from Ireland, by way of Canada, and had worked during his teenage years as a doorman at the St. Charles Theater in New Orleans. The owner of the St. Charles Theater, Ben DeBar, also operated the Pine Street Theater in St. Louis, and young Martin seized the opportunity to follow DeBar to St. Louis.¹¹

Bella and Martin married on August 25, 1861, and while the Civil War was raging between the Union of the North and the Confederacy of the South, the newlyweds took part in a series of

¹⁰ The same held true in larger metropolitan areas, including New York City. In his examination of stage music during this period, musicologist Deane Root notes that the war "seems to have had little direct or immediate effect on popular stage music in New York." See Deane Root, *American Popular State Music, 1860-1880*, ed. George Buelow, *Studies in Musicology* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 3.

¹¹ William Echard Golden, "History of Family, 1929–1930," Golden Family Collection, Series: Preliminary Papers, Subseries: Historic Materials, Box A, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

small engagements in Milwaukee with William H. Riley's company, in Chicago, and in Cleveland with John Ellsler's company. In 1862, they moved to Louisville, Kentucky, where they joined the George Fuller Stock Company. After one year, Martin decided to join forces with a fellow company member, Barney McAuley, and a third man, Henry H. Weaver, to start their own theater company in Lexington, Kentucky. Their partnership was short-lived, and the Goldens returned to St. Louis to work with DeBar.¹²

As young troupers, Bella and Martin Golden traveled regularly and were frequently called upon to entertain audiences of disparate locales that were affected by the war. Consequently, they were exposed to and expected to master a vast dramatic repertoire, which positioned them ideally for the rigors of performing during the postbellum era. By the time the young couple arrived in Evansville, Indiana, in 1864, the Goldens possessed the requisite experience necessary to establish and maintain a successful thespian troupe of their own: the Golden Dramatic Combination.

The Goldens and their troupe were welcomed by the *Evansville Daily Journal*, which supported the Combination's productions through the publication of announcements, advertisements, and reviews of performances. The *Journal* also kept its readers apprised of the extensive remodeling project that the local Masonic Temple had recently undergone in preparation for its new stock company. The reopening had originally been scheduled for December 19, 1864, but an unavoidable delay necessitated that the *Journal* publish a blurb noting that the hall had been "newly re-fitted, decorated, and adapted in every particular for the

¹² William Echard Golden, "History of Family, 1929–1930," Golden Family Collection, Series: Preliminary Papers, Subseries: Historic Materials, Box A, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

production of the classic and moral Drama, [and] will positively open on Thursday Evening, December 22nd, 1864, with a first-class company of Dramatic Artists."¹³

For this inaugural event, Bella starred in John Baldwin Buckstone's *Josephine, Daughter of the Regiment*, which may have been billed to display the Goldens' patriotic fervor, as Bella performed a snare drum solo in conjunction with her leading role. Buckstone's work was billed by the *Journal* as a "celebrated operatic drama," which was an adaptation of Gaetano Donizetti's opera *La Fille du Regiment*, and according to the handwritten cues written in Bella's promptbook, the play was performed with several songs.¹⁴

According to a blurb in the April 1844 issue of *Court Magazine*, *Josephine* was one of three "new pieces" recently performed at the Theatre Royal Haymarket in London with Fanny Fitzwilliam (Buckstone's future [common law] wife) and Buckstone performing. The blurb listed *Josephine* as "partially adapted from Donizetti's opera *La fille du Régiment*."¹⁵ Donizetti's opera

¹³ *Evansville Daily Journal*, December 21, 1864. According to the December 14, 1864, issue of *Evansville Daily Journal*, the new stage was equipped with sliding scenery and new foot-lights, and the hall was scheduled to open on December 19. By December 26, the *Journal's* readers were assured that "the Hall is now very comfortably arranged."

¹⁴ *Josephone* [sic], *the Child of the Regiment; or, The Fortune of War*. John Baldwin Buckstone, London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, n.d., Golden Family Collection, Series: Printed Plays, 1808–1925, Box 39, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. In the 1856 edition by Lacy, the play is called a "musical comedy." These cues provide a song number and the corresponding excerpt from the play. Over the course of the Goldens' career, this play was performed numerous times but was known by different titles, including *The Child of the Regiment*, *Josephine*, *The Daughter of the Regiment*, and *Josephine, the Child of the Regiment; or, The Fortune of War*. In the January 1, 1866, issue of the *Evansville Daily Journal*, this play is referred to as *The Daughter of the Regiment* as part of an announcement for upcoming local amusements and, in a second announcement directly below the first one, as *The Child of the Regiment*. Both announcements refer to the January 1, 1866, performance of Buckstone's play at the New Metropolitan in Evansville. In later performances, the Goldens retained songs that were written into Buckstone's script, including "Rataplan," "Song of the Regiment," and "Salut de France" but added songs from Donizetti's version, including "Search thro' the Wide World."

¹⁵ See also Donald Roy, "Buckstone, John Baldwin (1802–1879), Actor, Playwright, and Theatre Manager," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

(originally with a French libretto) had been premiered four years prior (on February 11, 1840) in France, and by October of that year, the opera was revised as *La figlia del reggimento* and given its Italian premiere. The original French libretto by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges and Jean-François Bayard was translated into Italian by Callisto Bassi.¹⁶

In Buckstone's Act I, Josephine is a young woman, who was rescued sixteen years prior from a "heap of slain" people, who had been killed in battle. Members of the "Twenty-first Regiment," who had found Josephine in the hands of a dead peasant, adopted her and became her fathers. Although she once vowed to marry a member of this regiment, she has fallen for Guillot, who wishes to marry her, as well. One of Josephine's fathers, Scalade, confronts Marchioness Berkenfeldt and her escort, Pumpernickel, who, while waiting for the regiment to leave the area, were walking toward the marchioness's chateau. Scalade recognizes the surname Berkenfeldt as belonging to one of the soldiers in his regiment who had died sixteen years ago while fighting against the Austrians. This soldier had been secretly married to the marchioness's sister; together, they had a child, and he had requested that the child be brought to him. Unfortunately, fighting broke out and both the servant, who was tasked with bringing the child, and the soldier were killed. Pumpernickel informs Scalade that Josephine is the marchioness's niece and "sole heiress to the Barony of Berkenfeldt."¹⁷ The marchioness insists that Josephine leave her fathers and live with her, but without Guillot.

In Act II, Josephine is adapting to her new life with the marchioness, which involves wearing fine clothing and learning proper etiquette, and she is woefully unhappy. The

¹⁶ See Chapter 6 in Francesco Izzo, *Laughter between Two Revolutions: Opera Buffa in Italy, 1831-1848* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

¹⁷ John Baldwin Buckstone, *Josephine, the Child of the Regiment, or the Fortune of War, a Musical Comedy, in Two Acts* (London: Lacy, 1856), 7, 17.

marchioness has found Josephine a husband, Duke de Grandtête, but Josephine wants to return to the regiment. Meanwhile, the regiment arrives at the marchioness's chateau, and, in a conversation with Scalade, the marchioness, who is concerned that Josephine is not obeying her orders, confesses that she is Josephine's mother, as she hopes a daughter will not turn down the wishes of her mother. But as the marchioness sees Josephine's distress, she relents, allowing the young woman to choose her own husband—Guillot.

Buckstone's plot bears a striking resemblance to that of Donizetti, with Josephine as Maria, Scalade as Sulpizio, Guillot as Tonio, and Pumpernickel as Ortasio, but it is musically more limited than its operatic counterpart. In Act I, Scene I, Josephine reminisces about the manner in which the regiment saved her.

Midst the roar of the cannon,
And the wild din of war,
With troops tramping round me,
The light I first saw.

But my regiment watch'd o'er me
With a fond father's eye,
While France! Death or Glory!
Was my childhood's first cry.

On the field I slept soundly,
Midst the camp's stilly hum,
Whilst the music that roused me,
Was the roll of the drum.

Rub-a-dub—Rub-a-dub—Rub-a-dub
Advance—fall back—eyes right—eyes left—defile—march on.

The trumpets' call still cheerly
Rings on my list'ning ear,
And I see our firm column advance,
To attack the proud foemen of France.

[Halt! Front! Dress! Prime! Load! Fire!
Fire away! Make ready—present—fire! They fly!]

The bullets are whizzing about em;--
With bay-nets we charge 'em and rout 'em.
Where are now the proud foemen of France.
Halt! Front! Dress! Prime! Load! Fire!
Fire away! Make ready—present—fire! They fly!¹⁸

The above song mirrors Maria's aria in Act I, Scene 3 of Donizetti's version, titled "Au bruit de la guerre"/ "Apparvi alla luce," and in both versions, Josephine/Maria is reflecting on the moments before she was rescued by her beloved regiment. Josephine's admiration for the regiment is evident, once again, at the conclusion of Act I, when she, Scalade, and the soldiers sing the "Song of the Regiment," which, in Donizetti's version is called "Chacun le sait"/"Ciascun lo Dice" in Scene 4.¹⁹ Missing from Act I in Buckstone's version, however, is any aria sung by Guillot, which might have been disappointing to audiences, had they been familiar with Tonio's "Ah! Mes Amis! quel jour de fête" / "Amici miei, che allegro giorno" (Act I, Scene 11). Yet, Buckstone might have considered this aria prohibitively too difficult to recreate as he considered the skills of average thespians.

In Act II, Scene 1, Josephine sings two arias "Salut de France" and "Sweet Philomel." The first song is rendered when she bemoans her fate while living with the marchioness, and immediately thereafter, she is introduced to her future husband, the duke. Their meeting is interrupted by the sound of the regiment coming to the chateau. As Josephine goes to greet the regiment, she resumes singing "Salut de France." A similar scenario unfolds for Maria in Act II, Scene 6, complete with the regiment's arrival.²⁰ Later in Act II, Scene 1, Josephine is requested to by her future husband to sing at the piano, and she obliges with "Sweet Philomel." But her

¹⁸ Buckstone, *Josephine*, 10.

¹⁹ There are thirteen scenes in Donizetti's opera; whereas "Chacun le sait"/"Ciascun lo Dice" appears in Scene 4 of the opera, it concludes the first act of Buckstone's version.

²⁰ In Donizetti's version, the title of the song is "Salut à la France" / Salvezza alla Francia."

father, Scalade, interrupts and exclaims "Don't sing that. Give 'em the song of the regiment," and together, they serenade the duke and his mother. In Donizetti's version, the order of the parallel scene (Act II, Scene 3), in which Maria's aunt teaches her to embrace domesticity by playing the piano, and the scene where Maria's laments her living situation are reversed (Act II, Scene 6) Both Buckstone's and Donizetti's works end similarly plotwise, but when Josephine chooses Guillot, the chorus joins in a reprise of "Rub-a-dub," whereas the chorus in the opera concludes the work with a reprise of "Salut à la France" / "Salvezza alla Francia."

The Goldens' performance of *Josephine, Daughter of the Regiment* was acknowledged by the following statement in the *Evansville Daily Journal*: "As the company is new with us and all entire strangers, we are not prepared to decide on the merits of the performances critically, but bespeak for the management a fair and impartial trial. Another good bill will be presented tonight, and the now really spacious hall will doubtless be well filled."²¹ Considering that, as described in Chapter 3, many men in southern Indiana had been called to war, it could be speculated that the audience had enjoyed Bella's character, Josephine, and the triumph of the child of the regiment over the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the audience may have felt that a patriotic play was particularly apropos, given the current climate. This growing appreciation for the Goldens made its way into print. At the end of the Combination's first week of performances, the *Journal* commented that "there is a fascination in [Bella Golden's] manner that betokens fine ability."²² Bella's musical and theatrical prowess soon attracted large audiences, and after her first month in Evansville, the *Journal* noted that "for vim and versatility she is unsurpassed."²³

²¹ *Evansville Daily Journal*, December 24, 1864.

²² *Evansville Daily Journal*, December 28, 1864.

²³ *Evansville Daily Journal*, January 27, 1865.

While cultivating a following in Evansville, the Goldens also expanded their audience base by performing in towns along the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad. This railroad, known as the C&EI line, extended from Chicago, Illinois, to Evansville, Indiana, and promoted north-south mobility along the border of Indiana and Illinois. Although the C&EI paralleled the Wabash River loosely throughout the southern half of its route, it connected the Ohio River Valley, of which Evansville was an important part, with Chicago and Lake Michigan. Moreover, the railroad provided a more reliable and expedient transportation option for citizens and businesses in towns that bordered, or were located near, the Wabash River, including Vincennes, Terre Haute, New Harmony, and Evansville, Indiana.²⁴

In the spring, the Goldens traveled north to Terre Haute, Indiana, and were in brief residence there when Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant on April 9, 1865, and Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865.²⁵ After returning to Evansville on April 24, the troupe relocated from the Masonic Hall to the nearby Mozart Hall, which was located just one block northeast of the Ohio River shoreline. The season concluded on June 13 with Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.²⁶

Between the first and second seasons, the Combination's new home theater, Mozart Hall, was remodeled and renamed the New Metropolitan Theater. The second season proceeded in much the same way as the first but with many more engagements. The troupe performed a total

²⁴ The Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad was formed through a series of consolidations, including the Evansville & Illinois Railroad and the Evansville & Terre Haute Railroad.

²⁵ The shooter, John Wilkes Booth, was a fellow thespian with whom the Goldens had previously appeared on stage.

²⁶ Bella Golden was unable to finish the season as she gave birth to the couple's second son, William, on June 9, 1865.

of 116 plays and fifty-three after-pieces or one-act plays on 187 nights.²⁷ The most dramatic change, however, involved the addition of Fred W. Ossenbergs orchestra.²⁸ Prior to collaborating with Golden, Ossenberg and his musicians had already established themselves in Evansville and had received accolades in the press for providing music for important civic occasions.²⁹

One year after the Golden made their debut in Evansville, nearly 200 people expressed their gratitude to Martin Golden in a letter published in the *Journal* on December 23, 1865, which began: "Dear Sir—The undersigned, not being aware of any other method by which we can now fitly express our genuine appreciation of your continued efforts to establish in our city a genteel and well-regulated place of intellectual amusement, beg leave to tender to you a Complimentary Benefit, and would respectfully ask that you designate the time when it can be most conveniently received."³⁰ On the night of the benefit, the *Journal* commented that, compared to Martin Golden, "no man ever labored with more untiring energy to establish a respectable place of intellectual entertainment for any people, or has made greater sacrifices for the accomplishment of that purpose, and his many friends and admirers in the city owe it to him

²⁷ According to the collection of playbills, the season ran from September 23, 1865, to May 31, 1866. See Golden Family Collection, Packet 12 Bound Playbills, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Members of the troupe included Miss Mary Barrett, C. R. Erksine, Mr. and Mrs. R.C. Grierson, J.C. Hamilton, Mrs. Ella Harris, W. P. Hastings, J. C. Hamilton, Miss Maggie Hart, J. R. Jamison, H. Kimber, Miss Josie Love, Miss Annie Mayhew, Mr. and Mrs. W. Melville, W. Raymond, W. Shelton, C. Waite, and Harry Watson. See *New Harmony Register*, May 9, 1874.

²⁸ *Evansville Daily Journal*, September 21, 1865.

²⁹ *Evansville Daily Journal*, February 13, 1864; *Evansville Daily Journal*, July 6, 1865. Other than their presence at these performances, very little information has been uncovered about Fred W. Ossenberg or the members of his ensemble. Ossenbergs name is mentioned in Pisani's *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*. In addition, a Fred W. Ossenberg, who was born in Germany in 1843 and died in Evansville on March 21, 1916, is buried in the Oak Hill Cemetery in Evansville, Indiana.

³⁰ *Evansville Daily Journal*, December 23, 1865.

to give him a bouncing benefit to-night. He will appear in his specialty, the 'Corsican Brothers,' appearing in two characters at the same moment, and in 'Shoulder Straps,' a play written by himself. Let everybody go, and fill the house to its fullest capacity."³¹

A "testimonial" was printed below the announcement and indicated that the New Metropolitan employees, with whom Golden had only collaborated for the previous year, held their manager in high esteem. In his response, which appeared under the testimonial, Golden acknowledged the implications of their collective working relationship for a successful theatrical enterprise.

MARTIN GOLDEN, Esq —Being desirous of expressing our regards for you, both as a manager and a man, we respectfully request of you to accept our gratuitous services on the occasion of your complimentary Benefit, on Christmas Night.

We remain your obedient servants.

[Signed by all the members and employe[e]s of the New Metropolitan].

New Metropolitan, Dec. 23

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: —Your kind communication of this date received. I accept your generous offer with profound gratitude, and hope that the kind feelings existing between us shall always continue.

I wish you all a Happy Christmas!³²

³¹ *Evansville Daily Journal*, December 25, 1865. See also "Card," Golden Family Scrapbook, 1; clipping, Golden Family Scrapbook, 11, Golden Family Collection, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. These two plays had also been paired together for a June 9, 1865, performance.

³² *Evansville Daily Journal*, December 25, 1865.

The Goldens Return to New Harmony in 1865

Following this Christmas performance, the New Metropolitan closed for a week because the troupe traveled to New Harmony, where it exhibited great variety and musical talent in the performance of eight different plays over the next five evenings. Ossenberg was in attendance and conducted the orchestra. The playbill for December 26, 1865, featured *The Child of the Regiment*, which had opened the troupe's first and second seasons, and *Katy O'Shiel*.³³ The next day, December 27, 1865, the Goldens performed *The French Spy; Or, The Siege of Constantina* and the musical burletta *Jenny Lind*.³⁴ The performance of December 28 featured *The Corsican Brothers* and the farce of *The Young Actress* by Dion Boucicault.³⁵ The week-long series concluded on December 30 with *The Pearl of Savoy*, in which Bella (as Marie) sang several songs, and William Bayle Bernard's *The Middy Ashore*.³⁶

Following the appearances in New Harmony, the troupe likely returned to Evansville over the New Year's holiday, but the members were traveling again by the following week for a

³³ These two titles, *The Child of the Regiment* and *Katy O'Sheil*, were published as such in the *New Harmony Register*, May 16, 1874. The latter title is presumed to a misprint of the play by James Pilgrim titled *Katty O'Sheal*. The Golden Family Collection contains materials on which different spellings have been employed, including Katy O'Shea, Katy O'Shiel, Katy O'Sheal, Katty O'Sheal, and Katty O'Shiel.

³⁴ Judging by the frequency with which the Goldens performed J. T. Haines' *The French Spy; or The Siege of Constantina* in Evansville, alone, the play was an audience favorite. For example, the Goldens rendered this piece on October 2 and 3 and 4, 1865, November 21, 1865, December 6, 1865, and December 16, 1865.

³⁵ The Golden Family Collection contains a copy of the playbook for *The Corsican Brothers*; the author is unknown.

³⁶ Because the newspaper noted that Bella portrayed "Marie," Charles Zachary Barnett's play, *Linda, the Pearl of Savoy*, can be ruled out as having been performed that evening. It is an adaptation Gaetano Donizetti's 1842 operatic melodrama, of *Linda di Chamounix*, and a copy of Barnett's play can be found in the collection. Another version of the same story, also found in the collection, was attributed to an anonymous playwright and published by Samuel French.

much-anticipated performance in Terre Haute, Indiana.³⁷ At the time of the troupe's arrival, Terre Haute boasted what was then Indiana's largest stage, which had been constructed in 1864 at a cost of \$60,000 and situated within Dowling Hall.³⁸ Dowling Hall attracted a number of traveling entertainment entities, and on January 8, 1866, the Golden Dramatic Combination, accompanied by Ossenberg's orchestra, appeared in *The French Spy* and *Jenny Lind* in honor of "Grand Opening Night" festivities.

To Terre Haute's readers, Dowling Hall's management appeared committed to bringing suitably sophisticated entertainment to its audience during the 1866 season, as the following statement was printed in conjunction with an announcement for the Goldens' forthcoming program: "It is the full determination of the Management to present to the patrons of the drama an intellectual and refined character of amusements." This announcement also noted that "the citizens and residents of Terre Haute and vicinity are respectfully informed that the ensuing Dramatic Season will be inaugurated Monday evening next, with a full and efficient Corps Dramatique, whose talents will enable them to give Entertainments unsurpassed by any Theatre in the United States."

³⁷ *Evansville Daily Journal*, January 8, 1866.

³⁸ Located on North Sixth Street, Dowling Hall opened on December 15, 1864. The hall was named for Thomas Dowling, the founding editor of the *Wabash Courier* (in 1832) and the *Express* (a Whig newspaper). See Mike McCormick, *Terre Haute: Queen City of the Wabash, The Making of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2005), 44. For more information about the history and the cost of building Dowling Hall, see De Witt C. Goodrich and Charles R. Tuttle, *An Illustrated History of the State of Indiana: Being a Full and Authentic Civil and Political History of the State from Its First Exploration Down to 1875: Including an Account of the Commercial, Agricultural, and Educational Growth of Indiana: With Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Cities, Towns and Villages, Together with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of the Prominent Men of the Past and Present, and a History of Each County Separately* (Indianapolis: R. S. Peale & Co, 1875), 648.

However, these same readers may not have known or realized that it was actually Golden himself who had authored these words as part of a greater movement to ensure that audience members had access to "an intellectual and refined character of amusements."³⁹ Golden had had the exact same statement printed in the *Evansville Daily Journal* on September 21, 1865, underneath a decorative notice for the "grand opening night" of his troupe's second season in Evansville. Collectively, these announcements in the Evansville and Terre Haute newspapers provide valuable evidence regarding Martin Golden's intention to influence the perception and reception of theatrical productions in southwestern Indiana. These announcements also illustrate the type of repertoire that Golden and his troupe had mastered and foreshadow the level of theatrical productions to which the New Harmony audiences would soon be privy on a regular basis.

Although New Harmony did not have an active newspaper during the Civil War, the Evansville and Terre Haute papers provided a vehicle throughout which Golden could convey his belief that theatrical performances benefited audience members. This belief was shared by the 200 citizens of Evansville, who demonstrated their appreciation of Golden's mission through the offer of a complimentary benefit. Given Martin Golden's broad range of experiences with dramatic companies in New Orleans, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, he was aptly positioned to

³⁹ This statement is printed in conjunction with an announcement for a January 8, 1866, performance; the announcement is from an unidentified Terre Haute newspaper and is pasted in a twenty-eight-page Golden family scrapbook whose contents span from June 9, 1865, to May 19, 1872. The comment about "intellectual and refined character of amusement" appears in another clipping (presumably dated January 8, 1866) on the same page of this scrapbook, as it, too, refers to the same performance in Terre Haute. Clippings, Golden Family Scrapbook (1865 to 1872), 13, Golden Family Collection, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

provide an optimistic assessment of theater, which had long been a subject of intense, national debate, especially in major metropolitan areas.

Contemporary Perceptions of Theater and Morality in Southwestern Indiana

In the United States, theater was rejected totally by the Puritans, whose rationale was articulated by Increase Mather in his 1687 publication, *A Testimony Against Several Prophane and Superstitious Customs*. Mather posited that stage-plays "had their Original from those Devil-Gods whom the Gentiles Worshiped" and "[bore] a principal part in the Poms of the Devil." In addition, he claimed that "stage-players" demonstrated the "vices and wickedness of men," that the "effects of stage-plays have been very pernicious," and that these plays should be considered "abominable vanities."⁴⁰ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, theater and its corruptive potential remained a subject of intense scrutiny, especially among Christians, who penned a number of critical essays, sermons, and tracts, including John Witherspoon's *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage* (1757), Samuel Miller's *A Sermon, Delivered January 19, 1812*, William S. Plumer's *Theatrical Entertainments* (1837), Thomas Brainerd's *Influence of Theatres* (1840), and Joseph P. Thompson's *Theatrical Amusements: A Discourse on the Character and Influence of the Theater* (1847).⁴¹ The sentiment of these writings is perhaps

⁴⁰ Increase Mather, *A Testimony against Several Prophane and Superstitious Customs: Now Practiced by Some in New-England, the Evil Whereof Is Evinced from the Holy Scriptures, and from the Writings Both of Ancient and Modern Divines* (London, 1687).

⁴¹ See John Witherspoon, *A Serious Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage Being an Attempt to Show, That Contributing to the Support of a Public Theatre, Is Inconsistent with the Character of a Christian* (Glasgow: J. Bryce and D. Paterson, 1757); Samuel Miller, *A Sermon, Delivered January 19, 1812, at the Request of a Number of Young Gentlemen of the City of New-York Who Had Assembled to Express Their Condolence with the Inhabitants of Richmond, on the Late Mournful Dispensation of Providence in That City*, Early American Imprints. (New York: Whiting and Watson, 1812); William S. Plumer, *Theatrical*

best synthesized in the rhetoric of Thompson, who, as a pastor of New York's Broadway Tabernacle Church, admonished his followers, in no uncertain terms, to "shun the theater" due to the "eternal distinction between the lovers of pleasure and the lovers of God."⁴²

Whereas the aforementioned religious figures pitted the participation in and patronage of on-stage activities against contemporary Christian mores, other opponents proposed that immoral activities, such as prostitution, alcohol consumption, and profane behavior, took place off-stage. As such, many antebellum moral reformers were much more concerned with the activities taking place in the theater building than with the content or subject matter of the performances. Musical theater historian Gillian Rodger has investigated the legislation that was enacted to limit or regulate these behaviors most notably through curtailing or eliminating the sale of alcohol in theaters. According to Rodger, however, regulations on "all forms of amusement were a decidedly local affair."⁴³

In Indiana for example, opinions about alcohol varied from town to town, and in the case of New Harmony, these opinions fluctuated over time. Just as Indiana was transitioning from its status as a territory and achieving statehood in 1816, the Harmonists of New Harmony were building a distillery and a tavern, and they went on to advertise the sale of "beer by the barrel"

Entertainments; a Premium Tract (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication and S.S. Society, 1837); Thomas Brainerd, *Influence of Theatres: A Lecture on the Nature and Tendency of the Stage* (Philadelphia: Printed by Manly and Orr, 1940). David Grimsted provides a useful summary to anti-theater discourse in the United States in Chapters 1 and 2 of *Melodrama Unveiled; American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

⁴² Joseph Parrish Thompson, *Theatrical Amusements: A Discourse on the Character and Influence of the Theater* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1847), 39-40.

⁴³ Gillian Margaret Rodger, "Irrational Amusements, Theatre Law, and Moral Reformers in Nineteenth-Century America: Implications for Later Popular Music Study," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 19, no. 3 (2013): 299.

for the remainder of their ten-year tenure along the frontier.⁴⁴ When George Rapp sold New Harmony to Robert Owen in 1824, the latter inherited the distillery and tavern. However, both Owen and Maclure were abstemious, and Community of Equality member and *New Harmony Gazette* editor William Pelham claimed in 1825 that the tavern was used only for community gatherings and discussions.⁴⁵

In general, and at the state level, Indiana had been a hotbed of temperance activity, beginning during its early days of statehood, and continuing throughout the antebellum until approximately 1855. In the twenty years between 1830 and 1850, Indiana's state and municipal governments passed a total of 126 "legislative acts" regarding all aspects of the sale of alcohol, from the licensure required to sell it to the cleanliness of the local saloon. Religious organizations in support of temperance, such as the Methodist Church, and secular groups, which included the Sons of Temperance, the Daughters of Temperance, the Cadets of Temperance, the Order of Good Templars, and the Washingtonian Temperance Society maintained a strong presence within the state.⁴⁶ According to Terre Haute historian John Schlicher, the success of the city's prohibitory organizations prompted Terre Haute's treasurer to declare in an 1842 memorandum that "liquor, as a beverage is almost unknown."⁴⁷ In Evansville, members of the Washingtonian Temperance Society were giving lectures throughout southwestern Indiana on the implications of alcohol for society. In 1853, for example, Mr. P. Folger was introduced to New

⁴⁴ *Vincennes Sun*, May 1, 1819.

⁴⁵ William Pelham to William C. Pelham, September 4, 1825, The Pelham Collection, Branigin Archive, Workingmen's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

⁴⁶ Charles E. Canup, "Temperance Movements and Legislation in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 16, no. 1 (1920): 17-19. In the case of New Harmony, it remains unclear as to the extent that the churches, which came into existence beginning in 1841, had any impact on the presence of theater.

⁴⁷ John Jacob Schlicher, *Terre Haute in 1850* (Terre Haute, IN: Vocational Press, 1917), 434; H. C. Bradsby, *History of Vigo County, Indiana* (Chicago: S. B. Nelson & Co, 1891).

Harmony's citizens as a "worthy member" of the Washingtonians who was available to discuss temperance—a topic of "interest" to the townspeople during the post-Community era.⁴⁸

Finally, in the summer of 1855, a statewide prohibitory law was passed and put into effect on June 12, which read: "No person or persons shall manufacture, keep for sale, or sell by himself, or agent, directly or indirectly, any spirituous or intoxicating liquors."⁴⁹ The following month, the implication of this law for Indiana's residents was explored by Robert Dale Owen during his extended stay in Europe:

I agree with you, that, in our state, they have run that matter of temperance into the ground, [and] I fear it may produce a reaction. I have not seen the law, but I think it likely a part of it is unconstitutional. The mischief grew out of a ridiculous decision of the Supreme Court of our State, in regard to the former Temperance law. Here, in [Naples] of nearly half a million people, certainly far less enlightened and virtuous than our people, and every one, according to his means, drinks wine daily, I have not seen, in nearly two years, one single Neapolitan drunk. You don't even hear of such a thing as drunkenness, unless it be, now and then, among the Swiss soldiers, or (I am very sorry to say) among American and other sailors when they get on shore.⁵⁰

He was not the only person to disagree with the law; by the end of 1855, it had been annulled, and the attention of people on both sides of the issue began to focus on abolition and the looming Civil War.

Shortly after the annulment, Indiana's temperance organizations went into remission, and according to Indiana historian Charles Canup, the period between 1856 and 1883 was characterized by a frequent ebb and flow of the temperance movement, after which, a resurgence

⁴⁸ Charles Battell and P. B. Folger to N. G. Nettleton [et. al], May 15, 1853, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812-1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 72, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

⁴⁹ Canup, "Temperance Movements and Legislation in Indiana," 24.

⁵⁰ Robert Dale Owen to John Cooper, July 31, 1855, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812-1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 73, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

remained in full force until 1917. On January 9, 1860, for example, the *Evansville Daily Journal* reported that "there seems to be a revival among the temperance folks now. The Division of the Sons of Temperance here took in seven members Friday night last." Two months later, on March 20, 1860, the *Journal* reprinted a notice from the *Vincennes Gazette* noting a lack of temperance organizations altogether: "Our city is at present without a temperance organization. A few years ago, there were the Sons of Temperance, Temple of Honor, and Daughters of Temperance, all in full blast. They are all disbanded."

With the temperance movement's historically wide reaching, albeit contemporaneously fluctuating, impact in Indiana, theaters were not the sites of debauchery that had been and were still common in other parts of the United States. Thus, even though the debate on the merit of theater raged at the national level, Martin Golden's troupe emerged in a hospitable socio-political milieu that differed from that which characterized the theatrical scene elsewhere in the United States. His intentions were made clear in the announcements published in the Evansville and Terre Haute newspapers, but in the second season, the *Evansville Daily Journal* offered its own assessment of the city's troupe-in-residence with more frequency, all the while acknowledging the shared opinions of its citizens. For example, on May 28, 1866, the *Journal* praised Golden, who "labored with zeal and untiring energy to establish a first-class place of intellectual entertainment for the benefit of our citizens, and he has succeeded, to a great degree, in accomplishing his praiseworthy object." Throughout that same week, the *Journal* printed a letter written by the troupe members, which articulated their allegiance to and respect of Golden. "Dear Sir—We the undersigned, attachées of the New Metropolitan, desirous of giving you a slight token of our appreciation of your unceasing energy and gentlemanly conduct as a manager

and a man, respectfully request that you will take a benefit before the close of the dramatic season, and pray that you will accept our gratuitous services on the occasion."⁵¹

Bella Golden was also recognized for her successes on the stage and contributions to her husband's musical-theatrical enterprise. Given her married status, Bella may have lent a sense of respectability and propriety to the Combination, which in reality was, and continued to be for many years, a family-run business. In her dual role of leading lady and manager's wife, Bella developed a following among Evansville's citizens, which was justly rewarded. After a May 1866 performance, for example, "[n]umbers of bouquets were cast at Bella Golden's feet, for which she showed the appreciation of a true lady. At the close of the first piece she was called out and made a handsome little speech thanking the audience again and again for their favors and compliments. She was about retiring behind the curtain, when Mr. Grierson stepped out and informed her that he had something to say. On behalf of the ladies and gentlemen of the city, he presented Mrs. G. with an elegant guitar, with a variety of pieces of music."⁵²

Within these first two seasons, Martin Golden's purpose was not only recognized and made public, but the primary agents of information dissemination—that is, the regional newspapers—agreed that he was, in fact, continuing to achieve his goal. By publishing the opinions of Golden's own troupe members, the *Journal* implied that these thespians and musicians were excited, and even proud, to partake in such an endeavor that benefited Evansville's citizens. Even if there were lingering concerns about theater and morality, Martin Golden's early efforts in southwestern Indiana seem to have allayed them, as his ideologies for

⁵¹ This letter was printed in both the *Evansville Daily Journal* and the *Courier*, and it was signed by all of the members of the troupe, including the orchestra conductor, F[red]W. Ossenberg.

⁵² *Evansville Daily Journal*, May 21, 1866.

intellectual amusements were precisely what was needed in Evansville. For example, on April 24, 1866, the *Evansville Daily Journal* published an editorial that praised theater for its benefits and recognized Martin Golden for having developed a cultivated theatrical scene in Evansville at a time when some American still had "conscientious scruples against" theater. The editorial provided a very brief overview to the "whole Theatre controversy which agitates the public mind from time to time" by asking "how [theatre] is to be regulated in the interest of enlightened morals, and purified of internal corruptions and vicious surroundings so that those who attend its performances may be made not only wiser but better."

Moreover, the *Journal* expanded its assessment of theater to embrace the important economic role it played in cultivating Evansville's reputation. In so doing, it considered theater critical to the plan through which Evansville was to be transformed into a pleasant place to conduct business, especially as it was poised to become the next major city along the Ohio River by the end of 1860s. By positioning theater as integral to the city's growing financial successes and status within the extended geographical region, the editorial continued as follows:

the enterprise that Mr. Golden has under his charge, not in his name, nor yet in his special interest, [is] for the benefit of the Theatre-going community, and of the business interests of the city as promoted through the Drama, as an established institution in our midst. That our business interests are promoted by it, a little reflection and inquiry amongst business men, will prove. Many business men, when they start from home to buy merchandise, make their errand one of pleasure as well as business. . . . Evansville must also support [theatres], and if she does not, will lose customers, who will go to trade where they can find such amusements. It may safely be said that a good Dramatic establishment is second in importance, in the above respect, to first class hotels and well filled stores and manufactories, because other cities can offer as liberal inducements to buyers, in the way of bargains, as we can, and better hotels, while we lack proper buildings for that purpose, and these things being equal, and the time required to go to Cincinnati or Louisville being so short, and the expense so light, many customers will go where they can add pleasure to business. Herein lies the business value of the Theatre, the Opera, the Museum, the well-built, well-kept Hotel, of Parks, and other pleasant public places, and all reputable means of rendering strangers comfortable and happy during their sojourn.⁵³

⁵³ *Evansville Daily Journal*, April 24, 1866.

The *Journal* continued to persuade readers of theater's potential impact on Evansville's economy throughout the rest of the year. In an editorial printed on December 29, 1866, it chastised local readers for not having supported Golden's recent endeavors.

The attendance at the theater last night was very slim. There was nothing but the legitimate drama offered them. Two first-class plays were presented in a manner seldom excelled, to almost empty seats—a condition of things by no means creditable to the commercial emporium of Indiana. Tonight Mr. Golden takes a benefit which closes the dramatic season, and it will be manifest ingratitude on the part of our people if the house is not crowded. No man has ever manifested greater energy or a greater desire to amuse people or cater to their intellectual taste. Against almost insuperable difficulties has he contended to establish the legitimate drama in the city, at an outlay of money and labor that has been almost exhaustive.

In spite of Evansville's aspirations for repute along the Ohio River, it was unable to support Martin Golden and his troupe in the manner that the *Journal* felt was appropriate. Two months later, on February 22, 1867, the *Journal* tried, once again, to rally behind Golden and leverage his potential as key to the city's prosperity. "Mr. Golden has labored hard to cater to the taste of lovers of the drama in this city, and ought to be far better sustained. Whatever may be said of a theater, there is little doubt but the amusement attractions of large cities takes trade from the city of Evansville." And the following day, the *Journal* echoed its sentiments. "Mr. Golden is laboring hard for the interest of the city when he employs the best talent to amuse the lovers of the drama in the city, as well as those who may visit the place to purchase goods; hence the merchants ought to feel that he is working for them as well as himself."

As a savvy businessman, Martin Golden must have suspected that in spite of the significant inroads he had made in Evansville, he would be wise to broaden his influence geographically. Over the next seven years, the Goldens kept in contact with their friends in New Harmony, all the while taking important acting jobs in the eastern United States. But, as he and

his troupe became more and more integrated with New Harmony's cultural scene, an unlikely, but not altogether surprising, rivalry developed between the large city of Evansville and its much smaller neighbor. With each return to their eventual hometown, they brought with them a need for musically gifted thespians and instrumentalists to participate in their performances. Ultimately, the Goldens enhanced New Harmony's theatrical and musical life and repositioned the small town as the true cultural capital of the tristate area.

The Goldens in New Harmony: 1866–1867

Martin Golden had already been praised for his commitment to producing intellectual and refined entertainment prior to his troupe's unofficial amalgamation in 1866 with New Harmony's thespians and musicians. Thus, by the time these two performing organizations came together for their initial series of seven productions that summer, Golden was positioned ideally, yet perhaps unwittingly, to help revitalize and perpetuate the traditions associated with well-regulated amusements in New Harmony. On July 28, 1866, the Golden troupe and the current "New Harmony Dramatic Association"⁵⁴ opened their month-long collaboration with a production of *Mathilde* and Marie Thérèse Kemble's comedy *A Day After the Wedding*.⁵⁵ (see figure 6).

⁵⁴ Although the *New Harmony Register* employs the moniker "New Harmony Dramatic Association," it remains unclear as to whether this was an official organization or merely a term used as a placeholder for advertisement purposes. Other notices and articles in the *Register* imply that there was no official theatrical organization in New Harmony between 1864/5 and 1873.

⁵⁵ The playwright of *Mathilde* remains unconfirmed, but the version performed this evening may have been an English adaptation of Marie-Joseph Eugène Sue's *Mathilde: Mémoires d'une Jeune Femme*. The Goldens had already performed *Mathilde* unassisted twice at the New Metropolitan Theatre: March 15, 1866, and March 17, 1866.

Date	Primary play	Presence of Music	Afterpiece
July 28	<i>Mathilde</i>	orchestra	<i>A Day after the Wedding</i>
July 31	<i>Naval Engagements</i>	orchestra	<i>The Young Actress</i>
August 4	<i>Lucretia Borgia</i>	orchestra	<i>Forty and Fifty</i>
August 11	<i>The Stranger; or Misanthropy and Repentance</i>	orchestra	<i>Woman's Whims; Or, in and out of place</i>
August 18	<i>Katy O'Sheil</i>	orchestra	<i>Faint Heart Never won Fair Lady</i>
August 23	<i>The French Spy</i>	?*	<i>Algerines</i>
August 27	<i>The Child of the Regiment</i>	?**	

*Music probable, given that *The French Spy* was rendered with music for the Christmastime production of 1865
**Songs listed as part of the performance = "Rataplan," "Song of the Drum," "Search through the Wide World," "Ask me Now Why," "Scenes that are Brightest," "Salut a la France"

Figure 6 Schedule of musical-theatrical events produced by the Goldens, aided by New Harmony's thespians, in New Harmony between July 28 and August 27, 1866

The title role of *Mathilde* was rendered by Bella Golden, and, as she was acknowledged in the announcement for her singing, it is presumed that she was accompanied in some way. However, neither the performing body nor its personnel is named. Similarly, an unnamed orchestra played an overture between a performance of Charles Dance's *Naval Engagements* and Dion Boucicault's *The Young Actress* in the middle of the following week, on July 31.⁵⁶ While *Naval Engagements* does not appear to feature singing, the orchestra may have supplied music that enhanced the movements and emotions enacted on stage. The orchestra returned a few days later to play an overture prior to the Goldens' appearance in *Lucretia Borgia* and, most likely, supplied the music referenced in the play.⁵⁷ According to the *New Harmony Register*, the

⁵⁶ *New Harmony Register*, May 16, 1874. A playbill for this performance of Charles Dance's *Naval Engagements* has not been located in the Golden Family Collection. The Goldens had already performed *The Young Actress* at least six times in Evansville in the preceding year: October 25, November 18, and December 2, 1865, January 4, March 24, and May 28, 1866.

⁵⁷ Based on the materials in the Golden Family Collection, this version of *Lucretia Borgia* was adapted from the French of Victor Hugo, by J. M. Weston, as opposed to that which was adapted by William Young, of which there is no mention in the collection. The Goldens performed *Lucretia Borgia* on November 4, 1865, and May 24, 1866. Hugo's work also forms the basis of *Lucrezia Borgia*, an opera composed by Gaetano Donizetti with a libretto written by

orchestra accompanied the August 11 production to August von Kotzebue's *The Stranger; or Misanthropy and Repentance*.⁵⁸ During the following week's production on August 18, the orchestra returned to open the evening's event with an overture, which was followed by a song-filled performance of *Katy O'Shiel* starring Bella Golden and James Robinson Planché's *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*.⁵⁹

An orchestra was mentioned in conjunction with the first five of seven productions; more than likely, however, an orchestra was present for all seven, considering that the Golden had rendered *The French Spy* and *The Child of the Regiment* with music in New Harmony during Christmas Week of 1865. Fred W. Ossenberg's ensemble may have, once again, accompanied this series of performances, which would have been expected if the Golden troupe had been the sole performing entity, as it was the previous winter. But, the New Harmony String Band under the direction of William Munson Bennett might have served in this capacity, as well.⁶⁰ As recently as 1865, Bennett's band comprised ten instrumentalists, including Bennett, William Baldwin, James Bennett (drummer), John Bennett, George Beal, Ed Boyce, Charlie Burton, Silas

Felice Romani. The evening concluded with Thomas Haynes Bayly's *Forty and Fifty*. The Golden had recently performed Bayly's work in Evansville on February 20 and March 15, 1866. Bayly, who was a renowned British writer of poems and dramas, also composed songs. *New Harmony Register*, May 16, 1874.

⁵⁸ The evening concluded with *Woman's Whims; Or, In and Out of Place*.

⁵⁹ Planché, a known dramatist, was also a prolific composer of operas and operatic dramas. During the antebellum (and immediate post-Community era), New Harmony's thespians tended to produce works by English playwrights, perhaps because these were the plays to which they had easy access. Yet the Golden were drawing from a much broader repertoire, which by itself is not necessarily an indication of a split along amateur/professional lines, but rather indicative of the experiences Martin and Bella Golden had prior to starting their own troupe. The theaters in St. Louis and New Orleans were certainly more cosmopolitan, in terms of nineteenth-century America, but the local thespians during the antebellum were viewed as cosmopolitan in a different way—simply by virtue of reestablishing a theater and concert tradition on the frontier.

⁶⁰ *New Harmony Register*, May 16, 1874.

Meyers (drummer), Elliott Snelling, and Eugene S. Thrall.⁶¹ Of these musicians, William Baldwin, the Bennetts, and Eugene S. Thrall were all members of the "New Harmony String Band" in 1867.⁶² Ossenberg's name does not appear in conjunction with either ensemble.

This series of performances from July and August 1866 was well-received and marked a turning point in the history, reception, and function of musical theater in southwestern Indiana. Because New Harmony lacked a functioning newspaper until the following year, "correspondence" from the town was submitted to the *Evansville Daily Journal* in the form of a letter to the editor. The letter, dated September 3, 1866, focused on Bella Golden's performances, noting that

it is necessary for me to say that she has been excellent in all the parts she has undertaken—those who have seen [her] on the boards, no she can be no [illegible] than excellent. Any one person [playing] two such characters as *Lucretia Borgia* and *Katty O'Shiel*, and play them both well, must possess no small degree of genius. But to particularity [illegible], her *Josephine*, in *The Child of the Regiment*, and her rendition of *The French Spy* cannot be excelled, at least this is the unanimous opinion of the people here, (and permit me to say), they have *some* idea of what good playing is—while her singing and dancing elicited the most enthusiastic admiration and applause.

In this letter, the local correspondent implicitly recognizes that, given New Harmony's robust musical-theatrical history, its citizens possess knowledge of what constitutes a good performance and have maintained high standards into the postbellum era. The letter continues, mentioning that "quite a large delegation from your city [Evansville] attended our theatre last Saturday night, to witness Mrs. Golden's personation of *The French Spy*." This statement demonstrates Evansville's citizens recognized the value of Golden's troupe and were willing to travel to a much smaller neighboring town for intellectual and refined amusement.

⁶¹ "The Band in 1865," [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source], no date, pasted on "Bands—Musical," Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

⁶² *New Harmony Register*, May 23, 1874.

The Golden family departed New Harmony following their final joint performance on August 27, 1866, but returned on three occasions in 1867 for short-term residencies. For the first residency of April 1867, Bella Golden served in the leading role, but in the August/September and November 1867 residencies, New Harmony's local thespians showcased their own talents and held benefits for their friends, Martin and Bella Golden. As was customary at the time, the audience was treated to a wide-ranging repertoire comprising selections from Shakespeare's oeuvre and the plays and farces of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English, Scottish, and American playwrights.⁶³

Extant playbills and documentation in the Golden Family Collection indicate that Ossenberg's ensemble provided the instrumental accompaniment for at least some, if not all, of the April 1867 productions. As conveyed through figure 7, many of the plays featured at least one of the kinds of music common in contemporary melodrama—namely, melodramatic music designed for the audience's benefit, songs written for the specific play, well-known popular songs inserted into the play, and instrumental overtures, interludes, and stand-alone pieces prior to, between, and after the plays. The *New Harmony Register*, which had just released its inaugural issue on April 3, 1867, reported that the Wednesday, April 24, production of Edmund Falconer's *Peep O'Day* included an instrumental overture and several popular songs in the performance, such as "Kathleen Mavourneen," "Pretty Girl Milking the Cow," and "Shan Van

⁶³ Most of New Harmony's townspeople would have been familiar with plays by Thomas Morton and his son John Maddison Morton. Several plays by the elder Morton had been performed during the post-Community era, including *A Cure for the Heartache*, *Speed the Plow; or, the Farmer's Glory*, and *A Roland for an Oliver*. But, as figure 7 indicates, they were also introduced to new plays or plays that had never been performed in the town before.

Vocht" (see figure 8).⁶⁴ This production of *Peep O'Day* was referenced by Michael Pisani in his *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth-Century London and New York* to demonstrate that even "small provincial theatres" could obtain the original music for plays.⁶⁵ Indeed, the *Register* also indicates that for the April 26 production of *Macbeth*, "all the original music was admirably rendered, and gave great satisfaction to the large audience present."⁶⁶

As figure 7 illustrates, the Goldens and their fellow troupers rendered eighteen plays over the course of thirteen evenings between April 15 and April 27, 1867. On April 27, 1867, the *New Harmony Register* acknowledged Bella's ability to impersonate so many characters in such a short period of time. "During her visits to our town she has personated characters the most opposite—from Lady Macbeth to Judy O'Trot [*Ireland as it Was*] . . . and we can safely aver that, take her all in all, she is the *very best* general actress we have ever seen."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ The play script contains the following recommendation for music: "The overture is a medley of Irish airs, chiefly revolutionary as 'The Shan Van Voght,' 'Wearing of the Green,' 'Garry Owen,' 'Who Fears to Talk of '98?' etc. The other illustrative music will also be Irish, where practicable." See Edmund Falconer, *Peep O'day; or, Savourneen Dheelish* (New York: De Witt, n.d.), 4. Based on the information provided in the playbill and the *New Harmony Register*, it is unclear the extent to which the overture followed the script's recommendations. As for the three songs mentioned on the playbill, "Kathleen Mavourneen" was written by Frederick Crouch in 1837, with lyrics by Marion Crawford. The words in the title are an Anglicization and mondegreen of an Irish Gaelic phrase "mo mhuirín," which translates as "my beloved." This song may have been included in the play for two reasons: first, it is an Irish song, and second, the main character in *Peep O'Day* is named "Kathleen Kavenaugh." The song "A Pretty Girl Milking her Cow" is also a traditional Irish song that dates to the eighteenth century. Finally, "Shan Van Voght" or "Shan Van Vocht" (as rendered by the *Register*) is an Anglicization and mondegreen of "Sean-Bhean Bhocht," which is a traditional Irish song that translates as "Poor Old Woman."

⁶⁵ Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, 177.

⁶⁶ *New Harmony Register*, May 4, 1867

⁶⁷ *New Harmony Register*, April 27, 1867.

Date	Presence of Music	Plays
April 15	Yes, Bella singing	<i>All that Glitters is not Gold</i> ⁶⁸ <i>College Boy</i>
April 17	Music in Golden Family Collection	<i>The Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish</i> ⁶⁹ <i>The Widow's Victim</i>
April 18	Yes, melodramatic music Yes, Bella singing Songs include: "My Old Kentucky Home" "The Heart Bowed Down" "Massa in the Cold Cold Ground" "Life on the Ocean Wave" "Little more Cider"	<i>The Hidden Hand</i> ⁷⁰ (melodramatic music with cues throughout the script; songs)
April 19	? ?	<i>Asmodeus; Or, the Little Devil's Share</i> ⁷¹ <i>Pocahontas</i>
April 20	? ?	<i>The Lakes of Killarney</i> <i>The Maid of Munster</i> ⁷²
April 22	? ?	<i>Madeline, The Belle of the Faubourg</i> <i>Hercules, King of Clubs;</i>
April 23	Original music	<i>The Ticket of Leave-Man</i>
April 24 ⁷³	Original music: "Kathleen Mavoureen" "Pretty Girl Milking the Cow"	<i>Peep O'Day</i>
April 25	Music throughout	<i>Ireland as it Was</i> ⁷⁴ <i>Betsy Baker</i>
April 26	Original music	<i>Macbeth</i> (OM) <i>Spectre Bridegroom;</i>
April 27	Original music Songs	<i>The Ticket of Leave-Man</i> <i>In and Out of Place</i>

Figure 7 List of main plays performed between April 15 and April 27, 1867

⁶⁸ *All that Glitters is not Gold* was written by Thomas and John Maddison Morton.

⁶⁹ *The Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish* was a drama in two acts that was based on the book of J. Fennimore Cooper. Manuscript music for the play, arranged for various instruments, is located in the Golden Family Collection, Box 2, Instrumental Music: Manuscripts, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

⁷⁰ *The Hidden Hand* was written by Robert Jones. This drama in five acts was adapted by Jones from Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth's novel.

⁷¹ *Asmodeus* was written by Thomas Archer.

⁷² Possibly also known as *Perfection; or The Maid of Munster: a farce in one act*.

⁷³ Appears to be solely members of the Golden.

⁷⁴ *Ireland as it Was* was written by Jeffrey H. Amherst.

This extensive list in figure 7 demonstrates two interrelated aspects critical to understanding New Harmony's early-postbellum cultural milieu. First, the Goldens possessed the kind of talent and extensive repertoire that would have been appreciated, and possibly expected, by the local townspeople who had lived during the post-Community era. Second, New Harmony's citizens were interested in this quantity of amusement and capable, from an economic perspective, of making this endeavor worthwhile for the Goldens. In its review of the April 27 performance, the *Register* noted that "[t]he house was filled to its utmost capacity and the performance throughout was listened to with the most intense interest. All the characters were well represented; every one seemed to be impressed with the feeling that the thrilling moral picture was a panorama of real life passing before them. . . All the original music was admirably rendered and gave great satisfaction to the large audience present. The company returned to Evansville last Sunday [April 28] to re-open the theatre in that city, and carried with them the best wishes of HARMONY."⁷⁵

⁷⁵ *New Harmony Register*, May 4, 1867. See also Clipping, Golden Family Collection.

NEW HARMONY THEATRE!

Martin Golden.....Manager | R. C. Grierson...Stage Manager
W. Fletcher.....Scenic Artist | F. Ossenberg..Orchestra Leader


Admission 50 Cents
Children 25 Cents

LAST WEEK OF THE SEASON.

First time in New Harmony of the most Thrilling Drama ever written, entitled
"PEEP O'DAY!"

The talented and accomplished artiste,
BELLA GOLDEN!!
Will appear as "KATHLEEN KAVANAGH," with Songs.

The Original Overture and the Original Music,
Composed expressly for PEEP O'DAY, will be performed by the Leader, F. Ossenberg



On Wednesday Evening, April 24, 1867.
Will be presented (for the first time in New Harmony) the Great Drama entitled
PEEP O'DAY

KATE KAVANAGH (With songs of "Kathleen Mavourneen" and "Pretty Girl Milking the Cow.") Barney (a brook of a boy, with song of the "Shan Van Vocht")..... Harry Kavanagh..... Black Mullins..... Capt. Howard..... Dermot..... Billy, the Bowler..... Peasants &c.....	BELLA GOLDEN W. T. Melville..... E. G. Veltz..... Stephen Farrell..... W. W. Grand..... Father O'Clear..... R. C. Grierson..... J. G. Hamilton..... Mrs. Grierson..... Mrs. Melville..... Miss Harris.....
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Synopsis of Scenery, Incidents, &c.

ACT I. On the moment was sad when my loved one parted, Savouring Death's alien eyes. Martial Law —Suspension of the Habeas Corpus—The Accusation—Tableau. Sum- mary military arrest of Harry Kavanagh. ACT II. "Who has not heard of Donnybrook Fair! An Irishman all in his glory was there, With the sprig of Shamrock and Shamrock so green; The "Shan Van Vocht" — "Donnybrook" Jig—Tableau. Pattern Fair or Faction Fight!	ACT III. On the hill top the moon sheds partial ray, While darkness reigns around. The Foil Dhiv. Attempted murder of Kate Kavanagh. Terrible Leap from the extreme height of the theatre to the stage, and triumphant rescue of the victim. ACT IV. Yes! Ould Ireland shall be free, From the center to the sea; Then, Harroo for Liberty. Says the Shan Van Vocht, The Peep O'Day—Wrong redressed—Tableau. The Green Flag of Erin entwined with the STARS AND STRIPES!!
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Doors open at 7 o'clock; Performance commence at 8 precisely.

Figure 8 Playbill for April 24, 1867, performance of *Peep O'Day*

Taken as a whole, the Goldens' return to New Harmony was successful, so much so that the previously simmering rivalry between Evansville and New Harmony ultimately became the subject of much scrutiny in the local newspapers. In response to the Goldens' fortnight in New Harmony, the *Evansville Courier* argued that "[a] certain degree of carelessness has crept into the manner of many of the actors consequent, probably upon a long provincial tour, that should at once be gotten rid of" and that Mr. Grierson [member of Martin Golden's troupe] was "a little too loud for the size of the room."⁷⁶

The *Register* reprinted the *Courier's* commentary but followed it with a lengthy and poignant response.

Provincial! That sounds decidedly Metropolitan.⁷⁷ We hope the *Courier* does not intend to include New Harmony in the list of "provinces," or as coming within the range of the "provincial tour." The Company played here for two weeks, and played well, finishing the season last Saturday night before a crowded and delighted audience. A gentleman of Evansville, who has good dramatic taste, attended our theatre on that evening, and declared he had never seen the company—every member of it—play so well. There was no "degree of carelessness" displayed here, whatever there might have been at other places during their "long provincial tour"; and if anything of the kind exists, is it not possible that it originated in the "Metropolis?"

The fact is, Mr. *Courier*, New Harmony, if it is only a "provincial town," contains an excellent theatre with all the machinery and other appliances for putting pieces on the stage in a correct manner; while the metropolis of Evansville can boast of no such thing. Added to this, we have a community that can appreciate a good drama, and always crowd the house to see it. After playing in a well-appointed theatre to large audiences every night for two weeks, it is only natural that the actors should perhaps speak a "little too loud" when playing in a 7x9 room, miscalled a theatre, to an audience of three or four dozen persons.

If our esteemed friend of the *Courier* is determined that Evansville shall be looked upon as the metropolis, and our village as one of the "provincial" towns, he should use his influence to have the Opera House pushed rapidly forward to completion, so that the said "metropolis" can equal New Harmony in at least one thing—a good theatre.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Printed in *New Harmony Register*, May 4, 1867.

⁷⁷ The *New Harmony Register* is employing a double entendre, as the main theater in Evansville is named the New Metropolitan.

⁷⁸ *New Harmony Register*, May 4, 1867.

As evidenced by this exchange between the *Evansville Courier* and *New Harmony Register*, New Harmony was quickly reemerging as the nexus for well-regulated amusements in the tristate area. Immediately after the Goldens returned to Evansville, the suspicions raised in the *Register's* response to the *Courier's* commentary became quickly apparent. On May 11, 1867, the *Register* printed the following:

Manager Golden, after keeping the Evansville Theatre open for one week, since his visit here, was obliged to close it last Monday night for want of patronage. We have the authority of the leading papers of that city for [s]aying the plays presented during the week the theatre remained open were good and the acting excellent; but the people of the "metropolis" cannot appreciate such things as good plays and fine acting. A cordial welcome and a crowded theatre will always greet the Golden Troupe in this "provincial" town.

The theater was to reopen that evening for a "complimentary benefit tendered [for] Mrs. Bella Golden. This talented and accomplished lady deserves a crowded house, and we hope the people of Evansville will see that she has one. We shall be glad to record such an event."⁷⁹ A week later, the *Register* reported on the benefit

The new Opera House in Evansville, we see by the papers of that city, is in rapid progress of construction. When finished, it will be an ornament to the city, and we hope the citizens will learn, by that time, to extend such liberal patronage to legitimate and rational amusements, that the Opera House may be useful as well as ornamental. The Evansville Theatre is still open, though but meagre audiences attend, notwithstanding the engagement of two "stars," who appear nightly in conjunction with the regular star of the company—Mrs. Golden. We understand "a large audience considering the inclemency of the weather," (which means not near so large as it ought to have been) attended the complimentary benefit to Mrs. Golden last Saturday night.⁸⁰

Clearly, the viability of Evansville's theatrical life depended exclusively on the Goldens, but the "stars" wasted no time in finding new and welcoming audiences throughout the tristate

⁷⁹ *New Harmony Register*, May 11, 1867.

⁸⁰ *New Harmony Register*, May 18, 1867.

region.⁸¹ Over the next few months, the troupe held a two-week engagement in Owensboro, Kentucky, and performed in Henderson and Paducah, Kentucky, Mt. Vernon, Indiana, and Shawneetown, Illinois.⁸²

The Goldens returned to New Harmony in July for their second residency of the year. During the first few weeks, the Goldens and their troupe were featured exclusively, but for their productions of late August and early September, they were joined by local thespians. On July 7, 1867, the troupe opened with *Miriam's Crime* and the musical farce of *The Swiss Cottage*, both of which featured Bella's singing. Whereas the *Register* typically focused its accolades on Bella Golden, this production of *Miriam's Crime* prompted the *Register* to commend several of the troupe members by name.

We attended the Theatre last Monday night, and was amply repaid by the excellent manner in which the plays were performed. The drama of "Miriam's Crime" is a very interesting one and Mrs. Golden, although laboring under severe indisposition and the fatigue consequent upon a long season of hard work, personated the character of "Miriam" most admirably—the audience, as is always the case, were delighted with her acting. She was ably supported in the piece by Messrs. Hamilton, Morrison, Grant, and Golden, each one personating the character assigned him in a highly creditable manner and making the drama one of the very best that has been played here for a long time.

The review of the July 13, 1867, performances of *Retribution* and *Jenny Lind* followed suit. Once again, the *Register* published the commentary of one of its counterparts from Evansville, the *Evansville Journal*, with a detailed response below. Here, the *Register* implied that the Goldens, who have only been back in southwestern Indiana for three full years, were earning a stellar reputation throughout the region.

⁸¹ *New Harmony Register*, May 25, 1867. In conjunction with this announcement, the *Register* reprinted a statement from the *Evansville Sentinel* indicating that at least some citizens recognized the value of the troupe: "We cannot permit the company to depart without giving our public approbation of the efforts of all the members to [please] the public. Mrs. Golden. . . is always perfect, always ready. . . versatile."

⁸² *New Harmony Register*, June 8, 1867; *New Harmony Register*, June 22, 1867.

"The Golden theatrical troupe are at New Harmony, rustivating and recuperating. Last Saturday night they gave an entertainment in that place. Mrs. Golden is a great favorite with the people of New Harmony." —*Evansville Journal*

That's so; and the same may be said in regard to other members of the company. Mrs. Golden is always a favorite, not only with our people but wherever she goes. The company have played here twice during their present visit, and each time Mrs. Golden has been ably supported by Messrs. Hamilton, Grant, Golden, and Morrison—each one giving evidence of excellent dramatic ability. The beautiful drama of "Retribution" was as well performed last Saturday night as we care about seeing it. All the parts were well and appropriately cast and excellently rendered. It was a fine performance.

As previous commentary has suggested, the people of New Harmony—especially those who wrote for the *Register*—had the knowledge and experience necessary to discern quality theatrical performances. But, as noted in this review for the July 27, 1867, performance of *The Robbers*, the *Register's* approbations were no mere surface-level judgments:

The theatre was well attended last Saturday night to witness the representation of "The Robbers." Mrs. Golden personated "Amelia" most excellently. The part in itself is not one requiring great ability, but Mrs. Golden surrounded it with all the beauties it was capable of—as, indeed, she does with every character she undertakes; thus frequently giving great prominence to characters which, in others' hands, would scarcely appear mediocre. There is not the slightest discount on this talented and accomplished lady's genius.⁸³

During their last performance of the summer in New Harmony (August 24), Martin Golden announced that the evening's drama, *Adeline: or, The Sudden Marriage*, had been written for Bella by a New Harmony resident. Through a strategic marketing campaign, he had piqued the curiosity of the entire town.

From the bills posted about the town, we learn that a new play in four acts written expressly for Mrs. Golden, by a resident of New Harmony, and entitled "The Sudden Marriage," will be produced this evening. We feel a curiosity to know who the author is, and shall await the close of the performance with a good deal of interest when, as Manager Golden informs us, the name of the writer will be announced from the stage. We have been favored with a brief glance at the manuscript and so far we are competent to judge, believe the piece to be a well written one; how it will play remains to be seen. Mrs. Golden sustains the role of "Adeline" and whatever of power or beauty the character is susceptible of, this talented artiste and accomplished lady will be certain to invest it

⁸³ *New Harmony Register*, July 27, 1867. The evening concluded with *A Speaking Likeness*.

with. Messrs. Golden, Morrison, Grant, and Hamilton sustain characters to which they are well suited; the balance of the cast is filled by amateurs. As the play has been thoroughly rehearsed, we think, and we hope, it will prove successful. Owing to the length of the play no other piece will be performed with it, but the evening's entertainment will conclude with a celebrated duet, sung by Mrs. Golden and Mr. Morrison.⁸⁴

As the subsequent critique of the benefit demonstrates, the *Register's* writers did not hesitate to express their opinions—positive and negative.

We witnessed the performance of the new drama entitled "The Sudden Marriage," at the theatre last Saturday night and, as a general thing, were well please[d] with it. We could not help remarking, as did many others present, that the play was entirely too long. We would suggest to the author a liberal use of the pruning knife in the long, heavy scenes, and the introduction of another scene or two for the comedy part. With such alterations and amendments, we believe the play would prove a success upon any stage. Mrs. Golden rendered the character of "Adeline" with great effect—a never failing occurrence with this lady. Mr. Golden as "Julian," had a part well-suited to him and he played it admirably. Mr. Hamilton as "Finch," was good; Mr. Grand as "Anesty," was not so good as he ought to have been. The rest of the characters were personated by amateurs—some of them very well, none of them badly.⁸⁵

Only after New Harmony's audience enjoyed the show did Martin Golden confess that he was the playwright.⁸⁶ Even with this mediocre review, the *New Harmony Register* displayed a genuine interest in the Golden troupe's success, both in New Harmony and beyond.

On Monday, September 2, 1867, Shakespeare's *Othello* was given as a "complimentary benefit" in honor of Bella Golden. She, Martin, and several New Harmony residents appeared in the show. The following Saturday (September 7), a benefit was given for Martin Golden:

⁸⁴ *New Harmony Register*, August 24, 1867.

⁸⁵ *New Harmony Register*, August 31, 1867.

⁸⁶ Martin Golden's *Adeline* was premiered the previous year on May 28, 1866, at the New Metropolitan Theatre in Evansville. Other plays performed by the Golden troupe in August include: *A Speaking Likeness*, *The Wife and The Four Sisters*, *Time Tries All*, *The Comical Countess*, *The Female Gambler*, and *Shoulder Straps*. *Shoulder Straps: A Comedietta in One Act* was written by Martin Golden. The manuscript copy is in the Golden Family Collection.

Marguerite of Burgundy and Charles Selby's farce *The Bonnie Fish Wife*, which contained songs sung by Bella. New Harmony's citizens demonstrated their respect for other members of the Golden troupe by giving a third benefit for Mr. W. W. Grant and Mr. J. M. Hamilton, who had been recognized recently in the *New Harmony Register*. This performance of *The Dumb Girl of Genoa* and the farce of *The Persecuted Dutchman* was presented to a full house.⁸⁷

If the mutual admiration between the Golden and New Harmony was not already apparent, it was solidified on November 2, 1867, through Bella's "complimentary testimonial [that] was tendered her, gotten up and performed exclusively by the amateurs in a very creditable manner."⁸⁸ The Golden's return to New Harmony marked their third and final set of appearances of the year (see figure 9). So moved by the townspeople's generosity, Bella penned the following letter to the *New Harmony Register*, which was printed on November 9, 1867.

New Harmony, Nov. 5, 1867

Mr. Editor: Allow me, through the columns of your paper, to express my most sincere and grateful thanks to those kind friends who were instrumental in tendering me a complimentary benefit on last Saturday night, and I trust they will believe me sincere when I assure them all that I fully appreciate the honor they have conferred upon me; and I hope that in years to come, they may still find me worthy of the kindness and esteem I feel I now hold in their hearts. I beg leave to assure my friends that I am just as grateful to them for their kind intentions and the amount they have given me, as though it were twenty times as much. So once more thanking one and all, allow me to subscribe myself, ever gratefully.

⁸⁷ *The Persecuted Dutchman* had been a popular staple in the Golden's repertoire the previous year, as it was staged at least four times in Evansville at the Metropolitan: March 20, 1866, March 26, 1866; March 27, 1866; April 13, 1866.

⁸⁸ *New Harmony Register*, May 30, 1867. The roster indicates that two members of the Golden troupe may have participated, as well.

Goldens Perform Nationally: 1868–1873

Given this reciprocally beneficial relationship between the Goldens and New Harmony, it would be reasonable to assert that the troupe had become a staple in the New Harmony community by the end of 1867. But the troupe was also beginning to gain recognition elsewhere, and for the remainder of the 1860s, Martin simultaneously maintained a presence, albeit a dwindling one, at the New Metropolitan Theatre in Evansville while capitalizing on the growing opportunities for his troupe to perform throughout the southern, southwestern, and midwestern parts of the United States.⁸⁹ In 1868, for example, the Golden Dramatic Combination performed through the tristate region, with productions in Henderson, Kentucky, Evansville, and Cairo, Illinois. That autumn, the troupe traveled west to Arkansas, where it appeared at the New Theatre in Little Rock. The following year, Martin and Bella Golden headed south on a steamer to New Orleans for a "fine stock engagement" of eleven weeks.⁹⁰

Archival materials related to the Goldens and their troupe diminish dramatically toward the end of the 1860s. It appears that the Combination may have temporarily disbanded so that individual members could seek gainful employment elsewhere, as would have been necessary

⁸⁹ *Evansville Journal*, December 16, 1867; *Evansville Journal*, January 13, 1868; *Evansville Journal*, January 20, 1868.

⁹⁰ *Evansville Journal*, September 20, 1869. See also, *Evansville Daily Journal*, September 15, 1869.

**NEW HARMONY
THEATRE!**

**COMPLIMENTARY
TESTIMONIAL**
Tendered by the citizens of New Harmony to

MRS. GOLDEN!

The beautiful Drama of
MABEL'S CURSE!!
And the Farce of
THE LAUGHING HYENA!!!

The public are respectfully informed that the Complimentary Benefit tendered to Mrs. BELLA GOLDEN, will take place
On Saturday Evening, November 2, 1867
On which occasion will be presented, with new and appropriate costumes, the beautiful Drama, written by Mrs. S. C. Hall, entitled

**MABEL'S
CURSE!!**

Caroline Burney.....	Mrs. Anna Scheldt.....
Annie Lester.....	Miss Ross Owen.....
Mabel.....	Mrs. E. S. Echard.....
Ralph Burney (an adherent of Cromwell).....	J. C. Wheatecroft.....
Martin Cleveland (a Yeoman).....	E. D. Owen.....
Lawrence Brown (Captain of Marauders).....	C. W. Sizer.....
Wolf (a Marauder).....	O. Hinkley.....
Stark (a Marauder).....	R. D. Twigg.....
Jakes Flint (a Fisherman Straggler).....	G. W. Morrison.....
Soldiers, Servants, Marauders, &c.	

Song, - - - G. W. Morrison

Recitation - - - Mrs. E. Echard

The evening's entertainment will conclude with the excellent Farce entitled the

LAUGHING HYENA

Mrs. Felix Fumer.....	Miss Mattie Collins.....
Popsey.....	Miss Fannie Mann.....
Mr. Felix Fumer.....	O. Hinkley.....
Simon Hornblower.....	G. W. Morrison.....

Doors open at 6½ o'clock; performance commence at 7¼ precisely

Tickets of Admission, Fifty Cents; Children, Twenty-five Cents

Tickets for sale at the Stores, and at the Door of the Theatre on the Evening of the Performance.

Figure 9 Playbill for November 2, 1867, performance of *Mabel's Curse* and *Laughing Hyena*

given the inability of Evansville to sustain the troupe. For example, in 1870, Martin and Bella relocated first in Cleveland, Ohio, where they became cast members of John and Effie Ellser's troupe at the Academy of Music and then in New York, where they performed for Augustin Daly for two seasons.⁹¹ The Goldens finally returned to New Harmony in June 1873 and were welcomed with open arms. Their June 28 performance of *I Love You, A Happy Pair*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra* was before a full house, and it signaled the beginning of a new era in New Harmony's history (see figure 10).⁹²

Assessing New Harmony's Renaissance: 1874

The Goldens established their permanent residence in New Harmony just as the town's thespians were in the process of formalizing the newest iteration of their theatrical organization: the New Harmony Thespian Society. By December 1873, the Society had at least sixteen members, many of whom had been active in the town's cultural life since the end of the Civil War.⁹³ But because the Goldens' troupe had played such a prominent role in the early postbellum musical-theatrical events of southwestern Indiana, similar efforts by New Harmony's own musicians and thespians seem to have been overshadowed in the regional press.

⁹¹ The Goldens had appeared in Cleveland at the Academy of Music in 1861. See Carl Ritt, "Lincoln Assassination Puts Friend in Danger," *The Evansville Press*, August 7, 1963.

⁹² Golden Family Collection, Series: The Bills of the Play, and Programs, 1857–1928, Subseries: Golden's Performance in New Harmony, Packet 1, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

⁹³ These members were listed as follows: Mrs. Fannie Echard; E.S. Echard; Mrs. Sallie Jackson; Miss Mollie D Stoker, Mrs. C. D. Elliott; J. D. Jones; Wm. M. Bennett; J. T. Hugo; J. P. Jackson; E. R. Snelling; John P. Bennett; H. S. Robinson; Thos. Ferguson; Jas. H. Chaffin; W. H. Owen; Jas. S. Bennett.

As evidenced above, the *New Harmony Register* was the first local newspaper to report regularly on the town's musical, theatrical, and literary organizations since the founding of the Preliminary Society in 1825. Given the relevance of New Harmony's cultural scene to the tristate area, the *Register's* coverage prompted regional newspapers to respond. For example, on March 9, 1874, the *Evansville Daily Journal* offered the following assessment of New Harmony's recent and forthcoming theatrical endeavors:

Mr. and Mrs. Golden greeted their New Harmony friends, at the New Harmony Theater, in "Cupid's Eyeglass," "Two Flats and a Sharp," and "[Mr.] Bumble's Courtship," the latter taken from Charles Dickens' "Oliver Twist." Next Saturday evening "Guy Mannering" will be performed by the Thespian Society. The indications are that New Harmony will regain the reputation it formerly possessed as a city of excellent dramatic performances. Some of the names of the old society, as given in the *Register's* admirable history, are those of men who have since risen to eminence in their respective professions—Robert Dale Owen, J. Ed. Clarke, of the *Grayville Independent*, C[harles] W. Slater, of the *New Harmony Register*, and Professor [Edward Travers] Cox, State Geologist, all have been prominent members of the old society.⁹⁴

The playbill in figure 11 lists the plays performed by Martin and Bella Golden on March 7, 1874, in New Harmony.

The writers for the nearby *Grayville (Illinois) Independent* agreed with the *Evansville Daily Journal*.

The newly organized Thespian Society of New Harmony will give their second performance on Saturday evening March 14th, when will be presented the beautiful play of "Guy Mannering; or, the Gipseys Prophecy," followed by the funny farce of "Mischief Making." In looking over the cast, as given in the *Register*, we notice many familiar names, with some of whom, in days long ago, we walked the boards. With the cast presented, we can confidently assure the lovers of first class theatricals of the neighbor

⁹⁴ Thomas Picton's *Cupid's Eye-glass* is a comedy in one act that features only two performers—one male and one female. Music does not appear to be included in the play, either through instrumental melodramatic music or through songs. C. Alfred Maltby, an English playwright, wrote *Two Sharps and a Flat*, which is a comedietta that features a piano as an important prop. Maltby's play is mistitled in the *Evansville Daily Journal*.

NEW HARMONY
Theater!

GRAND DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE

The citizens of New Harmony and vicinity are respectfully informed that, on the evening of Saturday, March 7, 1874.

Bella Golden!!
—AND—
Martin Golden!!

Will have the honor of presenting a unique and comprehensive entertainment, which they trust will meet with approval.

Three New Plays with a variety of Songs, and an Irish Jig by
BELLA GOLDEN.

On Saturday Evening, March 7, 1874
The performance will commence with the new and elegant comedy entitled

CUPID'S EYE GLASS

Valeria (a young widow, with song)..... Bella Golden.
Algeron (a journalist)..... Martin Golden.
[Stevens—A rascally journalist, writing against the fashions and fables in vogue with the female sex, is snubbed by an intelligent widow, who contrives to wear him from all his prejudices and to extort a practical confession of their absurdity, before outwitting him to win her hand.]

After which will be presented an original domestic comedy, entitled

Two Sharps & A Flat!

Major Keye (Arthur—A Flat)..... Martin Golden.
Mrs. Major Keye (Eve—E Flat, with song)..... Bella Golden.
Mrs. Minor (B Sharp)..... Mrs. C. D. Elliott.
[Punch—A Crochet Stick, Quiver Square. Time—Two-four time, immediately after the Overt.]

Irish Song and Irish Jig - - - Bella Golden

To conclude with the comic interlude, from Dickens' "Oliver Twist," entitled

MR. BUMBLE'S COURTSHIP!

Mrs. Curney (Mother of Uddon, with a strong weakness for a second union) Bella Golden.
Mr. Bumble (a Parish Beadle of renown, who, like his namesake, the Bumble-bee, makes a great disturbance wherever he goes)..... Martin Golden.

Doors open at 7 o'clock; Curtain will rise at 8 precisely.

Admission, 25 cts.; Children under 8 years, 15 cts.

Tickets for sale at the usual places and at the door of the Theater

Good fires will be kept up and the Theater made comfortable.

Printed at the "Register" Office, New Harmony, Ind.

Figure 11 Playbill for the March 7, 1874, performance of *Cupid's Eye Glass, Two Sharps & a Flat*⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Golden Family Collection, Series: The Bills of the Play, and Programs, 1857–1928, Packet 1, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

towns, that a visit to the New Harmony Theater on the 14th will pay them well for their time, trouble and expense.⁹⁶

Collectively, the *Evansville Daily Journal* commentary and the announcement in the *Grayville Independent* reveal three aspects of New Harmony's cultural life that are essential to understanding the role that music and theater played in perpetuating Robert Owen's foundational ideology throughout the postbellum era. First, the *Journal* situates the Golden family squarely in the New Harmony community and, by calling attention to the friendship between New Harmony's citizens and the Goldens, which was initiated in 1860 during the latter's performances in New Harmony as members of the Cincinnati Dramatic Company, it confirms and underscores their relevance to the town's theatrical activities. Second, both newspapers demonstrate that the newly formed Thespian Society employed local actors and actresses of well-known families, many of whom had members who had been affiliated with New Harmony's previous troupes. Third, in so doing, the *Journal* and *Independent* imply that, even without the Goldens, the town was invested in and capable of producing high quality performances, and these performances included a substantial amount of vocal music, as was the case with *Guy Mannering*.

But a contradiction emerges between these last two aspects, which warrants further inquiry. If, for example, the Thespian Society was brand new and New Harmony was eager to reclaim its reputation as a "city of excellent dramatic performances," it could be assumed that the

⁹⁶ *Grayville Independent*, reprinted in the *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874. In this announcement, the phrase "walked the boards" is synonymous with "trod the boards," which means to appear on stage for theatrical productions.

Goldens, who were, by all accounts, wildly popular throughout and beyond the region, were necessary for this to happen successfully. However, previously overlooked evidence demonstrates that New Harmony's citizens starred successfully in musical plays and provided praiseworthy instrumental music before, during, and after these productions. As such, talented locals were capable of meeting the musical demands posed by various plays selected for production throughout the postbellum era. In so doing, they were significant, if under-recognized, conduits through which Owen's foundational ideologies remained alive during and after the Civil War.

New Harmony's Thespians Perform Musical Theater: *Guy Mannering*

The New Harmony Thespian's unassisted performance of *Guy Mannering* on March 14, 1874, was, in fact, replete with music throughout both acts. *Guy Mannering* was originally conceived as a drama by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), who published the play anonymously. It was subsequently dramatized by Daniel Terry and premiered at Covent Garden Theatre in 1816 with music written by Henry R. Bishop, who served as the theater's resident composer and music director.⁹⁷ In his discussion of Scott's relevance to American audiences in the postbellum era, literature historian James Machor notes that Scott had, by this time, been scorned for a number of reasons, including supporting "delusions of southern chivalry" and promoting social inequality. Moreover, he describes Scott's style of prose in the terms applied by Mark Twain—whereby the

⁹⁷ Annika Bautz, "The 'Universal Favorite': Daniel Terry's *Guy Mannering*; or, the Gipsy's Prophecy," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 47, Walter Scott: New Interpretations (2017): 36.

former had ushered in a tradition of "'windy, flowery, 'eloquence, romanticism, sentimentality,'" which stood in contrast to the expectations of realism popular in the postbellum.⁹⁸

Although *Guy Mannering* was, in fact, from Scott's pen, the staged version had enjoyed immense popularity by the middle of the nineteenth century, especially in Philadelphia, New Orleans, St. Louis, and San Francisco.⁹⁹ In New Harmony, *Guy Mannering* may have been chosen for this particular production to honor the life of Robert Dale Owen, who, in his autobiography—which had either just been published or was in the process of being published—had recalled "sunny memories" of viewing a production of *Guy Mannering* as a youth.¹⁰⁰ The timing of these two events may be coincidental, but this production featured his daughter-in-law, Frances Owen, who may have used this production as a way to honor the elder Owen in the years prior to his death in 1877.¹⁰¹

Set in late eighteenth-century Scotland, the play focuses on the interactions between Colonel Guy Mannering, who has just returned home from India to claim an inheritance, and his sister Julia Mannering, whose admirer he deems unsuitable. The siblings become unwittingly involved in solving a child's kidnapping, whose victim, Henry Bertram, grew up not knowing his real identity and assumed the surname Brown. Following his own tour in India, Brown comes to

⁹⁸ James L. Machor, *Reading Fiction in Antebellum America: Informed Response and Reception Histories, 1820-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 307-08.

⁹⁹ Grimsted notes that between 1831 and 1851, *Guy Mannering* was performed 107 times in Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and in St. Louis (1831–1844), combined, and, as such, ranked twenty-fourth on his list of most performed feature plays. Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled*, 249-56. The play's popularity was evident in other ways, as well. For example, historian Joanna Levin notes that a reference from *Guy Mannering*—"High Jinks"—was used by the San Francisco Bohemian Club as the club's monthly performance showcase, which lent it a sense of sophistication by associating the club with literature. See Joanna Levin, *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010), 217.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 96.

¹⁰¹ By this time, Owen had served in the Indiana House of Representatives and in the United States House of Representatives.

Scotland and falls in love with Julia Mannering. Meanwhile, Brown's (Bertram's) biological father Sir Godfrey Bertram has died, leaving his biological sister Lucy Bertram penniless, due to strict inheritance laws that exclude female heirs. Believing his son to have permanently vanished during his kidnapping sixteen years prior, Sir Godfrey Bertram left his estate to Guy Mannering, with whom the senior Bertram had been acquainted for many years. Consequently, the Mannerings insist on rescuing Lucy Bertram and her passel of servants from destitution. Collectively, with the aid of a gypsy Meg Merrilies and the brilliant, but quirky, tutor Sampson, they discover that Captain Brown is Henry Bertram, and they thwart a plot to murder him, thereby restoring order.

The following musical analysis of *Guy Mannering* is critical to recognizing the musical prowess of New Harmony's thespians and to confirming that they were capable of producing successful musical-theatrical events without professional external support in leading roles. For example, Bishop's overall compositional style was accessible to even amateur musicians, which was important because nearly every named character in the play was required to sing. However, as the analysis will demonstrate, Bishop also dabbled in more soloistic writing that showcased the town's most talented singers.

In addition, a closer look at the *dramatis personae* implies a new, and perhaps unexpected, dynamic to the working relationship between the local thespians and the Goldens, which in turn, has implications for New Harmony's reputation for well-regulated amusements. For instance, each of the roles in *Guy Mannering* was scheduled to be filled by members of the New Harmony community. But, on the day of the performance, Thespian Society member Mrs. E. S. Echard took ill, and "Mrs. Bella Golden has very kindly volunteered to assist the Thespians

in this dilemma by appearing as Meg Merrilies," to whom only one short song was assigned.¹⁰² Given her documented presence in New Harmony during the previous weeks, Bella would have been in a position to provide vocal coaching to the prominent singers and general assistance to the local thespians, who, by this time, had offered her and her husband moral support and financial backing for nearly fifteen years.

The musical expectations of the thespians are best exemplified in Bishop's opening glee, "The Winds Whistle Cold," and the finale of the first act, "The Fox Jump Over the Parson's Gate." Bishop's "The Winds Whistle Cold" includes a ten-measure instrumental introduction, after which the glee divides into six sections that alternate according to performing ensemble: an ensemble comprising three voices—an alto, a tenor, and a bass—and a chorus.¹⁰³ Within the sections for three voices, the performers alternate between singing their solos and performing as a cohesive ensemble. In most cases, the chorus repeats the trio's lines and melodies verbatim; as such, this call-and-response technique would have provided useful vocal training for members of the chorus who might not have already been skilled singers.

The opening section is sung by alto, tenor, and bass, and the three voices maintain triadic harmonies throughout their exclusively syllabic declamation of the first four lines:

The winds whistle cold
And the stars glimmer red
The flocks are in the fold
And the cattle in shed.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874.

¹⁰³ Henry Rowley Bishop and Thomas Attwood, arr., "Guy Mannering," (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., n.d.). Attwood's arrangement for piano is written in the key of E-flat.

¹⁰⁴ The alto, tenor, and bass parts are sung by Mrs. McCandlish, Bailie Mucklethrift, and a farmer, but their names are not listed in the score; rather, the script implies that they are the singers.

The alto and tenor proceed primarily throughout this section with conjunct motion, while the bass provides the roots of the tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords (see example 4.1).

With these predictable harmonic progressions, this initial section of "The Winds Whistle Cold" would have sounded similar to other popular contemporary tunes, thereby making it easy to interpret by amateur soloists and, in turn, imitable by the chorus. The two couplets are rendered together over eight measures (mm. 11–18) and repeated once (mm. 19–26), but the final couplet is repeated again (mm. 27–30). This first section is followed by a chorus, which repeats these four lines verbatim, using the same phrase structure and length.

Following the trio ensemble and chorus, the third section of Bishop's song features the solo bass in a series of three tonic chordal arpeggios, followed by a descent that is undergirded by a movement from the tonic, to the secondary dominant, and a landing on the dominant. At that point, the alto and tenor enter and repeat the bass's phrase "when the hoar frost was chill upon moreland and hill, and was fringing the forest bough" in the dominant key of B-flat, which is temporarily tonicized. At the conclusion of this phrase, the three voices resume their syllabic declamations in homophonic chords for the following passage:

Our fathers would trowl
The bonny brown bowl
And so will we do now,
Jolly hearts!
And so will we do now.

Example 4.1 *Guy Mannering*, "The Winds Whistle Cold" glee, mm. 11–30

Alto *Dol* *ff*
 The winds whis - tle cold, and the stars_ glim - mer red, The

Tenore *Dol*
 The winds whis - tle cold, and the stars_ glim - mer red, The

Basso *Dol*
 The winds whis - tle cold, and the stars glim - mer red, The

Piano Forte *pp*

15
 flocks are in fold, and the cat - tle in shed;_ The winds whistle cold, and the

8
 flocks are in fold, and the cat - tle in_ shed;_ The winds whistle cold, and the

flocks are in fold, and the cat - tle in_ shed; The winds whistle cold, and the

Example 4.1, cont'd *Guy Mannering*, "The Winds Whistle Cold" glee, mm. 11–30

21

stars glim-mer red, The flocks are in fold, and the cat-tle in shed! The

8 stars glim-mer red, The flocks are in fold, and the cat-tle in shed! The

stars glim-mer red, The flocks are in fold, the cat-tle in shed! The

Chorus
p

27

flocks are in fold, and the cat-tle in— shed! The winds whis-tle cold, and the

8 flocks are in fold, and the cat-tle in— shed! The winds whis-tle cold, and the

flocks are in fold, and the cat-tle in shed! The winds whis-tle cold, and the

p

Beginning in m. 51, the chorus resumes and sings the phrase "and so will we do now" three times, with two snippets ("and so will we") interspersed between the second and third iterations of the phrase. The four-note scalar V-I ascent (B-flat–C–D–E-flat) reconfirms the tonic of E-flat major. Following this homophonic chorus, which resolves on the tonic of E-flat, a series of solos returns. In this fifth section of the glee, the bass begins the second verse alone in a scalar descent on the phrase "gaffer winter may seize upon milk in the pail." His solo is interrupted four measures later by the return of the alto and tenor, who join him, once again in homophony with syllabic declamation, in the response "'Twill be long ere he freeze, the bold brandy and ale." The bass returns again, now firmly anchored in the dominant with a series of scalar passages on the text "For our fathers so bold, they laughed at the cold, when Boreas was bending his brow." In his final iteration of the text, the bass lands on a whole note of the sub-mediante C, over which the alto and tenor join in pairs of sixths. Collectively, the trio proceeds for four measures, where, together, the alto, tenor and bass conclude with a progression from a second inversion of the tonic to the dominant in the key of E-flat. After a fermata and subsequent pause, the chorus begins the sixth and final section of "The Winds Whistle Cold" by reestablishing the key of E-flat and presenting the final stanza:

For they quaffed mighty ale
And they told a blith tale
And so will we do now,
Jolly hearts!
And so will we do now!

Example 4.2 *Guy Mannering*, "The Winds Whistle Cold" glee, mm. 51–57

51

Chorus

pp *f*

bowl— And so— will— we do now— and so— will we do now— and so will we and

pp *f*

bowl— And so— will— we do now— and so— will we do now and so will we and

pp *f*

bowl— And so will we do now and so will we do now and so will we and

ppp *f*

Bishop's biographer, F. Corder, notes that "The Winds Whistle Cold" was one of Bishop's most revered glees, and that of all the genres in which the composer wrote, he was known primarily for glees during the years immediately following his death in 1855.¹⁰⁵ The musical style of this glee is employed fairly consistently throughout the rest of *Guy Mannering*, with one major exception, which will be discussed below. The majority of solo passages tend to be scalar in conjunct motion or rendered through arpeggiated diatonic chords. Occasional secondary dominants, as signaled by an accidental, are quickly resolved and the songs close in the original tonic. Passages for ensemble display homophony and syllabic declamation, with the singers

¹⁰⁵ F. Corder, "The Works of Sir Henry Bishop," *The Musical Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1918): 78, 85.

alternating between parallel and predictable contrary motion. Harmonically, the songs rarely explore beyond the standard tonic—subdominant—dominant relationship, although infrequent forays into the submediant do occur, as they do in "The Winds Whistle Cold."

In contrast to the glee, the finale of Act I, "The Fox Jumpt over the Parson's Gate," showcases some of Bishop's more adventuresome writing.¹⁰⁶ For example, following the eight-measure instrumental introduction, the character Sampson recites his lines in a style reminiscent of the late eighteenth-century patter found in opera buffa, with as many as twelve syllables in a row on the same pitch (see example 4.3).

The fox jumpt over the Parson's Gate,
And stole his poultry from under his nose,
O ho quoth the Parson who popt out his pate
A good fat hen and away she goes.

His steady syllabic diction, alone, is not a stylistic anomaly, but when combined with the nearly nonsensical rhymes, Sampson conveys a style that contrasts not only with the rest of Bishop's writing, but it sets a backdrop against which the next character to enter, Miss Mannering, diverges dramatically. Her extended melisma (mm. 17–18) on the word "calm" is an example of word painting and is emblematic of what would be later codified as "*bel canto*," but the remainder of her solo is rendered in Bishop's standard style (see example 4.4).

¹⁰⁶ This analysis is based on Attwood's piano arrangement of Bishop's work. As mentioned above, Attwood changed Bishop's key of the opening glee from E major to E-flat major, and a note attesting to this fact was printed on the score. However, no such note was printed anywhere else on Attwood's arrangement. Consequently, this analysis employs the keys printed on Attwood's arrangement.

Example 4.3 *Guy Mannering*, Act I Finale, mm. 8–16

8 Sampson
(Mr. Liston)

The Fox jumpt o - ver the Par-son's Gate, And stole his Poul - try from un-der his

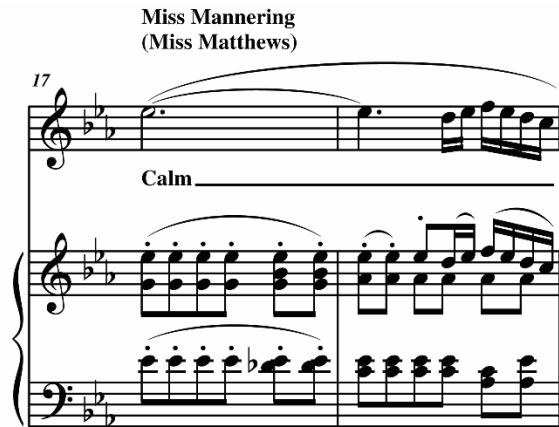
12 nose O ho quoth the Par - son who popt out his pate A good fat hen and a - way she

Example 4.4 *Guy Mannering*, Act I Finale, mm. 17–18

Miss Mannering
(Miss Matthews)

17

Calm



In m. 33, Miss Mannering's solo elides with Sampson's return in a steady, twelve-note sequence on B-flat that resolves diatonically to the tonic of E-flat (see example 4.5).

Example 4.5 *Guy Mannering*, Act I Finale, mm. 33–37

33 Sampson

woes "A good fat hen, A good fat hen A good fat hen and a - way she goes.

smorz.



The accompaniment supports Sampson's close on the tonic, but by the next measure (m. 38), the quartet has modulated to the key of A-flat, while retaining its key signature of E-flat (see example 4.6).

Example 4.6 *Guy Mannering*, Act I Finale, mm. 37–38

38 *Allegro Moderato* ♩ = 63

Miss Bertram
(Miss Stephens)

Friend - ship thou can'st balm im - part,

pp

This third section of the quartet features Miss Bertram, whose solo, like the majority of those within the rest of *Guy Mannering* follows the diatonic scale in a combination of conjunct motion and chordal arpeggiations. Her solo is in the key of A-flat, but Bishop retains the original key signature throughout (see example 4.6).

Friendship thou can'st balm impart
 To the wounded suff'ring heart
 A mourner to thy roof I fly
 And then should silent tears intrude
 The gleam of glist'ning gratitude
 Shall light the drops in sorrows eye!

Miss Bertram's first accidental—a D natural—falls on her second utterance of the word "light" of the last line. With a leap of a tritone, she ascends to an A-flat (m. 51) which is no longer functioning as the temporary tonic. Rather, as the apex of her solo, this A-flat signals a descent on "the drops in sorrow's eye" and subsequent return to the original tonic of E-flat, which emerges, and is confirmed, over the next three measures. The melodic and harmonic writing

here—at "shall light the drops in sorrow's eye"—appear slightly uncharacteristic of Bishop's standard fare but may have been his attempt at word painting. Indeed, within the first two sections of this finale to Act I, Bishop displayed more stylistic diversity than anywhere in the rest of the play.

Example 4.7 *Guy Mannering*, Act I Finale, mm. 50–53

50

light the drops shall light the drops in sor - rows eye!_____

cresc.

p

Miss Mannering and Sampson are featured for a brief interlude, along with Farmer Harrow and Farmer Flail, and the finale concludes with a jubilant five-part chorus in E-flat, which includes Miss Bertram:

Let's rejoice!
 It doth beseem us
 Let's be jovial
 Exultemus!

Miss Bertram responds twice with "Hence ye sordid and litigious"; for the first utterance of "and" (m. 72, see example 4.8) she ascends a major sixth, and for the second utterance (m. 74, see example 4.8), she ascends a minor seventh.

Example 4.8 *Guy Mannering*, Act I Finale, m. 72–74

72

sor - did and li - ti - gious Hence ye sor - did and li -

Her ascent to the A-flat in m. 74 expands the melodic range of this section, it also harks back to the A-flats in her previous solo. But this A-flat is relatively inconsequential, as the ultimate goal of Miss Bertram's part in the finale is to return, albeit briefly, to the melismatic, *bel canto* style. She soars mellifluously to a high B-flat (mm. 81–82) and then to a high C (mm. 88–89) on the word "oppression," while the other four voices remain homophonically aligned. Her melismas are brought to a conclusion once she rejoins the homophony for the chorus's final eight measures, and the finale for Act I closes in a triumphant series of E-flat chords played by the orchestra.

These excerpts from *Guy Mannering* illustrate not only the typical styles of the entire play but also the kinds of musical singing the thespians would have been expected to produce during this time period. As evidenced by the analysis above, the majority of the named singers would have found Bishop's writing to be within a comfortable range with simple melodic contours and familiar harmonic progressions; as such, even neophyte singers would have been able, most likely, to render the songs with confidence.

Certainly, as was the case with Miss Bertram's character, New Harmony did, in fact, possess the local talent necessary for occasional showpieces. Miss Bertram was portrayed by Mrs. E[rnest] D[ale] Owen, Frances Mann. Although Mann was only nineteen in 1874, she had been performing with New Harmony's thespians since at least 1866, when she went by her maiden name "Fannie Mann" in the April 28, 1866, performance of *The Serious Family*.¹⁰⁷ In 1873, she married Ernest Dale, who was one of Robert Dale Owen's eight children.¹⁰⁸

Other members of the cast for *Guy Mannering* included several important members of the community: C[harles] W. Slater, who began acting in New Harmony after the Civil War; J[ohn] P[ooley] Bennett, who was named co-editor of the *New Harmony Register* with Slater in 1867; J. D. Jones and H[enry] Robinson, both of whom had appeared in local productions over the course of two decades; E[lliott] R. Snelling, who was also a member of New Harmony's band in 1865; William H. Owen, son of David Dale Owen; and J. T. Hugo, W. Jones, Mrs. J. P. Jackson, Mrs. C. D. Elliott, Miss Mollie Stoker, Miss Lou Lyon, and Bella Golden. As evidenced by playbills dated post-1874, many of these musical thespians would go on to entertain their fellow community members for years to come—with and without the Golden.

New Harmony's Musical-Theatrical Output: 1861–1865

When the March 14, 1874, production of *Guy Mannering* was announced in the *Evansville Journal*, the city of Evansville, with its 21,000 residents, was still struggling to live up to the expectation that it would become the center of the most important metropolitan area along the Ohio River between Cincinnati and the Mississippi River. Indeed, as mentioned above, the

¹⁰⁷ *New Harmony Register*, May 16, 1874.

¹⁰⁸ See Estabrook, "The Family History of Robert Owen."

Journal had attempted repeatedly in the mid-1860s to garner city-wide support for cultural events, especially performances of the Golden Dramatic Combination, in order to bolster Evansville's reputation. By the mid-1870s, the *Journal's* correspondents had expanded their coverage to include the political, social, and cultural events taking place throughout the tristate region. With the inclusion of New Harmony in the scope of its coverage, the *Journal* acknowledged the significance of its much smaller neighbor, whose population hovered around 1,000 people, and positioned the town's Thespian Society as a valuable cultural entity in the region.

The March 1874 announcements from the *Evansville Daily Journal* and *Grayville Independent* appeared and were reprinted in the *New Harmony Register* in their entirety. The *Register's* editor, Charles W. Slater, retained the articles' insinuation that New Harmony was experiencing a theatrical renaissance, thereby overlooking the extensive activity mentioned in its concurrent column on the town's theatrical history, "A Record," an installment of which appeared on the following page of the *Register*. Regarding the period between October 1861 and March 1867, "A Record" noted that "quite a number of plays were produced by traveling troupes and temporary Thespian organizations" and with respect to 1863, in particular, the column reported that "quite a number of pieces were produced and well patronized."¹⁰⁹

Additional evidence in the *Register* and the Working Men's Institute archives suggests that New Harmony's citizens demanded and, when possible, participated in well-regulated amusements, including theater and music, at an increasing rate toward the end of the Civil War and during the early postbellum era. Several members of Pritchard's Dramatic Association and local musicians were involved in performances prior to the conclusion of the Civil War. On

¹⁰⁹ *New Harmony Register*, May 2, 1874.

February 20, 1864, for example, the thespians produced George Colman's comic opera *The Review; Or, the Wag of Windsor*, which featured several local citizens in a musical capacity.¹¹⁰ According to the playbill, "the String Band, under the tuition and leadership of W[illia]m M[unson] Bennett, have kindly volunteered their services in the Orchestra, and will make their first appearance before the public on this occasion." See figure 12 for a reproduction of this playbill.

William Munson Bennett was born in 1843 to James and Maria Bennett, who raised their family in New Harmony. Although James was not a New Harmony native, he moved to the small town as a young boy and learned the print trade while working for the *New Harmony Disseminator* in the late 1820s.¹¹¹ In 1830, he sought employment as an engraver in Kentucky, but he eventually returned to New Harmony to pursue his own newspaper ventures, which were mentioned previously. In addition to working as printer of news and books, James also cultivated his skills on the tenor horn, and two of his sons followed in their father's musical footsteps. Both John Pooley, a violinist and cornetist, and his younger brother William, a violinist, joined their father in the New Harmony Brass Band by the late 1850s, then under the direction of George Washington Warren.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ William Pritchard, who had been a member of the Covington, Kentucky, Amateur Dramatic Association in the 1840s, and his wife were joined by members of the Bennett families (there were two separate Bennett lineages, as mentioned in Chapter 3), the Robinson family, and the Cox family. *New Harmony Register*, May 9, 1874.

¹¹¹ James Bennett to Achilles Fretageot, June 23, 1831, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812-1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 26, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana; Achilles Fretageot and Thomas and Lucy Say to Marie Fretageot, January 5, 1832, New Harmony Manuscripts 1812-1871, Series I (New Harmony Correspondence), Folder 28, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana

¹¹² See "Bennett, James," "Bennett, William," Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana; "Old Time Band," [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source], April 9, 1926, Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's

NEW HARMONY!
THEATER!!

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY!!

On which occasion, the Dramatic Association will give a performance to be followed by a

BALL AT UNION HALL!!

ON SATURDAY EVENING, FEB. 20, 1864.

Will be produced for the first time in New Harmony, Indiana, an original and interesting Drama, in 3 Acts, entitled

**THE SECRET FOE, OR,
THE MASON OF ABBEVILLE!!**

When Robert, assuming the title of DeWald, the Secret One, B. Robinson
Deputy, his assistant and Secretary J. Bennett
Isabel, The Mason of Abbeville P. L. Cox
Fred, the son of a Friend J. Bennett, Jr.
William of One of them W. F. Peckham
Margaret, before in the arms of DeWald Mrs. Peckham
Madame Barry, her daughter Miss Lizzie Robinson
Madame Barry, her Sister Helen Miss Kate Robinson

THE STRING BAND, under the tuition and leadership of W. M. Bennett, have kindly volunteered their services in the Orchestra, and will make their first appearance before the public on this occasion.

The evening's entertainment to conclude with the popular
 FARCE OF

**THE REVIEW, OR, THE
WAG OF WINDSOR**

Captain Brough J. Bennett
Deputy Bell J. Bennett
Lucy, Maid P. L. Cox
John Long W. F. Peckham
John Green W. F. Peckham
John J. Bennett, Jr.
Drum Major Miss Lizzie Robinson
Lucy Miss Kate Robinson

Doors open at half past 6 o'clock. Performance to commence at half past 7. Admittance 25 cents. Children 10 cents. Tickets for sale at the usual places.

ANNIVERSARY BALL!
 ON MONDAY EVENING, FEB. 22

PRICE OF ADMISSION.

GENTLEMEN	50 cents.
LADIES	10 "
BOYS	25 "

Good music will be in attendance.

Figure 12 Playbill for February 20, 1864, performance of *The Secret Foe; or, the Mason of Abbeville* and *The Review; or, the Wag of Windsor*

Institute, New Harmony, Indiana; Daguerreotype, "OLD STRING BAND," 1858-9; Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

Details about William Munson Bennett's musical leadership and the pieces he conducted are not provided on this February 20, 1864, playbill. Nevertheless, Bennett's band would have, most likely, played Samuel Arnold's *Military Overture*, which was composed specifically for Colman's play, and provided accompaniment for the numerous songs contained therein. Of the twelve named characters, six of them sang solos or in small ensembles, but the play was also bookended by choruses at the end of each act, which included multiple singers. As was typical in plays from this period, *The Review; Or, the Wag of Windsor* featured music by several different composers, which accompanied certain sections of Colman's text. In addition to Arnold's overture and his music for the song "Poor Little Gypsy," *The Review* was accompanied by the music of Richard Wainwright for "Life's a bumper fill'd by fate" and William Shield for "Caleb Quotem."

Six weeks later, William Bayle Bernard's *The Farmer's Story* was performed on April 2, 1864. Although not as musically intense as Colman's comic opera, Bernard's play contains songs written specifically for the play and music that is "'unheard' by the characters but is intended largely for the audience."¹¹³ Three musical cues are printed in the text, but none of the cues contains any information as to what was played or how. The play opens with a glee "Good Ale," in which multiple singers participate as part of a chorus. The only other song, "I Sigh for Home, for that Sweet Spot," is a solo for a female. The evening concluded with John Maddison Morton's farce of *Mother and Child are Doing Well*.

The season concluded on July 2, 1864, with Thomas Serle's *The Parole of Honor* and Isaac Pocock's farce of *The Omnibus* For theatrical and musical-theatrical

¹¹³ Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre*, xix.

productions of the following season, the *Register* was unable to provide much information in its retrospective column, "A Record." However, it did lament the sudden passing of thespian Henry Robinson in the early summer of 1865. Over the past sixteen years, Robinson had performed regularly with the New Harmony Dramatic Association and the New Harmony Thespians, and he was well-known for his singing ability, in addition to his penchant for acting.¹¹⁴ According to the *Register*, "his death caused a vacancy in the ranks of the Thespians that no one as yet has been able to fill."¹¹⁵ Indeed, the loss of Robinson prompted the cancellation of at least one scheduled production in July 1865. The *Register* went on to say that, as was the case with 1861 and 1863, "a number of plays were produced in 1865," but most of the playbills were lost.¹¹⁶

New Harmony's Well-Regulated Amusements: 1866–1873

In their individual comments on New Harmony's theatrical renaissance of 1874, the *Evansville Courier* and *Grayville Independent* overlooked New Harmony's strong, if somewhat sporadic, support of theater and other well-regulated amusements during the Civil War years (1861–1865) and the first eight years of the postbellum era (1866–1873). Whereas they both mention that New Harmony's citizens were able to present such a musically intense play (*Guy Mannering*) without external assistance, neither indicates how these citizens were capable of such a feat, given the printed implication that only now—in 1874—were these citizens resuming the rigors of performance for which they had been recognized in the antebellum. Although *Guy*

¹¹⁴ *New Harmony Register*, March 7, 1874; *New Harmony Register*, March 14, 1874.

¹¹⁵ *New Harmony Register*, May 9, 1874.

¹¹⁶ *New Harmony Register*, May 9, 1874.

Mannering could have been performed by amateur singers, it is highly unlikely that it would have been executed successfully by thespians with no recent experience whatsoever.

Over this thirteen-year period, contemporary newspapers, such as the *Evansville Daily Journal*, focused almost exclusively on the activities of traveling troupes, and, beginning in 1864, on Evansville's newest troupe, the Golden Dramatic Combination. Regardless of where the combination performed, Martin and Bella Golden dominated the regional newspaper coverage. Even when the *New Harmony Register* was founded in 1867, the Golden and their performances were described with impressive and extensive detail, while local performances of all kinds were often mentioned in passing.

Nevertheless, the *Register's* retrospective column, "A Record," is a key factor in reconstructing this thirteen-year period. The contemporary announcements, in combination with the overview in "A Record," paint a more vibrant and complex portrait of New Harmony—one in which the town is thriving with a variety of well-regulated amusements through which citizens could come together as community, just as Owen had intended. Collectively, this information sheds new light on the endurance of Owen's ideals, and in so doing, helps to reframe the longitudinal viability of his "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind."

Theatrical Productions

In July and August 1866, many of New Harmony's thespians participated in the aforementioned series of seven music-filled performances with the much-anticipated Golden Dramatic Combination (see figure 6). Whereas this series breathed fresh air into the town's cultural life, it was, by no means, the only source of well-regulated amusement for New Harmony's citizens. Like their Evansville counterparts, New Harmony's thespians used their

performances to raise money, as evident in the May 16 and May 23, 1874, issues of "A Record." Between 1866 and 1867, the thespians held four benefit performances—three for the town's public school and one for the New Harmony String Band. On April 28, 1866, the thespians opened their season at Union Hall with a benefit for the public school, which featured Morris Barnett's *The Serious Family* and John Maddison Morton's *Slasher and Crasher*. Because polkas, quadrilles, and valeses (waltzes) are all mentioned in Act III of Barnett's play, it is likely that the either William Munson Bennett's ten-piece band or the six-piece New Harmony String Band, of which Bennett was a member, provided the accompaniment.

The amount of money raised through this venture remains unknown. But the thespians opted to maximize their earning potential by employing a more direct advertising tactic later that year, which is recounted in "A Record." They held a second benefit for the public school in November 1866 and enticed potential audience members through a series of enigmatic advertisements. According to the retrospective account published in the May 16, 1874, issue of "A Record":

The piece chosen was "Macbeth Travestie" and was placed upon the stage in a most elaborate manner, with new and elegant costumes; but the bills were printed in manner as to lead the public to believe that the "Macbeth" written by Shak[e]speare would be presented. So well was the secret kept that none but the actors themselves, with perhaps the exception of one or two ladies who undertook the task of getting up the wardrobe for the female characters, knew what the play was in reality to be. The greatest mystery of all was, who were to sustain the roles of Lady Macbeth and The Gentlewoman, as the names of all the actors were in the bills, except these two, and in place of their names were inserted asterisks (*). The excitement and curiosity caused much speculation and filled the house to overflowing . . . After paying all expenses, the sum of seventy dollars was turned over to the School Trustee, as the net proceeds of the entertainment.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ In 2018 dollars, the net yield would have been around \$1030. See New Harmony Register, May 16, 1874.

A third benefit was held for the public school on March 2, 1867, which featured the play *Ruth Oakley* and a farce of *A Good Fellow*, yielding \$60.10.¹¹⁸

Given their recent fundraising successes, the thespians decided to hold another benefit in the spring of 1867 for the "purpose of aiding in paying for the Hall [the String Band] had recently purchased. The Thespians 'pitched in' with a will to help the Band in securing a permanent place of amusement, and this, the first performance for that purpose, was endorsed by the citizens, who filled the house."¹¹⁹ The New Harmony String Band had assumed ownership of Union Hall in March, thereby superseding the stockholders who had purchased shares in 1857 to remodel the Rappites' No. 4 building.¹²⁰ For this event, Edward Fitzball's *Jonathan Bradford; or The Murder at the Roadside Inn* and *Box & Cox: Married and Settled* were performed, and more than likely, the String Band provided the accompaniment for the evening.¹²¹

The thespians continued to give benefits in 1869, one being for the Working Men's Institute on June 19 and another for the Episcopal Sunday School on December 11. In the first benefit, the thespians rendered Thomas Rhodes's *Bombastes Furioso: A Burlesque Tragic Opera*, which is replete with songs. Unfortunately, no additional information about this performance has yet been found. The second benefit featured the play *Sweethearts and Wives*, which contained at

¹¹⁸ *New Harmony Register*, May 23, 1874. *Ruth Oakley* was written by Thomas John Williams and Augustus Harris.

¹¹⁹ *New Harmony Register*, May 30, 1874.

¹²⁰ *New Harmony Register*, May 23, 1874. According to a typed transcript of an oral history interview with W. A. Twigg Jr. (age 87), as told to Working Men's Institute librarian Nora Fretageot in 1925, "The String Band bought the Union Hall from Eugene Thrall, Twigg, James, John & Will Bennett. It took them twelve years to pay for it, \$3000. [James] Bennett then died, boys sold their shares to Thrall & Baldwin . . . Lou Negrotto bought Baldwin's share. Twigg sold to Thrall & and Negrotto to Thrall. Twigg leased the hall for three years before he sold his share." See "Opera House," Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

¹²¹ *New Harmony Register*, June 6, 1874.

least two songs "Over the Sea" and "Sweetheart" sung by thespian Linda D. Dietz.¹²² Another benefit was given on May 28, 1870, for Jonathan Jackson, whose singing had been featured in theatrical productions since his 1847 arrival in New Harmony.

These fundraising initiatives supported an array of beneficiaries who, in turn, served New Harmony in different, but not altogether incompatible, ways. For example, the majority of these beneficiaries, including the school, the band, the Working Men's Institute, and Jonathan Jackson, played a significant role in perpetuating two of the Community's foundational concepts: education and well-regulated amusements. These benefit productions indicate one important way in which New Harmony functioned during the postbellum as a community, whose interconnected networks of people worked together to achieve common goals.

Although altruism factored heavily into the thespians' work, not all of their performances had designated beneficiaries. As the 1860s continued, the thespians continued to produce plays for entertainment purposes, but the presence of an accompanying musical ensemble was either inconsistent, or inconsistently documented. For instance, after the Goldens departed New Harmony following their last of seven joint performances on August 27, 1866, New Harmony's thespians were back on stage within five days to entertain their fellow townspeople. On September 1, 1866, they gave a performance of H. T. Craven's *The Chimney Corner* and Joseph Lunn's *Family Jars: A Musical Farce*. An orchestral overture preceded this evening's production, but neither the musical leader nor the name of the ensemble was printed.

The local thespians' regular performances from the late 1860s did not receive the extensive coverage that those of the Goldens did, and extant archival evidence from this time is

¹²² Dietz eventually left New Harmony for New York, where she worked for Augustin Daly. As an actress, she was popular in both the United States and Europe.

minimal. Fortunately, the *Register* printed the names of thespians active during this time, and in so doing, confirmed a continuity within New Harmony's theatrical tradition that the *Evansville Daily Journal* and the *Grayville Independent* would later call into question in March 1874. For example, at least five of the thespians involved in the productions of 1866 and 1867 had also appeared in the New Harmony Thespians' shows during the antebellum, and most recently, had been affiliated with William Pritchard's Dramatic Association, including James Bennett, Jonathan Jackson, J. D. Jones, Mrs. William Pritchard, and John C. Wheatcroft.

The *dramatis personae* also introduces the members of New Harmony's newest generation of thespians, many of whom hailed from families with longstanding ties to the community. Consequently, this list is much more than a sum of its contents, as it demonstrates the depths to which musical-theatrical performances were embedded in the town's *raison d'etre*, especially following the Civil War. Indeed, three of the thespians making their debut in 1866 were third-generation Owens from three different branches of the original Owen family, including Richard Owen's son, Horace Pestalozzi Owen, Robert Dale Owen's daughter, Rose, and David Dale Owen's daughter, Nina. In addition, the son of thespian and musician James Bennett, John P. Bennett, joined the thespians, as did C.W. Slater, who would go on to become the editor of the *New Harmony Register*. Clearly, the town's most prominent families had assigned a positive value to musical-theater and encouraged their younger children, as well as up-and-coming community members, to partake in the theatrical activities.

As Slater's situation indicates, New Harmony's thespians were amateurs and pursued vocational trajectories outside of the theater. This particular list also reveals that, as of 1867, some of the thespians were also engaging in other avocational opportunities, including musical ones. For example, thespians William Baldwin, James Bennett, and John P. Bennett were all

musicians in the New Harmony String Band, which now owned Union Hall, where the theatrical productions took place.¹²³ This type of performer overlap suggests that although New Harmony was small, the citizens were talented enough to participate in multiple performing entities simultaneously.

Furthermore, the *Register* did indicate that New Harmony was still an important site in the postbellum for traveling troupes besides the Golden Dramatic Combination, and that New Harmony's citizens were sufficiently interested in supporting what it deemed to be well-regulated amusements. The community's responses to two different itinerant companies reflect the influence of New Harmony's foundational ideologies. In 1867, for example, Donaldson's Versatile Company only appeared once in the town, and reviews indicate that the company was a combination of a circus and a theatrical performance. New Harmony's citizens did not appear to be nearly as interested in this type of amusement, as evidenced by the poor audience turnout.¹²⁴ On the other hand, in June 1868, the company of W. M. Holland, which limited its productions to theater, performed no fewer than twenty-two plays, including two benefits to aid the local Episcopal church, St. Stephen's, in the purchase of a bell.¹²⁵ The company subsequently disbanded but some of the actors returned to New Harmony to perform later that summer.

The ebb and flow of information is evident, again, in records from 1870 to 1873, but New Harmony's cultural life was blossoming with a variety of theatrical and musical organizations. Sporadic coverage in the *Register* may be misleading, but when pieced together, indicates that New Harmony's citizens were provided with ample opportunities for amusement.

¹²³ *New Harmony Register*, December 18, 1869. James Bennett's obituary in the *Register* reveals that "the New Harmony Brass Band, to which he was for many years attached, loses a valuable member, and creates a void that will be difficult to fill."

¹²⁴ *New Harmony Register*, May 23, 1874.

¹²⁵ *New Harmony Register*, June 6, 1874.

For the first half of 1870, New Harmony's thespians had performances scheduled on a monthly basis and that they were almost always before a full house. The Goldens, who had gone to Cleveland, returned in 1871 for a performance of *Fanchon*, which showcased Bella Golden's singing and dancing abilities. The play was prefaced by an overture performed by an orchestra, which, once again, was credited but unnamed.¹²⁶

The Goldens' permanent return to New Harmony was celebrated in June 1873 with two musical-theatrical productions. Following the Goldens' June 28 performance of three plays—*I Love You*, *A Happy Pair*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*—they joined the local thespians on June 20 to offer a benefit for the Good Templars with H. T. Craven's *Meg's Diversion* and a farce of *Nobb's Mistake*. The evening also featured an overture by the orchestra.

By performing, once again, with the local thespians and musicians, the Goldens formed a mutually beneficial relationship with their colleagues of New Harmony, and collectively, they ushered in a new era of well-regulated amusements. These productions reinvigorated New Harmony's cycle of cultural productivity and consumption by spurring audiences to support their neighbors as they performed alongside the Goldens, who were on the cusp of national fame. Martin Golden had already proven himself to be a champion of theater's beneficial qualities; thus, he was particularly well-suited to leading a musical-theatrical organization in New Harmony and to representing the town and its foundational ideals throughout the United States.

¹²⁶ The June 13, 1874, New Harmony *Register* claims that this particular production of *Fanchon* was for a benefit, but the beneficiary is not listed. The play, known also by its full title, *Fanchon, the Cricket* was written by August Waldauer, and it was no stranger to the Goldens' repertoire nor to the residents of New Harmony. For example, performances took place on November 1, 1865, and April 10, 1866, in New Harmony, and in Owensboro, Kentucky, at Reinhardt's Hall on Monday, June 3, 1867, as a benefit for the Southern Relief Fund, which was dedicated to "the widows and orphans of our unfortunate Southern brethren." Ossenbergs' orchestra accompanied the Goldens across the Ohio River to Kentucky.

By 1874, the Goldens were accompanied by the New Harmony Brass and String Bands, who, despite having been relegated to the margins of the town's history following the Civil War, had, in fact, been active all along.

Musical Events and Concerts

After securing its new "permanent place of amusement" in 1867, the band assumed an increased presence in the New Harmony community. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the term "band" is confusing in contemporary archival documents and newspaper articles, as is its associated nomenclature—that is, "string band" or "brass band"—because most of the ensembles operating in the town between the late antebellum and the early postbellum contained a variety of woodwind, brass, and string instruments, regardless of what their name implied. It should be noted, however, that during the early years of the postbellum, the term "string band" was used briefly—namely, before and during 1867, with one major exception that will be explored below. Thereafter, the *New Harmony Register* begins to employ two other terms—"brass band" and "brass and string bands"—much more regularly in proper nouns such as the "New Harmony Brass Band."

By 1868, the New Harmony Brass Band had become a popular ensemble both locally and throughout the region and was often tasked with providing music for civic events. That year, the band performed a "popular air" after the "grand meeting of the democracy"—that is, the large rally held in honor of Horatio Seymour and General Frank P. Blair, who were running on the Democratic ticket for president and vice-president of the United States.¹²⁷ New Harmony was

¹²⁷ *New Harmony Register*, August 8, 1868. Seymour and Blair were beaten by Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax.

able to host such events because of its accessible location, and, by the same token, the town's location made it relatively easy for New Harmony's band to reach other towns in the region. For example, in 1868, the band and a large constituency of eager Democrats went "in wagons, buggies, and on horseback" to Mt. Vernon where the musicians played before a large and enthusiastic crowd that had assembled to hear the campaign speech of Senator Thomas Hendricks, who was running for governor.¹²⁸ In 1870, the band escorted Congressman William Niblack and Congressman Daniel W. Voorhees, along with their delegation and several citizens traveling in carriages, to Mt. Vernon after Voorhees delivered a political speech in New Harmony.¹²⁹

Civic events, such as the annual Posey County fair, relied heavily on the New Harmony Brass Band to create a festive ambiance for attendees. Typically, the band would perform from its prominent place in the bandstand during the fair. In 1870, for example, "excellent music furnished by the New Harmony Brass Band for the occasion added much to the pleasure of those in attendance, a number of their best pieces being vigorously applauded."¹³⁰ For the following year's fair, the *Register* reported that "the New Harmony Brass Band received a choice collection of new music from Boston, which will be discoursed in a manner that cannot be excelled, in the Hoosier State, during our approaching Fair."¹³¹ The musical rendering must have been memorable because, in preparation for the 1872 "Grand Festival and Fair," the *Register* claimed that the band's selection of music for the upcoming event would be "in itself well worth the low price of admission charge."¹³²

¹²⁸ *New Harmony Register*, August 15, 1868.

¹²⁹ Voorhees ran on the Democratic ticket.

¹³⁰ *New Harmony Register*, September 24, 1870.

¹³¹ *New Harmony Register*, September 1, 1871.

¹³² *New Harmony Register*, August 10, 1872.

Sometimes the band volunteered its services simply to boost morale. In the summer of 1873, the national cholera epidemic had finally reached southern Indiana, and New Harmony's citizens were extremely concerned. In order to lighten the mood, the band members met at the central crossroads of New Harmony and serenaded the townspeople on a Tuesday evening. The *Register* reported that

There was a large turn-out of our town-people and visitors to listen to the music. All seemed pleased, and the music imparted a great degree of encouragement, so much needed to relieve the depression felt by the people on account of the dreadful cholera scourge at Mt. Vernon and surrounding places. In the name of our visitors we thank the Band for their good intentions, and hope they will favor the people often with the same kind of fare.¹³³

On certain occasions, the band "favored the people" with concerts and used the ticket proceeds to purchase much needed equipment. On September 25, 1869, the *New Harmony Register* reported that

[T]he Grounds were given over to the New Harmony Brass Band, for Saturday, to give 'a show,' such as could be gotten up at that late hour, to enable them to procure a new set of instruments. We are glad to state that, although the people were well-nigh tired out with the previous exercises, the Band netted the snug little sum of \$215 taken at the gate, and gave those who attended much amusement with pacing, trotting and running horses, foot-races, etc. Thus nearly one-half the amount necessary to purchase new instruments is raised and we understand the remainder will be secured by giving a concert and other amusements at some future time. As Union Hall and the Brass Band contribute in a large degree to the success of our Fairs, the people owe it to themselves and the fame of our favored town, to see that these institutions are kept up in a becoming manner.¹³⁴

Thanks to its lucrative performance at the fair, the band received its new set of instruments the following March.¹³⁵ The *Register* reported on March 19, 1870, that the band was expecting to

¹³³ *New Harmony Register*, July 26, 1873.

¹³⁴ *New Harmony Register*, September 25, 1869. It should be noted that the *Register* links the New Harmony Brass Band with Union Hall despite the references that were printed between 1867 and 1868, which link Union Hall with the New Harmony String Band.

¹³⁵ *Evansville Daily Journal*, March 27, 1870.

receive its shipment that day via rail and, in return for the community's support, would "discourse sweet music in the streets today."¹³⁶ Once the instruments arrived, the band showed them off by "favor[ing] citizens with splendid tunes."¹³⁷

Facing a growing demand for its services, the band found itself in need of a bandwagon by the end of 1870, but because New Harmony's band was also developing a stellar reputation, its members felt pressured to own a first class wagon. Fortunately, two local citizens offered to build one, and the band raised money for this purpose. At the beginning of 1871, the *Register* noted that "Messrs. Bennett and Dawson are putting up the handsomest band-wagon ever built in Southern Indiana, for the New Harmony Brass band."¹³⁸ By July, the *Register* was boasting on a weekly basis about the band and its upcoming appearances that month, including the town's Fourth of July picnic, at least two balls for dancing, and at least two concerts at Union Hall. Although the band provided music for the picnic and the two balls, the *Register* only indicates that proceeds from the July 15 and July 17 band concerts were applied to the expenses incurred with the new bandwagon. The following week, the *Register* published a "card of thanks" submitted by bandsman Eugene Thrall. Looking ahead, the *Register* reminded readers that the band would, again, be performing at the annual fair. It estimated that this event would yield approximately "\$200 to be expended in the completion of the new Bandwagon. The members of the band are much gratified at the liberal aid and patronage extended to them by our citizens in this matter, and we are assured will in the future, as in the past, strive to merit the appreciation of our music-loving citizens."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ *New Harmony Register*, March 19, 1870.

¹³⁷ *New Harmony Register*, April 16, 1870.

¹³⁸ *New Harmony Register*, January 7, 1871.

¹³⁹ *New Harmony Register*, July 22, 1871. According to a clipping dated (by hand) September 2, 1871, "the wood-work, springs, etc., for the building of the new band-wagon have

At some point between 1869 and the mid-1873 return of the Golden family, the "music-loving citizens" of New Harmony and the surrounding region began to demand more services than a single, local ensemble could handle. Although details in the *Register* and Working Men's Institute archives are scarce, multiple ensembles appear to have been operating simultaneously or, at the very least, they were simultaneously extant. For example, while the New Harmony Brass Band was awaiting the arrival of its new instruments in late 1869, the *New Harmony Register* indicates that a string ensemble performed at the home of Peter Waldo Lichtenberger, a well-known carpenter and local musician, on December 16, 1869.¹⁴⁰ The performance was in conjunction with a "mite party" sponsored by New Harmony's Episcopal Church, but the precise relationship between Lichtenberger and this particular ensemble of strings remains unknown.¹⁴¹

Post-1887 clippings from the New Harmony Local History Files state:

[s]ome time in 1870, a new band was organized by P[eter] W[aldo] Lichtenberger, leader and teacher—all other members being practically beginners in music. . . . This organization became known locally as 'Pete's Band'—as distinguishing it from the 'Old band.' In its early days it played a week job at Fairfield, Ill. Pete's band was in existence, with constantly changing membership and some intervals, for about twenty-five years. It absorbed several of the old Bennett band, when the latter dissolved, and became the only New Harmony band for a term of years.¹⁴²

been received and the wagon will be ready in time for the fair." See [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source], [handwritten date: September 2, 1871], pasted on "Bands—Musical," Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana.

¹⁴⁰ *New Harmony Register*, December 18, 1869.

¹⁴¹ Mite parties were fundraising initiatives sponsored by the Episcopal Church.

¹⁴² "'Pete's Band' Started in 1870: Grew Up to be New Harmony Band of the '80s." [Newspaper Clipping, Unknown Source, No date]. Amateur String Band Folder, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. Lichtenberger arranged music for his ensemble and was known for composing songs, as well, including "Waiting for You" and "Don't Forget Me While I'm Gone." See "Lichtenberger, Peter Waldo." Index Card Files, Local History Files, Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. At least two members of William Munson Bennett's ensemble, George Beal and Eliot Snelling, joined Lichtenberger's ensemble in 1883.

The above clipping is accompanied by a personnel listing for Lichtenberger's band at its inception. The twelve-piece band included one E-flat cornet, one B-flat cornet, four alto horns, two tenor horns, a baritone, one tuba, a snare drum, and a bass drum, but no strings. Since Lichtenberger's trade cards did not include names of the band members or their instruments, it is difficult to determine whether he was affiliated with one or two separate ensembles and the extent to which he was affiliated with the group of string players (see figure 13). Not one of the names in Lichtenberger's band from 1870 matches the personnel list of William Munson Bennett's ten-piece band (1865) or six-piece band (1867).

Interestingly, the *Register* makes a reference to a "Young String Band" in 1870, which could be interpreted in contrast to Bennett's "old" band or in contrast to the "Old String Band" led by George Washington Warren and described in Chapter 3. Apparently, this ensemble had performed on January 15, 1870, approximately one month following Lichtenberger's mite party, and the *Register* published a note of thanks.

We desire to return our thanks to the gentlemen composing the "Young String Band" for a serenade with which we were honored last Saturday night. While we do not boast that our bands "cannot be surpassed by any in Southern Indiana—WARREN'S Silver Band not excepted," we can truthfully assert that our Bands—brass and string—make excellent music, and can hold their own with others in this part of the State—except WARREN'S Band.

In this blurb, "Warren's Band" does not refer to the New Harmony-based ensemble that accompanied the theatrical productions of William Pritchard's thespians in the late 1850s but to George Washington Warren's newest ensemble based in Evansville. Following his service in the Fifteenth Indiana Regiment during the Civil War, Warren established his residency in Evansville but maintained close ties with his New Harmony friends for the rest of his life. His band, which was officially renamed the Crescent City Silver Band by the early 1880s, was the premier ensemble in southwestern Indiana. The comment in the *Register's* note of thanks above refers to



Figure 13 Trade Card from Peter Waldo Lichtenberger's band

the rivalry that emerged in the 1870s among bands in the region. The *Princeton Democrat* had claimed that the Princeton Silver Band "cannot be surpassed by any other in Southern Indiana—Warren's Silver Band of Evansville, not excepted," and the *Register* had been compelled to respond.¹⁴³ In line with this playful rivalry, the *Register* was quick to point out a small, but critical difference in a similar claim made by the *Rockport Journal*, which printed the news of this small town located on the Ohio River to the east of Evansville. When the *Rockport Journal* claimed in 1873 that "Rockport boasts of having the best silver band in the State," the *Register* retorted with "[w]e have nothing to say about the 'silver' part of it, but when it comes to Brass Band and Music, you will please remember that New Harmony claims the 'horns' and enjoys the honor of having the Band of Southern Indiana."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Reprinted in the *New Harmony Register*, January 8, 1870.

¹⁴⁴ *New Harmony Register*, April 12, 1873.

Whereas the New Harmony Brass Band may have been superior to those in the region, it is unclear how that competition played out in New Harmony, as other local instrumental ensembles were taking engagements, as well. For the Fourth of July weekend of 1873, the *Register* remarked that "New Harmony music is in demand. The Old Band on yesterday went to Blairsville [Indiana] to furnish music for Noah Frank's Pic-nic and Ball, and the Young Band went to Mt. Moriah to play for a Union Sunday School Pic-nic. The rest of the musicians remained in town to play for the Ball at Union Hall."¹⁴⁵ Although the blurb does not specify the instrumentation, the brass and string bands are recognized as separate entities by early 1874. In February both groups performed at the masquerade ball in honor of Washington's birthday, and on March 31 and April 1, they accompanied a midweek performance of Martin and Bella Golden in Mt. Vernon.¹⁴⁶ The *Register* implies that, as the Golden family became reacquainted with their fans in the tristate area, they spared no expense to ensure that their performances were well-received. "For the gratification of our friends at the county seat [Mt. Vernon], Mr. Golden has engaged the New Harmony Brass and String Bands to accompany him, thus entailing a very heavy expense approaching to extravagance. Mr. Golden is anxious, however that this professional visit of himself and wife to Mt. Vernon shall be a success, and will leave nothing undone on his part to make it so."¹⁴⁷

The previous weekend, the Golden family's March 28, 1874, performance of *Dora* and *A Pair of Pigeons* had been accompanied by an "orchestra" under the leadership of New Harmony's renowned musician, William Munson Bennett. The *Register* proudly announced several local performers "who have kindly volunteered, will have the honor of presenting TWO NEW

¹⁴⁵ *New Harmony Register*, July 5, 1873.

¹⁴⁶ *New Harmony Register*, February 21, 1873; *New Harmony Register*, March 28, 1874.

¹⁴⁷ *New Harmony Register*, March 28, 1874.

PLAYS, replete with New music, New Songs, and also, for the first time here, the new and uproariously funny "MULLIGAN GUARDS" MARCH, arranged for the occasion by Prof. W. M. Bennett."¹⁴⁸

Beyond 1874

Thus, by 1874, New Harmony could boast several instrumental ensembles and two separate thespian organizations that collaborated with each other and with the various local bands and orchestras. In addition, the town had its own dancing club, which provided "hops" similar to the balls made so popular during the Preliminary Society and Community of Equality. For the next forty years—that is, until the town's centennial of 1914, New Harmony appears to have been home to an uninterrupted stream of well-regulated amusements. For example, the band of Peter Lichtenberger was still performing in 1887, after having consolidated all of the town's ensembles in 1883. During its seventeen-year reign, "Pete's Band" grew in size with the addition of more horns and an occasional B-flat or E-flat clarinet, but evidence suggests that the band never included strings. An article from the July 30, 1887, *Carmi (Illinois) Partisan* wrote that "Lichtenberger's cornet band is one of the finest musical organizations in this part of the state."¹⁴⁹ In 1887, another band—the Mechanic's Band—was established, which was "at war" with its predecessor. Its roster included the son of William Munson Bennett, alto horn player Will Bennett Jr., in addition to eight other horn players, one snare drum player, and one bass drum player.

¹⁴⁸ *New Harmony Register*, March 28, 1874.

¹⁴⁹ Reprinted in the *New Harmony Times*, December 24, 1915.

Meanwhile, after teaming up with the New Harmony Brass and String Bands for their productions in the mid-1870s, Martin and Golden reconstituted their troupe by employing additional thespians and, by the early 1880s, they established a brass band that traveled with them nationwide. During the 1881-1882 season, from which figure 14 is dated, the Golden's troupe is reported to have performed in eighty-nine towns and traveled 5,555 miles (see figure 14).¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately, at the height of their popularity, Bella took a fall and was irreparably injured during the 1889–1890 season. Nevertheless, Martin continued to lead the troupe for two more seasons until it became apparent that Bella was irreplaceable; the troupe disbanded in 1892.

In 1893, the Serenading Band was founded in New Harmony, and it contained guitars, strings, mandolins, and a single flute. Clippings from the New Harmony Local History Files indicate that the band performed, at minimum, in 1893, 1896, and 1901. In 1896, the New Harmony Band was founded as a twenty-four piece ensemble featuring a piccolo, several clarinets and cornets, multiple horns, and snare and bass drums. In 1902, the Ribeyre Military Band was established as a much smaller ensemble of ten instrumentalists. These three ensembles contained members of local families with a long standing in New Harmony, including the Owens, the Fretageots, and the Bennetts; interestingly, only one person is reported to have played in all three ensembles: flute and piccolo player James Baldwin.¹⁵¹

By 1914, Posey County had five bands and, according to the February 27, 1914, issue of the *New Harmony Times*, they were "all good ones." Captain Alfred Ribeyre, at whose family's

¹⁵⁰ Carl Ritt, "The Curtain Falls as a Lonely Woman Dies," *Evansville Press*, August 10, 1963.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Minney, a B-flat cornet player, was named director of the Ribeyre Military Band. A clipping (hand dated 1904 and pasted to the "Ribeyre Military Band" index card in the Working Men's Institute Local History Files) indicates that the "New Harmony Band, led by Thomas Minney, played one day at Princeton Fair and one day at Carmi fair" but makes no mention of the Ribeyre Military Band.

building the eponymous band met, sponsored a band tournament to be held in New Harmony in conjunction with the centennial celebration. More than likely, the New Harmony Band (perhaps in a different iteration than that which was performing in 1890s) competed in this tournament, as it had become a popular entity in the county by providing music at various civic events.¹⁵²



Figure 14 Image of the "Silver Cornet Band" of the Bella Golden Combination, 1881–1882

In the forty years between 1874 and 1914, New Harmony maintained its reputation as a significant site of musical sociability, thanks, in part, to these instrumental ensembles of talented townspeople. Indeed, instrumental ensembles have been present throughout much of New Harmony's history, even though their performances were rarely covered in the same detail as

¹⁵² For unspecified reasons, New Harmony's Centennial Commission selected the Goodman Band of Decatur, Illinois, to perform during the town's weeklong celebration.

those of their thespian counterparts. By mentioning these ensembles in passing as "the band" or "the orchestra," contemporary newspaper coverage inadvertently relegated the town's instrumental music culture to a position of subservience—that is, as the accompaniment to a theater troupe's production or as a mere component in a larger civic event. Such treatment by the press may have been customary, but since instrumental ensembles were specifically sanctioned by Robert Owen in his 1825 proclamation for well-regulated amusements, they must be recognized for the vital role they played in perpetuating the town's foundational ideologies.

The ongoing presence of these musical ensembles throughout the postbellum lends additional credence to the claim that New Harmony's history is best explained through a tripartite model that includes educational endeavors, scientific achievements, and now, well-regulated amusements. Moreover, considering the frequency and positive reception of productions by the Golden Dramatic Combination and the New Harmony's own thespians, the townspeople were certainly interested in and capable of supporting musical-theatrical events over this wide swath of time. As such, New Harmony upheld Robert Owen's October 29, 1825, proclamation on well-regulated amusements throughout the postbellum, and with the collective energy generated and perpetuated by its citizens, the town emerged, in contrast to Evansville, as the cultural capital of the tristate area.

EPILOGUE: NEW HARMONY AT 200

The New Harmony Bicentennial Commission held its Bicentennial Capstone "Week" Celebration during the first ten days of August 2014. In addition to sponsoring a variety of community activities, the Commission hosted three events, during which the townspeople, historians, and Indiana politicians reflected on New Harmony's legacy.¹ Over the course of these three events, the celebrants observed two primary narratives, which, despite the contradictions they embody, have come to define the town's history. In the first narrative, which reflected the general tenor of the celebration, Robert Owen and, to a lesser extent, William Maclure were revered as the town's key figures, thereby marginalizing George Rapp, whose 1814 establishment of Harmony/New Harmony was, at least theoretically, being celebrated. In the second narrative, which was asserted most explicitly by the politicians, Owen was praised for "his" innovative scientific and educational projects but denigrated for his "Socialist" dogma, which was blamed for hastening the demise of the Community of Equality.

In retrospect, these two narratives—Owen as town father, and Owen as failed Socialist—were, in different ways, countered by the musical performances that took place in conjunction with each of the three events. Drawing on the evidence provided in the previous chapters, this epilogue argues that, as a well-regulated amusement, music continues to function in New Harmony in much the same way that it did during the Preliminary Society, the Community of Equality, and the post-Community era—that is, as what Ralph Locke called "a wholesome leisure-time activity."² Indeed, this so-called "democratic" rationale for musicmaking, which was

¹ These events were held on consecutive evenings: August 7, August 8, and August 9, 2014.

² Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians*, 16.

espoused by Owen in New Lanark, had been a foundational ideology implemented at New Harmony through Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind," and, as demonstrated by these three performances, is still relevant today.

The first event, which was themed "Reaffirming William Maclure's Vision," was held on August 7, 2014, at the Working Men's Institute (WMI) and included a showing of the *New Harmony Bicentennial Commemorative Video*, a dedication ceremony for The Room for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge, and a brief concert by the New Harmony Community Choir.³ The video contained a brief overview to Rapp's Harmony/New Harmony, Owen's Preliminary Society, and Owen and Maclure's Community of Equality, but it focused on the personal experiences of local residents, many of whom questioned New Harmony's prospects for survival under the pressures of modernization, corporatization, and globalization.⁴ Despite their

³ The Room for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge takes its name from William Maclure's two major projects at New Harmony—that is, *The Disseminator* and the Working Men's Institute, in which the evening's event was taking place. The tagline of Maclure's newspaper was "the disseminator of useful knowledge," which was shared with that of the Working Men's Institute (WMI), whose purpose was to promote "the dissemination of useful knowledge for working men and their families." The Room takes up the entire east wing of the first floor, and the west wing comprises the library's reading room and cordoned-off archives. The second floor serves as a museum, where thousands of artifacts from the three planned communities are displayed in wooden and glass encasements. The expansive staircase is lined with framed oil portraits of Harmonist and Owenite community members and sketches of the natural world made by Maclure's scientific colleagues.

⁴ In 2012, for example, New Harmony's school system, despite its national reputation, was forced into consolidation with the other schools of Posey County, thereby making it the last independent public school in Indiana. See "New Harmony, North Posey School Districts Discuss how Consolidation will Work," *Indiana Economic Digest*, December 10, 2011. Even more recently, many residents were faced with the financial burden of mandatory flood insurance. In 2014, the Department of Natural Resources announced that anyone with a mortgage on a home located within the recently redrawn floodplain, which now encompasses much of New Harmony, was required to purchase flood insurance—at a cost of up to \$4000 per year. Residents who already owned their home were not mandated to purchase the insurance. Since the median household income in New Harmony hovers around \$43,000, homeowners described themselves as unable or unwilling to pay these additional costs. Jessica Wray, "New Harmony Hit by Flood Plain Dilemma," *Indiana Economic Digest*, August 24, 2014.

concerns, these residents expressed gratitude to Jane Blaffer Owen (1915–2010), who, it was agreed, had spearheaded New Harmony's post-war renaissance in the 1940s and supported the town's cultural life for nearly seventy years.

Blaffer had married Robert Owen's great-great grandson, Kenneth Dale Owen (1902–2002), in 1941, at which point "all that survived [of] New Harmony's reputation as an early center of 'radical-liberal' thought in the U.S. [were] some impressive—if rapidly deteriorating—architectural monuments from its gilded ages."⁵ Using her extensive personal fortune, Blaffer Owen established the Robert Lee Blaffer Foundation in 1958, which was named in honor of her father, to "preserve, promote and support, financially, and otherwise, the various historic and education attributes of New Harmony, Indiana, and the Part of Posey County, Indiana, that is immediately adjacent to and historically or culturally related to the Town of New Harmony."⁶ Through the foundation, she initiated a two-part architectural revitalization in New Harmony, which involved the renovation of historical structures, such as the Rapp-Owen Granary (originally built in 1818 and purchased by Kenneth Dale Owen in 1948), and the commission and planning of new buildings, such as the Roofless Church and the Athenaeum visitors' center.⁷ The Blaffer Foundation continues to support numerous artistic and musical endeavors, including

⁵ Kenneth Dale Owen was a descendant of Richard Dale Owen (1810–1890), the youngest of Robert Owen's sons. His lineage is explored in detail by Arthur H. Estabrook, "The Family History of Robert Owen," *Indiana Magazine of History* 19, no. 1 (1923): 94-98. Norm Heikens, "Indiana Citizen: Owen Left Legacy in New Harmony," *Sagamore Institute*, February 13, 2017. John Blades, "Rebuilding Utopia along the Wabash," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1975.

⁶ Blaffer was born into the family of oil tycoons responsible for the companies of ExxonMobil and Texaco. Heikens, "Indiana Citizen." See also "Our Mission," Robert Lee Blaffer Foundation, accessed December 31, 2017, <http://robertleeblanderfoundation.org/our-mission/>.

⁷ "Jane Blaffer Owen Obituary," *Houston Chronicle*, June 27, 2010.

The New Harmony Project,⁸ Art Camp,⁹ the New Harmony Artists Guild, and the New Harmony Music Festival and School.¹⁰ Since 2001, the town has earned an international reputation for its concert series "Under the Beams," which takes place, literally, under the beams of the Rapp-Owen Granary following its renovation under Blaffer Owen's direction.¹¹

Following the video, the dedication ceremony honored Maclure by calling attention to *his* innovative scientific and educational projects, which the politicians would erroneously ascribe to Owen the following evening. Interestingly, throughout these first two events, the dominant, two-pronged historical assessment of New Harmony's legacy was perpetuated with only one mention of the third prong that has been proposed by this dissertation—culture—which, in turn, became increasingly evident and relevant through the performances of the New Harmony Community Choir. For both events, the choir, under the direction of WMI librarian Margaret Scherzinger, provided the only substantive references to the ostensible honorees of the bicentennial, the Harmonists. Among the choir's musical selections for the first event were "Harmonie du Bruderstadt" (with words by George Rapp and music by his adopted son, Frederick Rapp) and

⁸ The New Harmony Project was founded in 1986 to "create, nurture and promote new works for stage, television, and film that sensitively and truthfully explore the positive aspects of life." See "The Mission," The New Harmony Project, <https://www.newharmonyproject.org/the-mission>, accessed March 1, 2019.

⁹ Art Camp nurtures children's creativity in the visual arts and showcases their work in a public gallery. See "Art Camp," the Robert Lee Blaffer Foundation, <http://robertleeblafferfoundation.org/category/art-camp/>, accessed December 31, 2017.

¹⁰ "Jane Dale Owen Obituary," *Dallas Morning News*, June 15, 2014. See "The New Harmony Music Festival & School," <http://newharmonymusicfest.com/>, accessed December 31, 2017. See "In the News," The Robert Lee Blaffer Foundation, <http://robertleeblafferfoundation.org/in-the-news/>, accessed December 31, 2017.

¹¹ See Under the Beams, <http://www.underthebeams.org/>, accessed December 31, 2017.

"Das Unser Vater" (with music by Harmonist Jacob Henrici and adapted by Harmonist John S. Duss).¹²

The second event took place at Murphy's Auditorium, which had been constructed for the town's centennial celebration, and was filled to capacity. Ultimately, the event juxtaposed the experiences and commentary of three different groups of celebrants—the musicians, the politicians, and the historians—and, in so doing, presented a mixed understanding of who was being celebrated and why. Of the commission's three events, this one shared the most similarities with the Centennial Celebration of 1914.

The assembly was called to attention by New Harmony Town Councilwoman and Mistress of Ceremonies Karen Walker, and she introduced the politicians and historians who would be speaking.¹³ Immediately thereafter, the New Harmony Community Choir performed a piece in English titled "Centennial Tribute," which, as indicated by the title, had been composed for New Harmony's 100th birthday. Indeed, the piece captured the early-nineteenth-century essence of predictable harmonic progressions and lack of dynamic nuances that characterize many of the Harmonist hymns found in their official song book, *Harmonisches Gesangbuch*. Scherzinger later confided privately that "we looked for any indication of who wrote the lyrics and music, but nothing was marked."¹⁴ Then, the choir sang the two Harmonist hymns from the

¹² The choir also performed the Shaker tune, "Simple Gifts," in an arrangement by Jay Althouse. Through subsequent correspondence, Scherzinger revealed that the choir had no difficulty in mastering the German diction for the bicentennial performances since many of the choristers already knew German. She admitted, however, that occasionally a disagreement would arise among the group members, but she claimed that was due to them having "spoken a different dialect growing up all those years ago." Margaret Scherzinger, email message to author, December 28, 2014.

¹³ Walker also asked for descendants of the original Owenite community to stand; eight people stood and were applauded.

¹⁴ Margaret Scherzinger, email message to author, December 28, 2014. *Harmonisches Gesang Buch*, ed. Heinrich Ebner (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Heinrich Ebner, 1820);

previous evening, and in so doing, made the only substantive reference of the evening to Rapp and his Harmonist community.¹⁵ A fourth piece, "New Harmony," had been composed by the duo of Rich Wayland and Mickey Grimm, and it featured singer Molly Felder along with the choir.¹⁶

The first three songs reflected Scherzinger's attention to historical accuracy and detail; moreover, the choir maintained the German legacy of the original Harmonist community by rendering "Harmonie du Bruderstadt" and "Das Unser Vater" in German. Scherzinger noted later that many of New Harmony's citizens were familiar with German because the language had been taught consistently in the local school prior to its contested consolidation in 2012. In addition, she mentioned that most of the choir members, and, by extension, many long-term New Harmony residents were familiar with the Harmonist hymns, as they were part of the town's musical tradition.¹⁷

In the next part of the program, a series of resolutions, proclamations, and speeches was read by politicians, whose viewpoints mirrored the explicitly anti-socialist rhetoric that former US President William Howard Taft had employed during his speech at the 1914 centennial celebration. By then, the narrative of Owen's failure was well entrenched in local and national discourse, and New Harmony was best known for its educational and scientific endeavors. During his speech, Taft had opined that "the most notable socialistic experiment, that of Robert Owen, at New Harmony failed as all socialism must fail because it found no substitute for the

Harmonisches Gesangbuch, ed. Johann Christoph Müller (Oekonomie, Beaver County, Pennsylvania: Harmony Society Press, 1827).

¹⁵ See Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, 266; Wetzell, *Frontier Musicians*, 41, 45.

¹⁶ This song had been used as the background music for the Bicentennial Commemorative Video.

¹⁷ Margaret Scherzinger, email message to author, December 28, 2014.

motive essential to arouse and make constant human effort that is furnished by the institution of private property and the shaping of reward by competition and natural economic adjustment" (see figure 15).¹⁸ Certainly, Taft's anti-socialist rhetoric should be recognized as emblematic of his time, as he had just been defeated in his 1912 presidential bid for reelection by Woodrow Wilson, and both men had been challenged by the orator and noted Socialist, Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute.¹⁹ In an uncanny echo, the speeches in 2014 questioned, or, in the case of US Congressman Larry Bucshon's statement, denigrated Owen's socialist ideology outright by superimposing an anachronistic notion of "socialism" onto New Harmony's foundational principles. As Arthur Bestor has rightly pointed out, however, the term "socialist" did not appear in print until after Owen's Community of Equality had collapsed, and the concept of utopian socialism was not employed derogatorily until Friedrich Engels distinguished it from his own brand of scientific socialism.²⁰

¹⁸ "Taft Shows why Socialism Fails," *New York Times*, June 9, 1914.

¹⁹ This election has been the subject of much study and scrutiny, due in large part to the role that Debs and Socialism played in nuancing the contemporary political landscape. See James Chace, *1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs—the Election That Changed the Country* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004); Lewis L. Gould, *Four Hats in the Ring: The 1912 Election and the Birth of Modern American Politics*, American Presidential Elections (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2008); Brett Flehinger, *The 1912 Election and the Power of Progressivism: A Brief History with Documents*, Bedford Series in History and Culture (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003).

²⁰ Bestor, "The Evolution of the Socialist Vocabulary," 277. Bestor notes that the term "Socialist" was first used in 1827 in the Owenite periodical *Co-Operative Magazine*, which was published in London, and then not again (in English) until 1833. See also Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, trans. Edward Aveling (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892), 5-10. In other words, by employing the term "socialist" to Owen's endeavors, the politicians are actually employing the term "Socialist," which, in turn, embodies characteristics that did not apply to Owen.



Figure 15 President Taft at New Harmony Centennial, New Harmony, Indiana, 1914
(Courtesy of *The Indiana Album: Nancy English Collection*)

Nevertheless, these critiques eclipsed the remaining generic accolades, which were ascribed to Owen and "his" well-known achievements in education and the natural sciences. For example, US Senator Dan Coates painted a vague picture of the town's history, noting that "as Hoosiers, we appreciate this town's contribution to history and are grateful this community is located in our state."²¹ As such, to varying degrees, each legislator supported the narrative of Owen's failure from a conceptual perspective and upheld the two-pronged historical assessment that this dissertation has sought to replace.

In contrast, the historians concluded the evening with curated speeches that, while they did not explore the efforts of Rapp and the Harmonists in great detail, characterized New Harmony in its broader historical and cultural contexts. Collectively, they followed the precedent set forth by another centennial celebrant, the previously mentioned musician and bandmaster John S. Duss.²² According to the May 30, 1914, edition of the *Indianapolis News*, Duss was "the last active head of the Rappites [Harmonists] and his coming to participate in the centennial will

²¹ His commentary was published as an essay that appeared in newspapers throughout Indiana, and a framed copy was gifted to New Harmony. Dan Coates, "New Harmony Marks its 200th Anniversary - 'Utopia' Needs Sense of Purpose to Succeed," *Kokomo Tribune*, July 31, 2014. The term "Hoosier" has been the subject of much historical analysis since at least the beginning of the twentieth century. See J. P. Dunn, "Origin of the Word Hoosier," *The Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* 1, no. 2 (1905); William D. Pierson, "The Origin of the Word 'Hoosier': A New Interpretation," *Indiana Magazine of History* 91, no. 2 (1995); Stephen H. Webb, "Introducing Black Harry Hoosier: The History Behind Indiana's Namesake," *Indiana Magazine of History* 98, no. 1 (2002); Dawn Bakken, "What Is a Hoosier?," *Indiana Magazine of History* 112, no. 3 (2016); Barbara B. Roberts, "Where Did the Word Hoosier Come From?," *Indiana Magazine of History* 112, no. 2 (2016).

²² Like many of the Harmonists, Duss was a well-trained musician. In 1892, he had assumed the position of leader of the Harmony Society band, before securing a national reputation while managing the Metropolitan Opera. Duss's musical life is discussed in Karl John Richard Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 291-97. See also Chapter 6, Wetzel. The John Duss Papers are held in Manuscript Group 310, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

add greatly to its interest. . .[and] is to appear on the program on opening day, next Saturday [June 6] on 'George Rapp and his associates.'"

Duss's address was extensive, and it was subsequently published by the Hollenbeck Press of Indianapolis in the latter part of 1914.²³ He spoke about Rapp's settlement in southwestern Indiana, Rapp's relocation to Pennsylvania, and the people who kept Rapp's dream alive until the official dissolution of the Harmony Society in 1906. He concluded his detailed recollections before the New Harmony audience with the following:

Were it not for the Harmony Society (George Rapp and his associates) not one of us would be here to-day, for last, but not least, to George Rapp and his associates is due the coming of Robert Owen and his bright galaxy of learned men and women, whose names like stars will shine throughout all history—the greater the luster of these stars, the greater magnitude of those who brought about their coming—in other words:

Comparisons, invidious, do not omen
The truth; but let our thoughts this one include:
Whene'er you add of luster unto Owen,
You're bound to add, to Rapp, of magnitude.
May on this day and all week—yea, ever and for aye,
All roads lead not to Rome but unto Athens—
Proud "Athens of the West"—New Harmony!²⁴

In his comparison between Athens and New Harmony, Duss may have been referring to those well-known similarities between Plato and Owen about which William Hazlitt and others would later speculate. As this dissertation has illustrated, Owen did, in fact, employ ideas that appear to have been set forth by his European predecessors, especially those that underscored the importance of education in social reform. But, as a musician, Duss may have also employed the phrase "Athens of the West" to call attention to a third aspect of New Harmony's history that has been, heretofore, overlooked by most accounts in favor of perpetuating the narrative of Owen's

²³ John S. Duss, *George Rapp and His Associates: (the Harmony Society)* (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1914).

²⁴ Duss, 68.

failure: its thriving cultural life during and after the Preliminary Society and Community of Equality.

Duss's century-old sentiments were reflected by the first two historians to speak, Indiana Landmarks and Historic Preservation president Marsh Davis and Indiana Historical Society (IHS) president John Herbst, who reaffirmed New Harmony's position as a continuing nexus for knowledge dissemination. At the time of the bicentennial, the IHS was in the process of nominating New Harmony to become a designated UNESCO World Heritage Site.²⁵ New Lanark had already been inscribed to the World Heritage list in 2001, and Robert Owen's efforts in social reform were central to the village's successful inscription, which reads

New Lanark is a small village in a beautiful Scottish landscape where a model industrial society was created in the early nineteenth century by the philanthropist and utopian idealist Robert Owen. The imposing mill buildings, the spacious and well-designed workers' housing, and the dignified educational institute and school still survive to testify to Owen's humanism.

Following Davis and Herbst, New Lanark Trust of Scotland representative Lorna Davidson, whose research was referenced in Chapter 2, commended Owen's understanding of education as the "golden thread [that] was the key to a better and fairer society." She also emphasized, with a gesture toward the New Harmony Community Choir, the "tremendous role of music and dancing" played in the success of Owen's social experiments. With her expertise in New Lanark's history and recent publications on music at New Lanark, Davidson was uniquely positioned to

²⁵ If the Indiana Historical Society were to succeed in nominating New Harmony, the town would join the likes of American national parks such as Yellowstone, Mammoth Cave, and Grand Canyon, as well as sculptures and buildings, such as the Statue of Liberty and Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson. Today, the historic mills at New Lanark, which Robert Owen had inherited from his father-in-law, still produce yarn. The original press release is available at "World Heritage Committee Inscribes 31 New Sites on the World Heritage List," United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/143/>, December 13, 2001.

counter Owen's narrative of failure with a living example that testified to the longitudinal viability of well-regulated amusements, as first implemented in his "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind."²⁶

The following evening's program—a concert titled "200 Years of Music in New Harmony"—underscored the historical validity of Davidson's assessment and its application to contemporary New Harmony. Considering the town's extensive musical history, which has been explored in Chapters 3 and 4, audience members might have expected Harmonist hymns, brass band marches, and songs from famous theatrical productions. But this program was designed with other cultural forces in mind, and rather than providing a musical supplement to the political and historical commentaries, it exemplified the continued relevance of the "democratic" approach to musicmaking and musical sociability in New Harmony.

The local musical organization, the Wolfgang Orchestra and Chorus (WOC), performed eight pieces, including European masterworks and Hoosier favorites.²⁷ Noon, a former music teacher in New Harmony, believes that the WOC is more than an ensemble; it is an "extended family."²⁸ He is particularly proud that no fewer than thirteen individual families from the surrounding region, which includes New Harmony, Mount Vernon, and other smaller towns of

²⁶ Lorna Davidson, "A Quest for Harmony: The Role of Music in Robert Owen's New Lanark Community," *Utopian Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010); Lorna Davidson and Jim Arnold, "The Great Experiment: New Lanark from Robert Owen to World Heritage Site," in *Robert Owen and His Legacy*, ed. Noel Thompson and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

²⁷ The WOC was established by Dennis A. Noon in 2006 as the "Wolfgang Classical Wind Ensemble" (WCWE), and its members hail from New Harmony and the surrounding towns of the tristate region. When the WCWE was started, it had a roster of seventeen musicians; now, the WOC has a total of seventy-five, with its musicians ranging in age between twenty and eighty. See "About Wolfgang," Wolfgang Orchestra & Chorus Web Site, accessed June 3, 2018, <http://www.noonsmusic.com/id21.html>.

²⁸ "Wolfgang Takes 'Family' to a New Level," Wolfgang Orchestra & Chorus Web Site, accessed June 3, 2018, <http://www.noonsmusic.com/id21.html>.

Posey County, have joined the group. In addition, his position on the WOC's function is clear: "The Directors continue to recruit musicians and reach out to those who *want and need music in their lives*. The express purpose of Wolfgang Orchestra & Chorus is to rehearse and perform in a group of equally talented adults and students, playing great classical music and inspirational songs."²⁹

The concert commenced with the first movement of Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5* and "Lacrimosa" from Mozart's *Requiem Mass* opened the concert, and then the choir performed "Saints Bound for Heaven," "Old Dan Tucker," and "Over the Rainbow." For each of these pieces, Noon delivered historical and contextual information from the podium. But just as he was raising his baton to direct "the number one song of the twentieth century," he pivoted, and posed the following question to the audience: "How does this all fit in 200 years of music?" Although the question might have been rhetorical, people shouted answers from all corners of the auditorium. Noon paused, grinned, and replied, "It does, doesn't it?"

The next selection was a medley of tunes, including "What a Wonderful World," "When the Saints Go Marching In," "St. Louis Blues," and "Hello Dolly!" The audience burst into applause, cheers, and whistles, which prompted Noon to have the orchestra repeat the last section. Once the audience quieted down, the orchestra and chorus launched into Noon's own arrangement of Indiana native Paul Dresser's 1897 Tin Pan Alley song "On the Banks of the Wabash Far Away."³⁰

²⁹ "Wolfgang to Present Free Concerts," *Posey County News*, August 8, 2017. [Emphasis mine]. Noon employed a nontraditional orchestral instrumentation, which, no doubt, was a reflection of the available talent pool. For example, the ensemble comprised four flutes, two oboes, three clarinets, one bassoon, brass, and strings (no double basses), to which one alto and one baritone saxophone had been added, even for the orchestral pieces.

³⁰ In 1913, "On the Banks of the Wabash, Far Away" was adopted as the state song of Indiana, just three years prior to the state's centennial celebration of 1916. For a history of the

Hoosier composers were celebrated again with the evening's finale, which was written by Mount Vernon, Indiana, native Philip Hagemann (b. 1932). Known for his choral compositions, Hagemann was commissioned to write a piece for the New Harmony Bicentennial.³¹ His resultant *Variations on a Harmonist Hymn* is based on "Hilf Herr, ein neues Jahr bricht an," a hymn by Harmonist Jacob Henrici.³² Although Henrici's contributions to the Harmonists have been documented, this hymn still presents a bit of a mystery. By the time Henrici joined Rapp's community in 1826, the group had already left Indiana and reestablished its community at Economy, Pennsylvania. Henrici served as a trustee of the community, and he eventually became a senior trustee in 1868—a position he held until his death in 1892.

Over 120 years after his death, Henrici is still remembered fondly among the Old Economy Village staff. The Village curator, Sarah Buffington, explained through extended correspondence that "he was a sort of Santa Claus in the way that he took care of everyone – Harmonist members, hired workers, and people under the employ of Harmonist-owned companies."³³ Unfortunately, even Buffington does not know who (or what) took care of his music. Three of his pieces, "Die Zehn Gebote," "Das Unser Vater," which was performed by the New Harmony Community Choir for the commission's first two events, and "Das Apostolische Glaubens-Bekenntnis," have been indexed according to their titles by Economy historian Richard

song, see Richard W. Dowell, "'On the Banks of the Wabash': A Musical Whodunit," *Indiana Magazine of History* 66, no. 2 (1970).

³¹ Roger McBain, "Rhyme is Reason for Reworked Harmonist Hymn's Loose Translation," *Evansville Courier and Press*, August 7, 2014.

³² Henrici's musical life at Economy is profiled in Chapter 5 of Wetzel, 92-102. His "Hilf Herr, Ein Neues Jahr Bright [sic] an" is reprinted Richard D. Wetzel, "Appendix A: Examples of Harmonist Music," in *Frontier Musicians on the Connoquenessing, Wabash, and Ohio: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society (1805–1806)* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976): 173.

³³ Sarah Buffington, email message to author, May 4, 2015.

Wetzel, and each of these pieces appears to have been published in 1891—the year before his death.³⁴ But the original "Hilf Herr" has been lost, although Wetzel's transcription from the unique numerical notation appears in his 1976 monograph.³⁵

When Henrici's hymn was chosen by Hagemann, the latter opted for a loose translation of the hymn into English in order to maintain the AA'BCC rhyme scheme of the original.³⁶

Hilf Herr, ein neues Jahr bricht an!
Erhalt uns auf der Lebens bahn!
Lass unsere ganze Lebens Zeit Nur dir,
Herr Jesu, sei geweiht
Nur dir, Herr Jesu sei geweiht.

O Lord, behold a bright new day!
Preserve us as we go on our way.
Hear now our prayer that our entire lifetime
We solemnly dedicate, dedicate to you.
Our lives we dedicate, dedicate to you.

The first iteration of the hymn was straightforward, and the orchestral accompaniment added depth to the homophonic rendering of text. In the subsequent variations, Hagemann employed popular compositional techniques through which different meters, instrumental groupings, and distinctive rhythm patterns were highlighted. For example, the first variation juxtaposed a trilling flute against a lengthy pizzicato passage in the strings. The second featured clarinets in 4/4 time, but the meter shifted into a waltz as the clarinets were joined by a snare drum and bells. The fourth variation showcased a repetitive eighth-note pattern in the cello, and

³⁴ Excerpts of "Die Zehn Gebote" and "Das Apostolische Glaubens-Bekenntnis," appear in Richard D. Wetzel, "Appendix A: Examples of Harmonist Music," 171-172.

³⁵ According to Wetzel, this notation, known as "Numeral Harmony" was circulated in the United States by H. W. Day and R. F. Beal, who claimed to be the "inventors and proprietors of the method" in 1849. This method, however, was already in use in Germany.

³⁶ Roger McBain, "Rhyme is Reason for Reworked Harmonist Hymn's Loose Translation," *Evansville Courier and Press*, August 7, 2014.

the final variation concluded triumphantly with brass (plus saxophone) chorale in triple meter. From the podium, Hagemann explained to the audience that he purposely integrated modern sensibilities into the piece as an "appropriate" gesture to honor New Harmony's maturity as a modern town. Meanwhile, he paid homage to its heritage by bookending the variations with a transcription of the original hymn setting for chorus and orchestra.

Of the entire Bicentennial Capstone "Week," Noon stated "New Harmony is a very active, musical community. They've had some hard knocks lately with the closing of the school . . . but they flat knocked it out with the bicentennial. Everyone worked hard to make it happen. Then to have New York composer Phil Hagemann, Mount Vernon class of 1950, come back and write a piece for it is fantastic. Philip's number was just terrific. It capped it all off."³⁷

Concluding Remarks

Through the rhetorical content of New Harmony's Bicentennial Capstone "Week," celebrants underscored the prominence of Robert Owen, and to a lesser extent, William Maclure, in the town's history, thereby marginalizing the efforts of George Rapp and the Harmonists. Moreover, the educational and scientific achievements of Maclure were, in one instance, celebrated, and in another, misattributed to Owen, who, in turn, was both hailed for his utopian plans and blamed for their faulty execution. This was in keeping with the long-accepted historiography of New Harmony. At the same time, however, the celebration was brought to life and made into a fully communal event through music, which was, as this dissertation has demonstrated, a major component of Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of

³⁷ Quoted in Michael Webster, "New Harmony Bicentennial a Resounding Success," *Mount Vernon Democrat*, August 13, 2014.

Mankind." Indeed, the bicentennial celebration provided yet another opportunity for New Harmony's citizens and their guests to come together and partake in a series of events that was punctuated with well-regulated amusements. In addition, these performances were made possible by local musicians who had benefited from the cultural opportunities created through Jane Blaffer Owen's revitalization of their town. As such, Owen's attention to well-regulated amusements naturally constitutes a third prong of New Harmony's formerly two-pronged historiography that has, heretofore, emphasized only the relevance of educational and scientific endeavors in the wake of the utopian ruins. Moreover, Owen's pioneering efforts, now revisited and recontextualized, add a new dimension to the accepted foundational story of music education in the United States.

This dissertation has established that Owen laid the foundation necessary for the intentional continuation of his Community as a community through the production of, and participation in, well-regulated amusements. Despite the narrative of failure commonly ascribed to Owen, New Harmony was able to maintain a nearly uninterrupted stream of balls, concerts, and theatrical productions from 1825 until the beginning of World War I. These theatrical productions are critical to completing New Harmony's musical history because the majority of the plays contained references to music—namely, a cue for melodramatic music, an incipit of a popular song, the lyrics for a song written specifically for the play, or a reference to an instrument or musical concept integral to the plot. As such, it stands to reason that the musical histories of other small towns may benefit from a reexamination of their local theater as a site of musical activity—both within and in conjunction with the plays.

Furthermore, it was Owen's commitment to social change through universal access to education and well-regulated amusements that sparked the creativity of his great-great-

grandson's wife, Jane Blaffer Owen. She, in turn, strove, beginning with her introduction to New Harmony during World War II, to recapture the town's original meaning. Thanks to her initiative and foresight, and her estate's ongoing support, New Harmony has been able to continue implementing this aspect of Robert Owen's "Plan for the Amelioration of the Condition of Mankind" in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, whereby well-regulated amusements are provided to balance the demands of "industry and study."³⁸

³⁸ "View of New-Harmony, Concluded," *New Harmony Gazette*, October 29, 1825.

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